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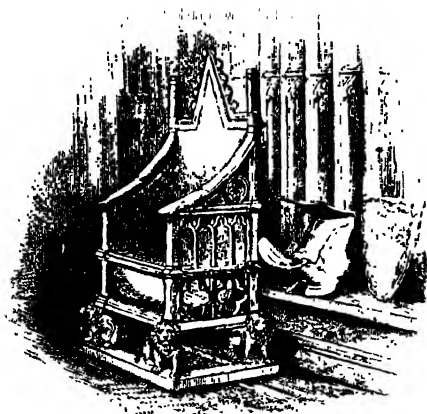
NEW-STREET SQUARE

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS
(OF)
WESTMINSTER ABBEY

BY ARTHUR PENRHYN (STANLEY) D.D.

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE



THE CORONATION CHAIR.

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1868

*'The Abbey of Westminster hath been always held the greatest sanctuary
and rendezvous of devotion of the whole island: whereunto the situation
of the very place seems to contribute much, and to strike a holy kind of
reverence and sweetness of melting piety in the hearts of the beholders'*

HOWELL'S Perustration of London (1657), p. 346

TO
HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF LOYAL AND RESPECTFUL GRATITUDE

Is Dedicated

THIS HUMBLE RECORD
OF THE ROYAL AND NATIONAL SANCTUARY
WHICH HAS FOR CENTURIES ENSHRINED
THE VARIED MEMORIES OF HER AUGUST ANCESTORS
AND THE MANIFOLD GLORIES OF HER FREE AND FAMOUS KINGDOM,
AND WHICH WITNESSED THE SOLEMN CONSECRATION
OF HER OWN AUSPICIOUS REIGN
TO ALL HIGH AND HOLY PURPOSES

PREFACE.

THE FOLLOWING WORK was undertaken, in great measure, in consequence of the kind desire expressed by many friends, chiefly by my honoured colleagues in the Chapter of Westminster, on occasion of the Eight Hundredth Anniversary of the Dedication of the Abbey, that I would attempt to illustrate its history by Memorials similar to those which, in former years, I had published in connexion with Canterbury Cathedral. Such a proposal was in entire consonance with my own previous inclinations ; but I have undertaken it not without much misgiving.

The task was one which involved considerable research, such as, amidst the constant pressure of other and more important occupations, I was conscious that I could ill afford to make. This difficulty has been in part met by the valuable co-operation which I have received from persons the best qualified to give it. Besides the facilities rendered to me by the members and officers of our own Capitular and Collegiate Body, to whom I here tender my grateful thanks, I may especially name Mr. Joseph Burt, of the Public Record

Office, whose careful arrangement of our Archives during the last three years has given him 'ample opportunities for bringing any new light to bear on the subject ; the lamented Joseph Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh, who was always ready to supply, from his copious stores, any knowledge bearing on the Northern Kingdom ; the Rev. John Stoughton, of Hammersmith, who has afforded me much useful information on the Nonconformist antiquities of the Abbey ; Colonel Chester, a laborious antiquarian of the United States, who has undertaken to edit and illustrate the Burial Registers, and who has lent me his kind help in making use of them ; Mr. Thoms, the learned Editor of 'Notes and Queries,' and Sub-Librarian of the House of Lords ; Mr. George Scharf, Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery ; and my valued friend Mr. Grove, who has assisted me in compiling the Index, which for a work of this kind is more than usually indispensable.¹

For such inaccuracies as must be inevitable in a work covering so large a field, I must crave, not only the indulgence, but the corrections of those whose longer experience of Westminster and whose deeper acquaintance with English history and literature will enable them to point out omissions and errors which have doubtless escaped my notice in this rapid survey.

¹ For the verification of statements and references in the earlier Chapters, I am in a great measure indebted to

Mr. Frank Scott Haydon and Mr. Edward Rhodes, of the Public Record Office.

After all that has been written on the Abbey, it would be absurd for any modern work to make pretensions to more than a rearrangement of already existing materials. It may be as well briefly to enumerate the authorities from which I have drawn.

I. The original sources, some of which have been hardly accessible to former explorers, are —

1. The ARCHIVES preserved in the Muniment Chamber of the Abbey. These reach back to the Charters of the Saxon Kings. They were roughly classified, by Widmore, in the last century, and are now undergoing a thorough examination under the able and skilful care of Mr. Burt.

2. The CHAPTER BOOKS, which reach from 1542 to the present time, with the exception of two important blanks—from 1554 to 1558, under the restored Benedictines of Queen Mary; and from 1642 to 1662, under the Commissioners of the Commonwealth.

3. The 'CONSUETUDINES' of Abbot WARE, described p. 346.

4. The BURIAL REGISTERS, described p. 190.

5. The PRECENTOR'S BOOK, containing a partial record of customs and services in the Abbey during the last century.

6. The MS. HISTORY OF THE ABBEY by FLETE, described p. 346.

II. The chief printed authorities are :—

1. *Reges, Reginae et Nobiles in Ecclesiâ Beati Petri*

Westmonasteriensis Sepulchri, by WILLIAM CAMDEN (1600, 1603, and 1606).

2. *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, by HENRY KEEPE (usually signed H. K.), 1683.

3. *Antiquities of St. Peter's*, by J. CRULL (usually signed J. C., sometimes H. S.). [These three works relate chiefly to the Monuments.]

4. *History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of Westminster*, by JOHN DART (2 vols. folio, 1723).

5. *History of the Church of St. Peter, and Inquiry into the Time of its First Foundation*, by RICHARD WIDMORE, Librarian to the Chapter and Minor Canon of Westminster, 1750 (carefully based on the original Archives).

6. *History of the Abbey*, by R. AKERMANN (2 vols. royal 4to, 1812).

7. *History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, by JOHN NEALE and EDWARD BRAYLEY (2 vols. folio, 1818). [This is the most complete work.]

8. *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, under the supervision of GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT (2nd edit. 1863), by various contributors (chiefly architectural).

To these must be added the smaller but exceedingly useful works—PETER CUNNINGHAM'S *Handbook of Westminster Abbey*, and Mr. RIDGWAY'S *Gem of Thorney Island*; and the elaborate treatises of STOW, MALCOLM, and MAITLAND, on London; of SMITH and WALCOTT, on Westminster; and of CARTER, GOUGH, and WEEVER, on sepulchral monuments in general

III. In turning from the sources of information to the use made of them, a serious difficulty occurred. Here, as in the case of Canterbury Cathedral, it was my intention to confine myself strictly to the *historical* memorials of the place, leaving the architectural and purely antiquarian details to those who have treated them in the works to which I have already referred.¹ But the History of Westminster Abbey differs essentially from that of Canterbury Cathedral or, indeed, of any other ecclesiastical edifice in England. In Canterbury I had the advantage of four marked events, or series of events, of which one especially—the murder of Becket—whilst it was inseparably entwined with the whole structure of the building, was capable of being reproduced, in all its parts as a separate incident. In Westminster no such single act has occurred. The interest of the place depends (as I have pointed out in Chapter I.) on the connexion of the different parts with the whole, and of the whole with the general History of England. These ‘HISTORICAL MEMORIALS’ ought to be, in fact, ‘The History of England in Westminster Abbey.’ Those who are acquainted with M. Ampère’s delightful book, *L’Histoire Romaine à Rome*, will appreciate at once the charm and the difficulty of such an undertaking. In order to accomplish it, I was compelled, on the one hand, to observe as far as possible a chronological arrangement, such as is lost in works like Neale’s or Cunningham’s, which necessarily follow the course of the topography. But, on the other hand, the lines

¹ Any documents of this kind, either not before published, or not generally

accessible, are printed in the Appendix.

of interest are, so various and so divergent, that to blend them in one indiscriminate series would have confused relations which can only be made perspicuous by being kept distinct. At the cost therefore of some repetition, and probably of some misplacements, I have treated each of these subjects by itself, though arranging them in the sequence which was engendered by the historical order of the events.

The Foundation of the Abbey¹, growing out of the physical features of the locality, the legendary traditions, and the motives and character of Edward the Confessor, naturally forms the groundwork of all that succeeds.

From the Burial of the Confessor, and the peculiar circumstances attendant upon it, sprang the Coronation of William the Conqueror, which carries with it the Coronations of all future Sovereigns. These scenes were, perhaps, too slightly connected with the Abbey to justify even the summary description which I have given. But the subject, viewed as a whole, is so curious, that I may be pardoned for having endeavoured to concentrate in one focus these periodical pageants, which certainly have been regarded as amongst the chief glories of the place.²

The Tombs of the Kings, as taking their rise from the Burial of Henry III. by the Shrine of the Confessor, followed next; and their connexion with the

¹ Chapter I.

² Chapter II.

structure of the Church is so intimate, that this seemed the most fitting point at which to introduce such notices of the architectural changes as were compatible with the plan of the work. This Chapter¹, accordingly, contains the key of the whole.

From the Burials of the Kings followed, in continuous order, the interments of eminent men. These I have endeavoured to track in the successive groups of Courtiers, Warriors, and Statesmen, through the marked epochs of Richard II., of Elizabeth, and of the Commonwealth, ending with the Statesmen's Corners in the North Transept and the Nave. In like manner the Men of Letters, and of Arts and Sciences, are carried through the various links which, starting from the Grave of Chaucer in Poets' Corner, include the South Transept, and the other Chapels whither by degrees they have penetrated. I have also added to these such Graves or Monuments as, without falling under any of the foregoing heads, yet deserve a passing notice.²

There still remained the outlying edifices of the Abbey, which necessitated a brief sketch of the history of the events and personages (chiefly ecclesiastical) that have figured within the Precincts before and since the Reformation. For these two Chapters, as a general rule, I have reserved the burialplaces of the Abbots and Deans. In the first division,³ I have thought it best

¹ Chapter III.

² Chapter IV.

³ Chapter V.

to include the whole history of such buildings as the Chapter House, the Treasury, and the Gatehouse, although in so doing it was necessary to anticipate what properly belongs to the second period. Again I have, in the period since the Reformation,¹ reserved for a single summary all that related to the local reminiscences of the Convocations that have been held within the Precincts. The History of Westminster School, which opened a larger field than could be conveniently included within the limits of this work, I have noticed only so far as was necessary to give a general survey of the destination of the whole of the Conventual buildings, and to form a united representation of the whole Collegiate Body during some of the most eventful periods of its annals.

In treating subjects of this wide and varied interest, I have endeavoured to confine myself to such events and such remarks as were essentially connected with the localities. In so doing I have, on the one hand, felt bound to compress the notices of personages or incidents that were too generally known to need detailed descriptions; and, on the other hand, to enlarge on some of the less familiar names, which, without some such explanation, would lose their significance. I have also not scrupled to quote at length many passages—sometimes celebrated, sometimes, perhaps, comparatively unknown—which, from their intrinsic beauty, have themselves become part of the History of the

¹ Chapter VI.

Abbey. This must be the excuse, if any be needed, for the numerous citations from Shakspeare, Fuller, Clarendon, Addison, Gray, Walpole, Macaulay, Irving, and Froude. The details of the pageants, unless when necessary for the historical bearing of the events, I have left to be examined in the authorities to which I have referred.

IV. I cannot bring this survey of the History of the Abbey to a conclusion, without recurring for a moment to various suggestions which were made, by those interested in the subject, at the time of the celebration of the Eighth Centenary of the Foundation. Some—the most important—have, happily, been carried out. The liberality of Parliament, under the auspices of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cowper, has undertaken the restoration of the ancient Chapter House. By the aid of the Ecclesiastical Commission, a material security for the preservation of the Fabric and of the Monuments, as well as for the convenience of Public Worship, has been gained, in the extensive and successful apparatus for warming the whole edifice. The erection of a new Reredos, more worthy of so august a sanctuary, has at length been completed, under the care of the Subdean, Lord John Thynne, to whose long and unflinching interest in the Abbey its structure and arrangements have been so much indebted.

In addition to these improvements, it has been often suggested that none would add so much to the external beauty of the Building, without changing its actual

proportions, or its relations to past history, as the restoration of the Great Northern Entrance to something of its original magnificence, which has almost disappeared under the alterations of later times. Such a glorification of the main approach to the Abbey from the great thoroughfare of the Metropolis would be more in keeping with its position and character than the addition of new Towers, either in the centre or at the west end, which are already provided for (if not adequately yet sufficiently), by the actual buildings of Sir Christopher Wren, or the adjacent Towers of the Palace of Westminster.

Much has been said on the question of the Monuments. With regard to the Royal Monuments, a Report was, in 1854, presented by the distinguished Architect of the Abbey, Mr. Gilbert Scott, to Sir W. Molesworth, then First Commissioner of Public Works, containing an exhaustive account of the state of these interesting Tombs, and of the arguments for and against their restoration.¹ On that Report Parliament proceeded to grant, according to the estimated cost, the sum of £4,700. But in the interval the subject was more maturely considered by a Commission of eminent antiquaries, who decided against any such attempt. It was then thought that their venerable aspect, and the marks of antiquity and of history which they bear, pointed not to reparation, but to preserva-

¹ Estimates of the House of Commons, April 8, 1854, No. 24, with Report of Mr. G. G. Scott.

tion ; and until this decision is formally reversed, and without the sanction of the same authority under which it was made, this must be the aim to which all our efforts should be directed.

The restoration of the Private Monuments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not open to the same objection. They belong for the most part to a later age, and their defects are such as arise not so much from time as from neglect. I have much pleasure in expressing my grateful sense of the promptitude with which the noble and illustrious Houses which they represent have, in several instances, undertaken to restore their original splendour, yet so as not to interfere with the general harmony of the surrounding edifice. These examples, it is hoped, will be followed up generally.

The question of the later Monuments is sufficiently discussed in the account of them in the pages of this work.¹ Doubtless, some rearrangement and reduction might with advantage take place. But, even where the objections of the representatives of the deceased can be surmounted, constant care is needed not to disturb the historical associations which in most cases have given a significance to the particular spots occupied by each, and each must be considered on its own merits. One measure, however, will sooner or later become indispensable, if the sepulchral character

¹ See Chapter IV.

of the Abbey is to be continued into future times, for which, happily, the existing arrangements of the locality give ample facilities. It has been often proposed that a Cloister should be erected, communicating with the Abbey by the Chapter House, and continued on the site of the present Abingdon Street, facing the Palace of Westminster on one side, and the College Garden on the other. Such a building, the receptacle not of any of the existing Monuments (which would be yet more out of place there than in their present position), but of the Graves and the Memorials of another thousand years of English History, would meet every requirement of the future, without breaking with the traditions of the past.

I have ventured to throw out these suggestions, as relating to improvements which depend on external assistance. For such as can be undertaken by our Collegiate Body—for all measures relating to the conservation and repair of the fabric, and to the extension of the benefits of the institution,—I can but express my confident hope that they will, as hitherto, receive every consideration from those whose honour is so deeply involved in the usefulness, the grandeur, and the perpetuity of the venerable and splendid edifice of which we are the appointed guardians, and which lies so near our hearts.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	v-xviii

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Natural growth of the Abbey, 3.

- I. Physical Features of London and Westminster ; the Thames ; the Hills and Streams, 4—The Island of Thorns, 7—The Spring, 9.
- II. Legends : Temple of Apollo ; Church of Lucius, 10—Church of Sebert, A.D. 616 ; his Grave, 11—Monastery of Edgar, 12.
- III. Historical Origin, 12—EDWARD THE CONFESSOR ; his Outward Appearance ; his Character, 13—The Last of the Saxons, 14—The First of the Normans, 15.

His Motives in the Foundation of the Abbey ; 1. Consecration of Rheims Cathedral ; 2. Situation of Thorney ; 3. Devotion to St. Peter, 16—Connexion of the Abbey with the Name of St. Peter, 17—Legend of the Hermit of Worcester, 19—Of Edric the Fisherman, 20—Of the Cripple, 22—Of the Apparition in the Sacrament, 23.

Palace of Westminster, 23—Journey to Rome, 24—Building of the Abbey, 25.

End of the Confessor. Legend of the Vision of the Seven Sleepers, 27—Of the Pilgrim ; Dedication of the Abbey (Dec. 28, 1065), 28—Death of the Confessor (Jan. 5, 1066) ; and Burial (Jan. 6), 31.

Effects of his Character on the Foundation, 32—Its Connexion with the Conquest, 33—With the English Constitution, 34—Legend of Wulfstan, 35—Bayeux Tapestry, 36.

Note on *Chancelbridge*, 37.

CHAPTER II.

THE CORONATIONS.

The Rite of Coronation, 41—The Scene of the English Coronations, 43—Coronation of WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR (Dec. 25, 1066), 45—Connexion of Coronations with the Abbey, 46; and with the Abbots and Deans of Westminster; the Regalia 48—The Right of the Archbishops of Canterbury; Coronation of Matilda, 49.

Coronation of WILLIAM RUFUS (Sept. 26, 1087); of HENRY I. (Aug. 5, 1100), 50; of Maud; of STEPHEN (Dec. 26, 1135), 51—Of HENRY II. (Dec. 19, 1154), and of his Son, 52; its Consequences, 53—Of RICHARD I. (Sept. 3, 1189); its Disasters, 53; his Second Coronation, 55—Coronation of JOHN (May 27, 1199); the Cinque Ports, 56—Two Coronations of HENRY III. (Oct. 28, 1216; May 17, 1220); Abolition of Lord High Stewardship, 57—Coronation of EDWARD I. and Eleanor (Aug. 19, 1274), 58.

The CORONATION STONE: Installation of Kings, 59—The Legend and the History of the Stone of Scone, 60–61—Its Capture, 62—Its Use, 63—Its Interest; the ‘Spectator,’ Goldsmith, 64–66.

Coronation of EDWARD II. (Feb. 25, 1308), 66; of EDWARD III. (Feb. 1, 1327) and Philippa; the Shield and Sword of State, 67—Coronation of RICHARD II. (July 16, 1377); the Liber Regalis, 67—The Procession from the Tower; the Knights of the Bath; the Champion, 68—Coronation of HENRY IV. (Oct. 13, 1399); the Election, 69—The Ampulla, 70—Coronation of HENRY V. (April 9, 1413) and of Catherine; of HENRY VI. (Dec. 6, 1429); and of Margaret; of EDWARD IV. (June 29, 1466), 71—Preparations for the Coronation of EDWARD V. (June 22, 1483); Coronation of RICHARD III. (July 6, 1483), 72; of HENRY VII. (Oct. 30, 1485); of Elizabeth of York; the Yeomen of the Guard, 73—Coronation of HENRY VIII. (June 24, 1509), 74; of Anne Boleyn (June 1, 1533), 74–78; of EDWARD VI. (Feb. 20, 1546), 79—Cranmer’s Address, 80, 81—Coronation of Queen MARY (Oct. 10, 1553), 83; of Queen ELIZABETH (Jan. 15 1559), 84–85; of JAMES I. (Feb. 25, 1603); of CHARLES I. (Feb. 2, 1626), 86.

Installation of CROMWELL (June 26, 1657), 89.

Coronation of CHARLES II. (April 23, 1661), 89–91; of JAMES II. (April 23, 1686), 91–92; of WILLIAM AND MARY (April 11, 1689); Sanction of Parliament, 93—Coronation Oath changed, 93–95—Coronation of Queen ANNE (April 23, 1702), 95.

Coronation of GEORGE I. (Oct. 20, 1714), 96.—Reconstruction of the Order of the Bath, 97—Installation, 98—Lord Dundonald’s Banner, 99.

CHAPTER II.—*continued.*

Coronation of GEORGE II. (Oct. 11, 1727), 100; of GEORGE III. (Sept. 22, 1761); withdrawal of the Claims to the Kingdom of France, 101—Appearance of Prince Charles Edward. Coronation of GEORGE IV. (July 19, 1821), 102—Attempted Entrance of Queen Caroline, 103—Coronation of WILLIAM IV. (Sept. 8, 1831); its Curtailment; Coronation of QUEEN VICTORIA (June 28, 1838), 104—Conclusion, 105–107.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROYAL TOMBS.

The Tombs of Kings generally, 111—Peculiarities in the Abbey: 1. Combined with Coronations, 112; 2. Combined with the Palace, 113; 3. Importance of the Royal Deaths, 114; 4. Publicity of the Funerals, 115; 5. Connected with Religious Services, 116.

Beginning of Royal Burials: Sebert; EDWARD THE CONFESSOR; Norman Kings in their Convents, 117; MAUD (May 1, 1118), 119—First Translation of the Confessor (1163), 120.

HENRY III.: His Foundation of the Lady Chapel (1220), 121—Characteristics of his Reign; his English Feelings; his Imitation of St. Denys; his Devotion; his Foreign Art; his Extravagance, 122–125—Rebuilding of the Church, 126—The Confessor's Shrine, 127—The Relics, 128—His Death and Burial, and Tomb (Nov. 20, 1272), 130—Delivery of his Heart to the Abbess of Fontevrault (1291), 131.

His Family; Catherine (1257), 132—Heart of Henry; William de Valence and his Children (1256), 133—Edmund Earl of Lancaster, and Aveline his Wife (1273–1296), 134.

Eleanor of Castille (1291), 135—Alfonso (1284); EDWARD I. (1307); his Tomb; Inscription, 136—EDWARD II.'s Tomb at Gloucester (1327), 138—John of Eltham (1334); Aymer de Valence (1323), 139.

Philippa (1369), 139—EDWARD III. (1377); his Children, 140—Relics; the Black Prince and Grandchildren, 141.

RICHARD II.: His Affection for the Abbey; his Portrait, 142—His Wife's Tomb, 143—His Burial (1399), 144—Thomas of Woodstock, and Eleanor his Wife; Philippa of York, 145.

CHAPTER III.—*continued.*

HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

HENRY IV. at Canterbury; HENRY V.'s Interest in the Abbey, 145—Completion of the Nave, 146—His Death and Funeral (1422), 147—His Tomb, 148—His Saddle and Helmet, 149—Catherine of Valois, 151—HENRY VI.'s Wish to be Buried in the Abbey, 152—Withdrawal of the York Dynasty from Westminster, 153—Anne of Warwick (1485); Margaret of York (1472), 154.

Controversy concerning the Tomb of HENRY VI., 154—Origin of the CHAPEL of HENRY VII., 156—The Chantry; the Saints, 157—The Close of the Middle Ages, and of the Wars of the Roses; Revival of the Celtic Races, 159—The Beginning of Modern England, 160—Tomb of Elizabeth of York (1503); Funeral and Tomb of HENRY VII. (1509); Tomb of Margaret of Richmond (1509), 161—164—Marriage Window of Prince Henry, 166—Intended Tomb of HENRY VIII., 167.

The REFORMATION in the Abbey, 167—Funeral of EDWARD VI. (1553), 168—His Monument; Anne of Cleves (1557), 169—Queen MARY I. (1558); Obsequies of Charles V., 170.

Tomb of Queen ELIZABETH (1603), 170—Tombs of the Stuarts; Margaret Lennox (1577), 172—Charles Lennox; MARY STUART (1606), 173—End of the Regal Monuments, 174.

Tombs of Princesses Mary and Sophia; Graves of Prince Henry, 175—Arabella Stuart; Anne of Denmark (1619); JAMES I. (1625); Prince Charles, 176.

The COMMONWEALTH:—The Family of Cromwell; OLIVER CROMWELL (1658), 177—Disinterment; Elizabeth Claypole, 178.

The RESTORATION:—Intended Tomb of CHARLES I.; Henry Duke of Gloucester (1660), 179—Mary of Orange (1660); Elizabeth of Bohemia (1661); Prince Rupert (1682); Illegitimate Sons of Charles II.; CHARLES II. (1685), 180.

Burial of JAMES II. and his Children (1702); WILLIAM III. (1702), 181—MARY II. (1694), 182—Queen ANNE and Prince George of Denmark, and their Children (1708–1714), 183.

The HOUSE OF HANOVER, 183—GEORGE II. and Caroline of Anspach (1737–1760), 184; and their Family; GEORGE III.'s Vault at Windsor, 186—Antony, Duke of Montpensier (1807), 187.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MONUMENTS.

- Peculiarity of the Abbey as the Burialplace of eminent men, 191—Comparison with Santa Croce at Florence, 192—Result of the Royal Interments, 193.
- Burials in the Cloisters: Hugolin; Geoffrey of Mandeville, 195—First Burials within the Abbey.—COURTIERS OF RICHARD II.: John of Waltham (1395), 195; Golofre (1396); Brocas (1399), 196—OF HENRY V., 196—OF EDWARD IV.; OF HENRY VII., 197.
- LADIES OF THE TUDOR COURT:—Frances Grey (1559), 198; Anne Seymour (1587); Frances Seymour (1598); Frances Ratcliffe (1589), 199.
- ELIZABETHAN MAGNATES, 200—Jane Seymour (1561); Catherine Knollys (1568); Sir R. Pecksall; John Lord Russell, and his Daughter (1584), 201—Winyfred Brydges; Bromley (1587); Puckering (1596), 203—Owen (1598); Lord Hunsdon (1596), 204—Lord Burleigh and his Family (1598), 205; William Thynne (1584), 211.
- FLEMISH HEROES; Sir Francis Vere (1609); Sir George Hollis (1626), 208—De Burgh (1594); the Norris Family (1597–1604), 209—Bingham (1598).
- COURTIERS OF JAMES I., 211—Duke of Richmond, 212.
- COURTIERS OF CHARLES I.:—The Villiers Family, (1605–1632), 213–216—Cranfeild, Earl of Middlesex (1645); Lord Cottington (1652), 217—Sir T. Richardson (1635), 219—Thomas Cary (1649), 220.
- MAGNATES OF THE COMMONWEALTH:—PYM (1643), 220—Earl of Essex (1648), 221—Popham (1650); Dorislaus (1649), 222—IRETON (1651); BLAKE (1657), 223—BRADSHAW (1659). Their Disinterment, 225—Exceptions: Popham; Ussher; Elizabeth Claypole; Essex; Grace Scot, 226—George Wilde, 227.
- THE CHIEFS OF THE RESTORATION:—MONK (1670); MONTAGUE, Earl of Sandwich (1672), 227—THE ORMOND VAULT: Duke of Ormond and his Family (1680–1688), 228—Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1673); Bishop Nicholas Monk (1661), 229—Bishop Ferne (1662); Bishop Dupper (1662), 230.
- HEROES OF THE DUTCH WAR, 231–232—Thomas Thynne (1681); Sir E. B. Godfrey (1678); T. Chiffinch (1666), 232—Duke and Duchess of Newcastle [Cavendish] (1673–1676), 233—Holles Duke of Newcastle (1711), 234.
- THE REVOLUTION OF 1688:—The Bentinck, Schomberg, and Temple Families; Saville, Marquis of Halifax (1695), 235—STATESMEN

CHAPTER IV.—*continued.*

- AND COURTIER OF QUEEN ANNE: Montague, Earl of Halifax (1715); Craggs, 236—Godolphin (1712), 238—HEROES OF THE WAR OF THE SUCCESSION, 240—Sir Cloudesley Shovel (1707), 241—Funeral of Duke of MARLBOROUGH (1722), 243—Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, and his Family (1721), 244–249.
- STATESMEN OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER:—John, Duke of Argyll (1743), 249—Wife of Sir R. Walpole (1737), 250—Pulteney, Earl of Bath (1764), 251.
- SOLDIERS:—Roubiliac's Monument to Wade (1748); Fleming (1750); Hargrave (1750), 252.
- SAILORS:—Hardy (1720); Cornewall (1743); Tyrrell (1766); Wager (1743); Vernon (1751), 253—Lord A. Beauclerk (1740), 254—Lord Dundonald (1860), 256.
- INDIAN AND AMERICAN WARS:—WOLFE (1759), 254—Lord Howe's Captains (1794); Rodney's Captains (1782), 255—Burgoyne (1792); André (1780), 256—Wilson, Outram, Clyde, 257.
- THE MODERN STATESMEN.—The North Transept: Lord Chatham (June 1, 1778), 259—Lord Mansfield (1793), 260—Follett (1845); Pitt (1806); Fox (1806), 261. The Whigs' Corner: Lord Holland (1840); Tierney (1830); Mackintosh (1832); Perceval (1812); Grattan (1820), 262—Castlereagh (1822), 263—Canning (1827); Peel (1850); Palmerston (1865), 264.
- INDIAN STATESMEN:—Warren Hastings, Staunton, Malcolm, Lord Canning, 264–265.
- PHILANTHROPISTS:—Hanway, Sharp, Zachary Macaulay, Wilberforce, Buxton, Horner, Buller, Cornewall Lewis, Cobden, 265–266.
- POETS' CORNER—South Transept: CHAUCER (1400), 267—Spenser (1599), 269—Beaumont (1615); Shakspeare's Monument, 270—Drayton (1631); Ben Jonson (1637), 271—Ayton (1638); May (1650); Davenant (1668), 273—Cowley (1667), 274—Denham (1661), 275—Dryden (1700), 276—Shadwell (1692); Stepney (1707); Phillips (1708), 278—Rise of Milton's Fame, 279, 280—Rowe (1718); St. Evremond (1703), 281—Aphara Behn (1689) and Thomas Brown (1704); Steele and his Wife (1718–29), 282—Addison (1719), 283—Congreve (1729), 284—Prior (1721), 285—Gay (1732), 286—Pope's Epitaph (1744), 287—Thomson (1748); Gray (1771); Mason (1797), 288.
- HISTORICAL AISLE.—Casaubon (1614), 288—Walton's Monogram (1658); Camden (1623), 289—Spelman (1641), 290.
- THEOLOGICIANS.—The Presbyterian Preachers (1643–1658); Triplett (1670); Outram (1679); Barrow (1677); Grabe (1711); Busby

CHAPTER IV.—*continued.*

- (1695); South (1716); Vincent (1815); Horneck (1696), 291–293—Thorndyke (1672); Atterbury (1731); Wharton (1695); Watts (1748), 294, 295.
- MEN OF LETTERS: Goldsmith (1774); his Epitaph, 297—JOHNSON (1784); Macpherson (1796); Cumberland (1811); Sheridan (1816), 298—Anstey (1805); Granville Sharp (1813), 299.
- Campbell (1844), 299—Refusal of Byron (1824); Southey (1843); Wordsworth (1850); Keble (1866), 300—Macaulay (1860); Thackeray (1863), 301.
- THE ACTORS, 301—Oldfield (1731), 303—Bracegirdle (1748); Cibber (1766); Prichard (1768); Betterton (1710), 304—Booth (1733); Barry (1777); Foote (1777); Garrick (1779); Siddons and Kemble (1823, 1831), 305, 306.
- MUSICIANS: Lawes (1662); Christopher Gibbons (1676); PURCELL (1695); Blow (1708); Croft (1727); Arnold (1802); Burney (1814); Cooke (1793); HANDEL (1759), 307, 308, 309.
- ARTISTS: Kneller (1773). ARCHITECTS: Chambers (1796); Wyatt (1813); Taylor (1788); Banks (1805); Barry (1860). ENGRAVERS: Woollett (1785); Virtue (1756).
- MEN OF SCIENCE: NEWTON, by the side of the Stanhopes (1727), 312. Conduitt (1737), 313—Ffolkes (1754), 313.
- PHYSICIANS: Chamberlen, Woodward, and Freind (1728); Mead (1754); Wetnall (1733); Pringle (1782); Winteringham (1794); Baillie (1823); Davy, Young (1829); Hunter (1793); Buchan (1805).
- PRACTICAL SCIENCE: Sir R. Moray (1673); Morland's Wives (1674, 1679); Tompion and Graham (1713, 1751); Hales (1761), 316, 317.—WATT (1819), 317—Rennell (1831); Telford (1834); Stephenson (1859), 318.
- THE NOBILITY: Elizabeth Percy, Duchess of Northumberland, 219—The Delaval Family, 320—Countess of Strathmore, 321. The YOUNG: Jane Lister, 321—Nicholas Bagenall, Thomas Smith, Dalrymple, Carteret, 322. MOURNERS: Lady Kerry, Lady Elizabeth Nightingale, 322. FRIENDS: Mary Kendall, Grace Gethin, Withers, 323, 324. LONGEVITY: Anne Birkhead, Thomas Parr, Elizabeth Woodfall, 324, 325. FOREIGNERS: Spanheim, Courayer, 325—Paleologus, Paoli, Steiger, Duras, Armand and Charlotte de Bourbon, 326, 327. SERVANTS, 328. Translation of Lyndwood, 328.
- Conclusion—Gradual Growth of the Monuments; Uncertainty; Toleration of Diversity; Changes of Taste; Variety of Judgment, 329–340.
- Note on WAXWORK EFFIGIES, 340–344.

CHAPTER V.

THE ABBEY BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

Connexion of the Monastery with the Palace, 347—Its Independence, 348.

THE ABBOTS, 349—The Norman Abbots, 350—The Plantagenet Abbots, 352—Ware, Langham, Littleington, 354—Islip, 355—Their general Character, 356.

THE MONASTERY, 358—Its Possessions on the North-west: the Mill; the Orchard; the Knightsbridge; the Manors of Hyde and Neate, 359—On the North-east: Covent Garden; St. Martin's-le-Grand, 359.

PRECINCTS.—THE GATEHOUSE: Its uses as a Prison, 360—Its Keeper, 362.

THE SANCTUARY, 363—Murder of Hawle, 365—Outrage of Wat Tyler, 366—Two Visits of Elizabeth Woodville, 367—369—The two Tudors, 369—Skelton; Fall of the Sanctuary, 370.

THE ALMONRY: St. Anne's Chapel, 371—The Elms (Dean's Yard), 372—The Granary, 373.

THE ABBOT'S PLACE (the Deanery), 372—Conspiracy of William of Colchester; College Hall, 373. JERUSALEM CHAMBER: Death of Henry IV., 374—Conversion of Henry V., 377—Sir T. More, 378.

LODGINGS of Priors and Subpriors, 378.

THE CLOISTERS: The School in the West Cloister; Shaving of the Monks, 379.

THE REFECTORY, 380—The Dormitory of the Monks, 381.

THE TREASURY, 381—The Tomb of Hugolin, 382—The Robbery, 383.

THE CHAPTER HOUSE: Tombs, 386—Its Peculiarities, 387—Its Monastic Purposes, 388—Occupied by the House of Commons, 389—Oath of Balliol, 392—Statutes of Circumspecte Agatis, Provisions, Præmunire; Convention of Henry V.; Wolsey's Court and Convocation, 393—The Statutes of the Reformation, 394—Used as a Record Office, 396—Agarde, Rymer, Palgrave, 397—Its Restoration, 398.

THE JEWEL HOUSE: Parliament Office, 399.

THE INFIRMARY: Chapel of St. Catherine; Councils of Westminster, 400, 401.

Conclusion—Caxton's Printing Press, 402.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ABBEY SINCE THE REFORMATION.

- The Dissolution of the Monastery, 407—The Cathedral under the Bishop of Westminster, Thirlby, 408—Under the Bishop of London, Ridley; Robbing Peter to pay Paul, 409—Benson, Cox, 410—Weston, 411.
- Revival of the Abbacy: Feckenham, 411—The Westminster Conference, 413—Feckenham's Farewell to the College Garden, 414—His Death, 415.
- The Change under Queen Elizabeth, 417—The COLLEGIATE CHURCH, 418—The Library; the Schoolroom; the Old Dormitory of the Scholars; the College Hall; Connexion with Oxford and Cambridge, 419.
- The DEANS: Bill (1560); Goodman (1561), 421—Pest House, 422—Nowell and Camden, Headmasters, 423—Andrewes (1601); Neale (1605); Montaigne (1610), 424—Townson (1617), 425.
- DEAN WILLIAMS (1620); his Benefactions; his Preferments, 427—Entertainments in the Jerusalem Chamber, and in the College Hall, 429, 430—His first Imprisonment; Ussher at the Deanery, 432—Williams's Return (1640), 433—Peter Heylin in the Pulpit; Conferences in the Jerusalem Chamber; Attack on the Abbey, 434—Williams's second Imprisonment (1642), 435—Puritan Changes, 436—Desecration of the Abbey; Destruction of the Regalia, 437.
- The Commissioners; the Presbyterian Lecturers, 438—The Westminster Assembly of Divines; the Westminster Confession, 439, 442—Bradshaw, 445—Busby; Glynne and Wake, 446—South, 447—Uvedale; Philip Henry, 448.
- Restoration of the Church of England, 448—Earle (1660); Dolben (1663), 450—Sprat (1683); John North, Prebendary, 453.
- Atterbury (1712), 453—His Preaching, 454—The New Dormitory of the Scholars, 455—His Plots, 457—His Exile, 459—His Funeral (1732); the Wesleys, 460.
- The Convocations at Westminster, 461—Transference from St. Paul's, 462—In the Abbey, 463—In the Jerusalem Chamber, 464—Commission of 1689, 465—Disputes as to the Place of Meeting, 468.
- Knipe and Freind, Headmasters; Fire in the Cloisters (1731), 470—Bradford (1723); Wilcocks (1731), 471—Pearce (1756), 472—Thomas (1769), 473—Nicolls, Headmaster; Horsley (1793), 474—Vincent (1802), 475—Ireland (1816–42).

CHAPTER VI.—*continued.*

Changes of Public Sentiment towards the Abbey, 479–481; Carter the Antiquary, 481.

Conclusion, 482–483—Its various uses, 483—Continuity of Worship, 485.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
King James I. Touching a Turk for the King's Evil	491

CHAPTER II.

THE CORONATION STONE—

1. Letter of Joseph Robertson on the Progress of the Legend, and on the identification of the Stone with the Pillow of St. Columba	492
2. Geological Examination of it by Professor Ramsay	499
3. Verses in the Time of James I.	501
4. The Stone in Queen Elizabeth's Time	502

CHAPTER III.

I. Supposed Grave of Edward the Confessor	503
II. Burial of Henry III.	504
III. Delivery of Henry III.'s Heart to the Abbess of Fontevault	505
IV. Removal of the Body of John of Eltham	505
V. BURIAL OF HENRY VI.—	
(a) Depositions of Witnesses	506
(b) Judgment of the Privy Council	515
(c) Expenses for the Legal Proceedings of the Chapter of Windsor	518
(d) Expenses incurred for the Burial at Westminster	521
(e) Letter of the Archbishop of York, forbidding the Worship of Henry VI. at York	521
VI. James I.'s Letter for the Removal of Mary Queen of Scots . .	523
VII. Inscription on the Coffin of Elizabeth Claypole	524
VIII. Sir Walter Raleigh in the Gatehouse	525

CHAPTER IV.

I. Account of the Vault of Lennox, Duke of Richmond	526
II. Account of the Vault of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham . .	530
III. Account of the Vault of Monk, Duke of Albemarle	534

CHAPTER V.

	PAGE
I. Fire in Westminster Palace	536
II. Littleington's Buildings	536
III. Privilege of singing 'Gloria in Excelsis'	537
• IV. & V. Orders against Wandering Monks	537, 538
VI. Visits of the Bohemian Travellers in 1477	539
VII. Crucifix in North Transept	541

CHAPTER VI.

I. Feckenham's Speech on the Right of Sanctuary	542
II. Extracts from Strype's edition of 'Stow's Survey'	548
ADDENDA	551
INDEX	553-64

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Plan of the Abbey and its Precincts about A.D. 1535 . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
The Coronation Chair	<i>Vignette Title</i>
The Abbey, from the Bayeux Tapestry	<i>page 38</i>
Plan of the Chapel of St. Edmund	104
" " St. Nicholas	106
" " St. John the Baptist	106
" " St. Paul	107
" Tombs in the Chapel of the Kings	129
" " of the Abbey as they appeared in 1509	162
" Chapel of Henry VII.	163
" Chapels of St. John the Evangelist, St. Michael, and St. Andrew	207
" Chapel of St. Benedict	218
" Nave	239
" North Transept	258
" Poets' Corner	268
" 'Abbot's Place,' and of the Jerusalem Chamber at the time of the Westminster Assembly	441
The Coronation Stone	493
Plan of the Richmond (Stuart) Vault, Henry VII.'s Chapel	528
" Buckingham (Villiers) Vault, Henry VII.'s Chapel	531
Original Position of the Coffins in the Buckingham Vault	533
Present Position of the Coffins in the Buckingham Vault	534
Plan of General Monk's Vault, in the North Aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel	535

Explanation of the Types and Signs used in the Plans.

Roman capital letters	<i>indicate</i>	. . .	Royal persons
" smaller ditto	"	. . .	Military and Naval men
" small letters	"	. . .	Literary men
" ditto, with spaces between the letters,			Other famous personages
Italic capital letters	<i>indicate</i>	. . .	Statesmen
" small ditto	"	. . .	Ecclesiastics
o	"	. . .	Monuments
.	"	. . .	Graves

Errata.

- Page 15, line 24, *for* cousin *read* grandnephew
 " 24, " 9, " difficulties *read* difficult
 " 27, " 4, " cousin *read* grandniece
 " 33, " 1, " balancing *read* counterbalancing
 " — 27, " signed *read* written
 " 60, " 10, " Gahelus *read* Gathelus
 " 84, *omit from* 'It is' to 'evaporating'
 " 95, line 24, *for* grandfather *read* uncle
 148, note 1, " Montalembert *read* Monstrelet
 179, note, " commonly *read* erroneously
 208, note 3, " Currington *read* Cunningham
 217, line 2, " parents *read* family
 254, " 3, " Thomson *read* Young
 288, " 17, " York *read* Aston
 291, " 2, " and at *read* and M——. At
 319, note 4, " S. Michael's Church *read* S. Michael's Chapel.
 322, note, " Booter *read* Booker
 337, line 20, " had *read* has
 402, " 22, " rulers *read* rules
 402, " 30 (*read* 'St. Kenhard,' as they call St. Edward—the ceiling, &c.,
 403, " 1 (*and transpose* 'Only—of them,' *and* 'But no Chaucer
 —edifice'
 437, line 28, *for* town *read* crown
 442, " 5, " presence *read* pressure
 447, " 28, *read* 'Robert South, who was amongst Busby's scholars, and li-
 &c.—bring them out'. (transposed from line 22)
 454, " 8, *for* revived *read* required
 456, note " Westmonasteriensis *read* Westmonasterienses
 459, line 27, " Montpelier *read* Montpellier
 462, " 7, *transpose* the words 'they met—authority,' *and* 'and also—
 Whitehall'
 464, " 7, *for* houses *read* house
 567, " 12, " who *read* which
 472, *omit note* 3
 484, note 3, *for* inspecting *read* in speaking
 484, line 28, " and ~~its~~ position *read* its position and

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY. •

The devout King destined to God that place, both for that it was near unto the famous and wealthy city of London, and also had a pleasant situation amongst fruitful fields lying round about it, with the principal river running hard by, bringing in from all parts of the world great variety of wares and merchandise of all sorts to the city adjoining ; but chiefly for the love of the Chief Apostle, whom he revered with a special and singular affection. (*Contemporary Life of Edward the Confessor, in Harleian MSS.*, pp. 980-985.)

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

The special authorities for the physical peculiarities of Westminster are :—

1. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*. London. 1807.
2. Saunders's *Situation and Extent of Westminster*, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. pp. 223–241.
3. Dean Buckland's Sermon (1847) on the reopening of Westminster Abbey, with a Geological Appendix.
4. *History of St. Margaret's, Westminster*, by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott.

For Edward the Confessor :—

1. Life by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, A.D. 1163, derived chiefly from an earlier Life by Osbert, or Osbern of Clare, Prior of Westminster, A.D. 1158.
2. The Four Lives published by Mr. Luard, in the Collection of the Master of the Rolls :
 - (a) *Cambridge MS.* French Poem, dedicated to Eleanor, Queen of Henry III., probably about A.D. 1245.
 - (b) *Oxford MS.* Latin Poem, dedicated to Henry VI., probably between A.D. 1440—1450.
 - (c) *Vatican and Caius Coll. MSS.*, probably in the thirteenth century.All these are founded on Ailred.
- (d) *Harleian MS.*, A.D. 1066—1074 (almost contemporary).

CHAPTER I.

THE FOUNDATION OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

It is said that the line in Heber's 'Palestine' which describes the rise of Solomon's temple originally ran—

‘Like the green grass, the noiseless fabric grew;’

and that, at Sir Walter Scott's suggestion, it was altered to its present form—

‘Like some tall palm, the noiseless fabric sprung.’

Whether we adopt the humbler or the grander image, the comparison of the growth of a fine building to that of a natural product is full of instruction. But the growth of an historical edifice like Westminster Abbey needs a more complex figure to do justice to its formation: a venerable oak, with gnarled and hollow trunk, and spreading roots, and decaying bark, and twisted branches, and green shoots; or a coral reef extending itself with constantly new accretions, creek after creek, and islet after islet. One after another, a fresh nucleus of life is formed, a new combination produced, a larger ramification thrown out. In this respect Westminster Abbey stands alone amongst the buildings of the world. There are, it may be, some which surpass it in beauty or grandeur; there are others, certainly, which surpass it in depth and sublimity of association; but there is none

which has been entwined by so many continuous threads with the history of a whole nation.

Physical
features of
London.

The
Thames.

I. The first origin of Westminster is to be sought in the natural features of its position, which include the origin of London no less. Foremost of these is what to Londoners and Englishmen is, in a deeper and truer sense than was intended by Gray when he used the phrase, our '*Father Thames*:' the River Thames, the largest river in England, here widening to an almost majestic size, yet not too wide for thoroughfare—the direct communication between London and the sea on the one hand, between London and the interior on the other. When roads were bad, when robbers were many, when the forests were still thick, then, far more than now, the Thames was the chief highway of English life, the chief inlet and outlet of English commerce. Here, from the earliest times, the coracles of the British tribes, the galleys of the Roman armies, were moored, and gave to the place the most probable origin of its name—the '*City of Ships*.'

The Thames is the parent of London. The chief river of England has, by a natural consequence, secured for its chief city that supremacy over all the other towns which have at various times claimed to be capitals of England—York, Canterbury, and Winchester. The old historic stream, which gathered on the banks of its upper course Oxford, Eton, Windsor, and Richmond, had already, before the first beginning of those ancient seats of learning and of regal luxury, become, on these its lower banks, the home¹ of England's commerce and of England's power.

The hills
and
streams.

Above the river rose a long range of hills, covered with a vast forest, full of wild deer, wild bulls, and wild boars,² of which the highest points were Hampstead and Highgate. A

¹ Londinium . . . copiâ negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre. (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 33.)

² Fitzstephen. Vita S. Thomæ. Descriptio nobilissimæ civitatis Londoniæ.

desolate moor or fen, marked still by the names of *Finsbury*, *Fenchurch*, and *Moorfields*, which in winter was covered with water and often frozen, occupied the plateau immediately north of the city. As the slope of the hills descended steeply on the *strand* of the river, slight eminences, of stiff clay, broke the ground still more perceptibly. Tower Hill, Corn Hill, and Ludgate Hill remind us that the old London, like all capitals, took advantage of whatever strength was afforded by natural situation: and therefore as we go up to Cornhill, the traditional seat of British chiefs and Roman governors, as we feel the ground swelling under our feet when we begin the ascent from Fleet Street to St. Paul's, or as we see the eminence on which stands the Tower of London, the oldest fortress of our Norman kings, we have before us the reasons which have fixed what is properly called the 'City' of London on its present site.

And yet again, whilst the first dwellers of the land were thus entrenched on their heights by the riverside, they were at once protected and refreshed by the clear swift rivulets which rushed down from the higher hills through the winding valleys intersecting the earthen bulwarks on which the old fastnesses stood. These streams still survive in the depths of the sewers which they cleanse, and in the streets to which they give their names. On the eastern¹ side the Long stream (*Langborne*) of 'sweet water' flowed from the fens (of Fenchurch), and then broke into the 'shares or small 'rills' of *Shareborne* and *Southborne*, by which it reached the Thames. By St. Stephen's, *Walbrook*, probably forming the western boundary of the Roman fortress of London,² there flows the Brook of London Wall—the Wall Brook, which, when swelled by winter floods, rushed with such violence down its gulley that, even in the time of Stow, a young man was swept away by it.³ Holborn Hill takes its name

¹ *Arch.* xxxiii. 110.

² *Ibid.* xxxiii. 104.

³ *Arch.* xxxiii. 104. *Stow's Survey.*
Account of Downe Gate.

from the *Old Bourne*, 'the Ancient River,' which, rising in High Holborn, ran down that steep declivity, and turned the mills at Turnmill (or Turnbull) Street, at the bottom: the River of Wells, as it was sometimes called, from those once consecrated springs which now lie choked and buried in *Clerken Well*, and *Holy Well*, and *St. Clement's Well*—the scene in the Middle Ages of many a sacred and festive pageant which gathered round their green margins. Fleet Ditch and Fleet Street mark the course of the 'Fleet' or 'swift' brook,¹ rising in the breezy slopes of Hampstead. The rivulet of Ulebrig crossed the Strand under the 'Ivy Bridge,'² on its way to the Thames.

Such are the main natural features of London. In recalling them from the graves in which they are now entombed, there is something affecting in the thought that, after all, we are not so far removed from our mother earth as we might have supposed. There is a quaint humour in the fact that the great arteries of our crowded streets, the vast sewers which cleanse our habitations, are fed by the lifeblood of those old and living streams; that underneath our tread the Tyburn, and the Old Bourne, and the Fleet, and the Wall Brook, are still pursuing their ceaseless course, still ministering to the good of man, though in a far different fashion than when Druids drank of their sacred springs, and Saxons were baptized in their rushing waters, ages ago.

Thus much has been necessary to state respecting the origin of London, because without a general view of so near and great a neighbour it is impossible to understand the position of our own home of Westminster.

Here too the mighty river plays an important part, but

¹ In a petition to the Parliament at Carlisle, in 35 Edw. I. (*Rot. Parl.* i. p. 200, No. 59), the Earl of Lincoln stated that in old times ten or twelve ships used often to come up to Fleet

Bridge with merchandise, and some even to Old Bourne Bridge to scour the watercourse.

² *Arch.* xxvi. 227.

with an auxiliary which was wanting in the eastern sweep which has cradled the hills of London. Those steep stiff banks of London clay forbade any intrusion of the Thames beyond his natural shores; but both above and below that point the level ground enabled the river to divide his stream, and embrace within his course numerous islands and islets. Below, we still find the Isle of Dogs and the Isle of Sheep. Above, in like manner, the waters spread irregularly over a long low flat, and enclosed a mass of gravel deposit forming a small island or peninsula. The influx and reflux of the tide, which lower down was said even to have undermined the river-walls of the fortress of London,¹ rushed, it was believed, through what once was Flood Street; and some of our chroniclers fix the scene of Canute's rebuke to his courtiers 'on the banks of the Thames as it ran by the ' Palace of Westminster at flowing tide, and the waves cast ' forth some part of their water towards him, and came up ' to his thighs.'² On the north-east a stream came up by the street thence called Channel (afterwards corrupted into Canon³) Row, through Gardiner's Lane, which was crossed by a ford or a boat till the time of Henry I., whose good Queen built a bridge over it.⁴ On the north this channel spread out into a low marshy creek, now the lake in St. James's Park; and the steepness of the sides of the islet is indicated by the stairs descending into the Park from Duke-street Chapel. At the point where Great George Street enters Birdcage Walk by Storey's Gate, there was a narrow isthmus which connected the island with a similar bed of gravel, reaching under Buckingham Palace to Hyde Park.⁵ Then through

The Island
of Thorns.

¹ Fitzstephen (ut supra). See *Arch.* xxxiii. 116. In the memory of man the vaults of the Treasury buildings were flooded.

² Fabian, p. 229. Knyghton, c. 2325.

³ From its being the residence of the canons of St. Stephen.

⁴ Maitland. *History of London* (1739), p. 730.

⁵ See Appendix to Dean Buckland's Sermon on Westminster Abbey.

Prince's Street (formerly, from this stream, called Long Ditch),¹ another channel began, and continued through Dean Street and College Street, till it fell again into the Thames by Millbank Street, where, in later days, the Abbot's Mill stood on the banks of the stream. The watery waste, which on the south spread over Lambeth and Southwark, on the north was fed by one of those streams which have been already noticed. There descended from Hampstead in a torrent, which has scattered its name right and left along its course, the brook of the Aye or Eye,² so called probably from the Eye (or Island) of which it formed the eastern boundary, and afterwards familiarly corrupted into the *Aye Bourn*, *T'Aye Bourn*, *Tybourne*.³ It is recognised first by the Chapel of St. Mary on its banks, *Mary-le-bourne* (now corrupted into Marylebone)—then by 'Brook' Street. Next, falling in a cascade down 'Aye Hill,'⁴ it ran out through the Green Park; and, whilst a thin stream found its way through what is now called the King's Scholars' Pond Sewer into the Thames, its waters also spread through the morass (which was afterwards called from it the manor of *Eyebury*, or *Ebury*) into the vast Bulinga Fen.⁵

The island (or peninsula) thus enclosed, in common with more than one similar spot, derived its name from its thickets of thorn—Thorn Ey,⁶ the Isle of Thorns—which formed in their jungle a refuge for the wild ox⁷ or huge red deer

¹ The word 'ditch' is used for a brook, as in Kenditch, near Hampstead. The ditch was remembered in 1799. (*Gent. Mag.* lxi. part ii. p. 577.)

² For the whole plan of the manor or plain of *Eye* or *Ela*, containing the course of the brook, see *Arch.* xxvi. 224, 226, 234.

³ Stratford Place marks the site of the banqueting-house attached to the conduits of Tybourne. (*Arch.* xxvi. 226.)

⁴ In the case of *Hay Hill*, as in that

of *Holborn*, the London vulgarism has permanently prefixed the aspirate. The original 'Aye Hill' appears in a charter of Henry VI. in the archives of Eton College.

⁵ Tothill Fields (Vincent Square). (*Arch.* xxvi. 224.)

⁶ Or *Dorney*. (Burton's *London and Westminster*, p. 285.) There was a Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire and in Somersetshire.

⁷ The bones of such an ox (*Bos*

with towering antlers, that strayed into it from the neighbouring hills. This spot, thus entrenched, marsh within marsh and forest within forest, was indeed *locus terribilis*,¹ 'the terrible place,' as it was called in the first notices of its existence; yet even thus early it presented several points of attraction to the founder of whatever was the original building which was to redeem it from the wilderness. It had the advantages of a Thebaid, as contrasted with the stir and tumult of the neighbouring fortress of London. And, on the other hand, the river, then swarming with fish,² was close by to feed the colony; the gravel soil and the close fine sand, still dug up under the floor of the Abbey and in St. Margaret's Churchyard, was necessarily healthy; and in the centre of the thickets, there bubbled up at least one spring, perhaps two, which gave them water clear and pure, supplied by the percolation of the rain-water from the gravel beds of Hyde Park and the Palace Gardens through the isthmus, when the river was too turbid to drink.³ It has been said, with a happy paradox, that no local traditions are so durable as those which are 'writ in water.'⁴ So it is here. In the green of Dean's Yard there stands a well-worn pump. The spring,⁵ which, till quite recently, supplied it, was the vivifying centre of all that has sprung up around.

The
spring.

II. These were the original elements of the greatness of Westminster, and such was the Isle of Thorns. On like islands arose the cathedral and town of Ely, the Abbey of Croyland, and the Abbey of Glastonbury. On such another

Legendary
origin.

primitivus) were discovered under the foundations of the Victoria Tower, and red deer, with very fine antlers, below the River Terrace. I derive this from Professor Owen.

¹ 'In loco terribili' is the phrase used by Offa in the first authentic charter, and repeated in Edgar's (Widmore's *Inquiry*, pp. 14, 15; Kemble,

Codex Anglo-Saxonicus, § 149).

² *Fluvius maximus, piscosus*. (Fitzstephen. *Vita Sancti Thomæ*. Desc. civ. Lond.)

³ See Appendix to Dean Buckland's Sermon.

⁴ Clark's *Peloponnesus*, p. 286.

⁵ There is also another in St. Margaret's Churchyard.

Temple of
Apollo.

Church of
Lucius.

grew up a still more exact parallel—Notre Dame at Paris, with the palace of the kings close by. What was the first settlement in those thorny shades, amidst those watery wastes, beside that rushing spring, it is impossible to decypher. The monastic traditions maintained that the earliest building had been a Temple of Apollo, shaken down by an earthquake in the year A.D. 154. But this is probably no more than the attempt to outshine the rival cathedral of St. Paul's, by endeavouring to counterbalance the dubious claims of the Temple of Diana¹ by a still more dubious assertion of the claims of the temple of her brother the Sun God.² Next comes the legend of King Lucius, founder of the originals of so many of the English churches—St. Peter's Cornhill, Gloucester, Canterbury, Dover, Bangor, Glastonbury, Cambridge, Winchester. He it was who was said to have converted the two London temples into churches.³ Of him, too, the story is told how the British king deserted his throne to become a Swiss bishop at Coire in the Grisons, where in the cathédral are shown his relics, with those of his sister Emerita; and high in the woods above the town emerges a rocky pulpit, still bearing the marks of his fingers, from which he preached to the inhabitants of the valleys, in a voice so clear and loud, that it could be heard on the Luciensteig (the Pass of Lucius), twelve miles off.

The clouds which hang so thick over the Temple of Apollo

¹ The story of the Temple of Diana at St. Paul's was supposed to be supported by the discovery of a vast number of ox-heads (*qu. deer*, like those found in Westminster?) in the reign of Edward I., and by the practice of receiving a buck as an offering at the cathedral, as also by the fact that there was a building near St. Paul's called *Camera Dianæ*. (Camden, *Britannia*, iv. 81.)

² Letter of Sir Christopher Wren.

(*Life*, App. xxix. p. 105.) The two main British divinities were so called by the Romans, and Apollo is said to have been *Belin*,—according to one version the origin of *Billingsgate*. (See Fuller's *Church Hist.* i. § 2.)

³ Westminster alone is ascribed to him in Brompton. (Twysden, c. 724.) For his establishment of the Sanctuary here, see Abbot Feckenham's speech, A.D. 1555, quoted in Chapter V.

and the Church of Lucius are only so far removed when we reach the time of Sebert,¹ as that in him we arrive at an unquestionably historical personage, if indeed the Sebert to whom the foundation of the Abbey is ascribed be the king of that name in Essex, and not, as another writer represents, a private citizen of London.² But Bede's entire omission of Westminster in his account³ of Sebert's connection with St. Paul's throws a doubt over the whole story, and the introduction of the name in relation to Westminster may be only another attempt of the Westminster monks to redress their balance against St. Paul's.

A.D. 616.
Church of
Sebert.

Still the tradition afterwards appeared in so substantial a form, that Sebert's grave has never ceased to be shown in the Abbey from the time of the erection of the present building. Originally it would seem to have been inside the church. Then, during the repairs of Henry III., the remains were deposited on the south side of the entrance to the Chapter House,⁴ and subsequently, in the reign of Edward II., removed to the Choir,⁵ where they occupy a position analogous to that of Dagobert the founder of St. Denys. A figure, supposed to be that of Sebert, is painted over it.⁶ The same tradition that records his burial in the Chapter House adds to his remains those of his wife Ethelgoda and his sister Ricula.⁷

Grave of
Sebert.

The gradual formation of a monastic body, indicated in

¹ 'Our father Saba,' as his wild sons used to call him, when they envied the fragments of 'white bread,' which they saw the bishop give him in the Eucharist. (Bede, ii. 5.)

² Sulcard, in Cotton. MSS. Faustina, B. iii., f. 12, in marg.; Higden, p. 228; Thorn. Twysden, c. 1768.

³ Bede, ii. 3.

⁴ Flete MS.

⁵ Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, p. 456. See the Epitaph in Ackermann, i. 83. His right arm was supposed to be still undecayed, with the

skin clinging to the bone, A.D. 1307. (Walsingham, i. 114. Rishanger, p. 425.)

⁶ A sarcophagus of Purbeck marble was found under the canopy, in 1866, when the modern structure on the northern side was removed, which had been erected by Dean Ireland. See an elaborate description in *Gent. Mag.* xcv. pt. ii. p. 306.

⁷ His mother, according to Bede (ii. 3), sister to Ethelbert. See Chapters III. and V.

Founda-
tion of
Edgar.

the charters of Offa and Edgar, was part of the spread of the Benedictine Order throughout England in the latter reign, under the influence of Dunstan.¹ The 'terror' of the spot, which had still been its chief characteristic in the charter of the wild Offa, had in the days of the more peaceful Edgar given way to a dubious 'renown.' Twelve monks is the number traditionally said to have been established by Dunstan.² A few acres near Staines formed their chief property, and their monastic character was sufficiently recognised to have given to the old locality of the 'terrible place,' the name of the 'Western Monastery,' or 'Minster of the West.'³ But this seems to have been overrun by the Danes, and it would have had no further history but for the combination of circumstances which directed hither the notice of Edward the Confessor.

Historical
origin.

III. It has been truly remarked, that there is a striking difference between the origin of Pagan temples and of Christian churches. 'The Pagan temples were always the public works of nations and of communities. They were national buildings, dedicated to national purposes. The mediæval churches, on the other hand, were the erections of individuals, monuments of personal piety, tokens of the hope of a personal reward.'⁴ This can hardly be said of the Southern countries of Europe, where, as at Venice and Florence, the chief churches were due to the munificence of the State. But in England it is true even of the one ecclesiastical building which is most especially national—the gift not of private individuals, but of kings. Westminster Abbey is, in its origin, the monument not merely of the

¹ William of Malmesbury. *De Gest. Reg. Angl.* (Hardy), i. 237, 240, 247; and *De Gest. Pont. Angl.* (Savile, *Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 202.)

² Diceto. *Twysden*, c. 456.

³ Charter of Offa (Abbey Archives, *Charters*, No. 3), 'loco terribili quod

'dicituræt Westmunster.' Charter of Edgar (*Ibid.*, *Charters*, No. 5), 'nominatissimo loco qui dicitur Westmynster.'

⁴ Merivale's Boyle Lectures, *Conversion of the Northern Nations*, p. 122.

personal piety, but of the personal character and circumstances of its Founder.

We know the Confessor well from the descriptions preserved by his contemporaries. His appearance was such as no one could forget. It was almost that of an Albino. His full-flushed rose-red cheeks strangely contrasted with the milky whiteness of his waving hair and beard. His eyes were always fixed on the ground. There was a kind of magical charm in his thin white hands and his long transparent fingers, which not unnaturally led to the belief that there resided in them a healing power of stroking away the diseases of his subjects.¹ His manners presented a singular mixture of gravity and levity. Usually affable and gentle, so as to make even a refusal look like an acceptance, he burst forth at times into a fury which showed that the old Berserkir rage was not dead within him.² ‘By God and His mother, I will give you just such another turn if ever it come in my way!’ was the utterance of what was thought by his biographers a very mild expression of his noble indignation against a peasant who interfered with the pleasure of his chase.³ Austere as were his habits—old even as a child⁴—he startled his courtiers sometimes by peals of boisterous laughter, for which they or he could only account by some curious vision⁵ which had passed across his mind without their knowledge. His time was almost equally divided between devotional exercises and hunting. He would spend hours in church, and then again days together in hawking and cheering on his hounds.

Edward the Confessor. His outward appearance.

There was a recklessness and hardness in his behaviour towards those to whom he was most bound. He was harsh to his mother. His strange alienation from his wife, even in that

His character.

¹ Longis interlucentibus digitis. (Harleian Life, 240.)

² Ibid. 255.

³ William of Malmesbury, ii. 13.

⁴ Ailred of Rievaulx, c. 373.

⁵ As when he saw in a trance the shipwreck of the King of Denmark, or the movements of the Seven Sleepers.

fantastic age, was thought extremely questionable.¹ His good faith was not unimpeachable. 'There was nothing,' it was said, 'that he would not promise from the exigency of the time. He pledged his faith on both sides, and confirmed 'by oath anything that was demanded of him.'² A childish kindness towards the poor and suffering made them look upon him as their natural protector. The unreasoning benevolence which, in a modern French romance, appears as an extravagance of an unworldly bishop, was literally ascribed to the Confessor in a popular legend, of which the representation was depicted on the tapestries that once hung round the Choir, and may still be seen in one of the compartments of the screen of his shrine.³ The King was reposing after the labours of the day. His chamberlain, Hugolin, had opened the chest of the royal monies to pay the servants of the palace. The scullion crept in to avail himself, as he supposed, of the King's sleep, and carried off the remains of the treasure. At his third entrance Edward started up, and warned him to fly before the return of Hugolin ('He will 'not leave you even a halfpenny'); and to the remonstrances of Hugolin answered, 'The thief hath more need of it than 'we—enough treasure hath King Edward!'⁴

The last of
the
Saxons.

Another peculiar combination marks his place equally in the history of England and in the foundation of the Abbey. He was the last of the Saxons,—the last of those concerned in the long struggle against the Danes. As time went on, the national feeling transfigured him almost into a Saxon Arthur.⁵ In him was personified all the hatred with which the Anglo-Saxon Christians regarded the Pagan Danes.

¹ Harleian Life, 480-495.

² William of Malmesbury, ii. 13. Harleian Life, 875-890.

³ The screen is of the time of Henry VI., but it represents faithfully the legends of the twelfth century. It

should be observed that none of them occur in the contemporary Life of the eleventh century.

⁴ Cambridge Life, 1000-1040.

⁵ See the comparison in the Cambridge Life, 900-910.

His exile to escape from their tyranny raised him at once to the rank of 'Confessor,' as Edmund the East Angles, by his death in battle with them, had been in like manner raised to the rank of 'Martyr.' A curious legend represents that, on entering his treasury, he saw a black demon dancing on the casks¹ which contained the gold extracted from his subjects to pay the obnoxious tax to the Danes, and how in consequence the Danegelt was for ever abolished.

He was also the first of the Normans. His reign is the earliest link which reunites England to the Continent of Europe. Hardly since the invasion of Cæsar—certainly not since the arrival of Augustine—had such an influx of new ideas poured into our insular commonwealth as came with Edward from his Norman exile. His mother Emma and his maternal grandfather Richard were more to him than his father Ethelred; the Norman clergy and monks, than the rude Anglo-Saxon hierarchy. His long hair and beard, distinguishing his appearance from that of the shorn and shaven heads of his Norman kinsman, were almost the only outward marks of his Saxon origin. The French handwriting superseded in his court the old Anglo-Saxon characters;² the French seals, under his auspices, became the type of the sign-manual of England for centuries.³ From him the Norman civilisation spread not only into England, but into Scotland. His cousin, Edgar Atheling, was the Father of the Scottish Lowlands.

The first
of the
Normans.

These were the qualities and circumstances which went to make up the Founder of Westminster Abbey. We have now to ask, what special motive induced the selection of this particular site and object for his devotion?

Founda-
tion of the
Abbey.

¹ The casks are represented in the frieze of the screen. They were the usual mediæval mode of keeping money, as appears from the story of

Wolsey and the Jester.

² Lappenberg (Thorpe), ii. 246.

³ Palgrave's *History of England* p. 328.

Consecra-
tion of
Rheims.

Meadows
of Thor-
ney.

The Con-
fessor's
devotion
to St. Pe-
ter.

His vow.

The idea of a regal Abbey on a hitherto unexampled scale may have been suggested or strengthened by the accounts brought back to him of the consecration of the cathedral of Rheims, where his envoys were present.¹ By this time also the wilderness of Thorney was cleared; and the crowded river, with its green meadows, and the sunny aspect of the island,² may have had a charm for the King, whose choice had hitherto lain in the rustic fields of Islip and Windsor.

But the prevailing motive was of a more peculiar kind, belonging to times long since passed away. In that age, as still amongst some classes in Roman Catholic countries, religious sentiment took the form of special devotion to this or that particular saint. Amongst Edward's favourites St. Peter was chief.³ On his protection, whilst in Normandy, when casting about for help, the exiled Prince had thrown himself, and vowed that, if he returned in safety, he would make a pilgrimage to the Apostle's grave at Rome. This vow was, it is said, further impressed on his mind by the arrival of a messenger from England, almost immediately afterwards, with the announcement of the departure of the Danes, and of his own election as King.⁴ It was yet further confirmed by a vision, real or feigned, of Brithwold Bishop of Winchester, at Glastonbury,⁵ in which St. Peter, the patron saint of Winchester Cathedral, appeared to him, and announced that the Bishop himself should crown a youth, whom the saint dearly loved, to be King of England.⁶

Accordingly, when Edward came to the throne, he announced to his Great Council his intention of fulfilling his vow. The proposal was received with horror by nobles and people. It was met both by constitutional objections, and on

¹ *Saxon Chronicle*, 1049.

² The combination of motives is well given in the contemporary Life. (Harleian MS. 980—985.)

³ The church of the Confessor's residence at Old Windsor is dedicated

to St. Peter, and the site of his palace is thence called Peter's Hill.

⁴ Cambridge Life, 780—825.

⁵ Ailred, 373.

⁶ Cambridge Life, 640—700.

the ground of the dangers of the expedition. The King could not leave the kingdom without the consent of the Commons; he could not undertake such a journey without encountering the most formidable perils—‘the roads, the sea, the mountains, the valleys, ambuscades at the bridges and the fords,’ and most of all ‘the felon Romans, who seek nothing but ‘gain and gifts.’ ‘The red gold and the white silver they ‘covet as a leech covets blood.’¹ The King at last gave way, on the suggestion that a deputation might be sent to the Pope, who might release him from his vow. The deputation went. The release came, on the condition that he should found or restore a monastery of St. Peter, of which the King should be the especial patron. It was, in fact, to be a pilgrimage by proxy, such as has sometimes been performed by traversing at home the same number of miles that would be travelled on the way to Palestine²; sometimes by sending the heart after death,³ to perform what the living had been unable to accomplish in person.

Where, then, was a monastery of St. Peter to be found which could meet this requirement? It might possibly have been that at Winchester. Perhaps in this hope the story of Bishop Brithwold’s vision was revived. But there was also the little ‘minster,’ west of London, near which the King from time to time resided, and of which his friend Edwin,⁴ the courtier abbot, was head. It had, as far back as memory extended, been dedicated to St. Peter. A Welsh legend of later times maintained that it was at ‘Lampeter,’ ‘the church of Peter,’ that the Apostle saw the vision in which he was warned that he must shortly ‘put off his earthly tabernacle.’⁵ If the original foundation of the Abbey can be traced back to Sebert, the

Connexion
of the
Abbey
with the
name of
St. Peter.

¹ Cambridge Life, p. 222. The various dangers of the journey to Rome are well given in William of Malmesbury (ii. 13).

² As in the case of the late King of Saxony.

³ As in the case of Edward I. of England, and Robert the Bruce and James I. of Scotland.

⁴ See Chapter V.

⁵ 2 Pet. i. 14. (I cannot recover the reference to this legend.)

name, probably, must have been given in recollection of the great Roman sanctuary, whence Augustine, the first missionary, had come.¹ And Sebert was believed to have dedicated his church to St. Peter in the Isle of Thorns, in order to balance the compliment he had paid to St. Paul on Ludgate Hill:² a reappearance, in another form, of the counterbalancing claims of the rights of Diana and Apollo—the earliest stage of that rivalry which afterwards expressed itself in the proverb of ‘robbing Peter to pay Paul.’³

This thin thread of tradition, which connected the ruinous pile in the river-island with the Roman reminiscences of Augustine, was twisted firm and fast round the resolve of Edward; and by the concentration of his mind⁴ on this one object, was raised the first distinct idea of an Abbey, which the Kings of England should regard as their peculiar treasure.

There are, probably, but few Englishmen now who care to know that the full title of Westminster Abbey is the ‘Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter.’ But at the time of its first foundation, and long afterwards, the whole neighbourhood and the whole story of the foundation breathed of nothing else but the name, which was itself a reality. ‘The soil of St. Peter’ was a recognised legal phrase. The name of Peter’s ‘Eye,’ or ‘Island,’⁵ which still lingers in the low land of Battersea, came by virtue of its connexion with the Chapter of Westminster.⁶ Anyone who infringed the charter of the Abbey would, it was declared, be specially condemned by St. Peter when he sits on his throne judging the twelve tribes of Israel.⁷ Of the Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster,

¹ See *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 11.

² Ailred, c. 384.

³ See Chapter VI.

⁴ Dagobert, in like manner, had a peculiar veneration for St. Denys.

⁵ Smith’s *Antiquities*, p. 34.

⁶ The ‘Cock’ in Tothill Street,

where the workmen of the Abbey received their pay, was probably from the cock of St. Peter. A black marble statue of St. Peter is said to lie at the bottom of the well under the pump in Prince’s Street. (Walcott, 73, 280.)

⁷ Pope Nicholas’s Letter, Kemble (*Codex*), § 825.

as of the more celebrated basilica of St. Peter at Rome, it may be said that ‘super hanc *Petram*’ the Church of Westminster has been built.

Round the undoubted fact that this devotion to St. Peter was Edward’s prevailing motive, gathered, during his own lifetime or immediately after, the various legends which give it form and shape in connexion with the special peculiarities of the Abbey.

There was in the neighbourhood of Worcester, ‘far from men in the wilderness, on the slope of a wood, in a cave, deep down in the grey rock,’ a holy hermit ‘of great age, living on fruits and roots.’ One night, when, after reading in the Scriptures ‘how hard are the pains of hell, and how the enduring life of Heaven is sweet and to be desired,’ he could neither sleep nor repose, St. Peter appeared to him, ‘bright and beautiful, like to a clerk,’ and warned him to tell the King that he was released from his vow; that on that very day his messengers would return from Rome; that ‘at Thorney, two leagues from the city,’ was the spot marked out where, in an ancient church, ‘situated low,’ he was to establish a Benedictine monastery, which should be ‘the gate of heaven, the ladder of prayer, whence those who serve St. Peter there shall by him be admitted into Paradise.’ The hermit writes the account of the vision on parchment, seals it with wax, and brings it to the King, who compares it with the answer of the messengers just arrived from Rome, and determines on carrying out the design as the Apostle had ordered.¹

Legend of the Hermit of Worcester.

Another legend,² still more precise, developed the attractions of the spot still further. In the vision to the Worcestershire

Legend of Edric.

¹ Cambridge Life, 1740; Oxford Life, 270.

² That this story was not in existence before the Confessor’s reign, appears from its absence in the original charter of Edgar (Widmore’s *Inquiry*, p. 22).

The first trace of it is the allusion in the Confessor’s charters, if genuine (Kemble, vol. iv. §§ 824–6). It does not appear in the contemporary Harleian Life, but is fully developed in Sulcard and Ailred.

Legend of
Edric the
fisherman.

hermit, St. Peter was reported to have said that he had consecrated the church at Thorney with his own hands. How this came to pass was now circulated in versions slightly varying from each other, but of which the main features agreed. It was on a certain Sunday night in the reign of King Sebert, the eve of the day fixed by Mellitus, first Bishop of London, for the consecration of the original monastery in the Isle of Thorns, that a fisherman of the name of Edric was casting his nets from the shore of the island into the Thames.¹ On the other side of the river, where Lambeth now stands, a bright light attracted his notice. He crossed, and found there a venerable personage, in foreign attire, calling for some one to ferry him over the dark stream. Edric consented. The stranger landed, and proceeded at once to the church, standing ready for its impending consecration. The air suddenly became bright with a celestial splendour. The building stood out clear, 'without darkness or shadow.' A host of angels, descending and reascending, with sweet odours and flaming candles, assisted, and the church was dedicated with the usual solemnities. The fisherman remained in his boat, so awestruck by the sight, that when the mysterious visitant returned and asked for food, he was obliged to reply that he had caught not a single fish. Then the stranger revealed his name: 'I am Peter, keeper of the keys of heaven. When Mellitus arrives to-morrow, tell him what you have seen; and show him the token that I, St. Peter, have consecrated my own Church of St. Peter, Westminster, and have anticipated the Bishop of London.'² For yourself, go out into the river; you will catch a plentiful supply of fish, whereof the larger part shall be salmon. This I have granted on two conditions—first, that you never fish again on Sundays; secondly, that you pay a tithe of them to the Abbey of Westminster.'

¹ Cambridge Life, 2060; Sulcard in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 289.

sanctificationis auctoritate præveni.' (Ailred, cc. 385, 386. Sporley in Dugdale, i. 288.)

² 'Episcopalem benedictionem meæ

The next day, at dawn, 'the Bishop Mellitus rises, and 'begins to prepare the anointing oils and the utensils for 'the great dedication.' He, with the king, arrives at the appointed hour. At the door they are met by Edric with the salmon in his hand, which he presents 'from St. Peter 'in a gentle manner to the bishop.' He then proceeds to point out the marks 'of the twelve crosses on the church, the 'walls within and without moistened with holy water, the 'letters of the Greek alphabet 'written twice over distinctly 'on the sand' of the now sacred island, 'the traces of the oil, 'and (chiefest of the miracles) the droppings of the angelic 'candles.' The Bishop professed himself entirely convinced, and returned from the church, 'satisfied that the dedication had 'been performed sufficiently, better, and in a more saintly 'fashion than a hundred such as he could have done.'

The story is one which has its counterparts in other churches. The dedication of Einsiedlen, in Switzerland, was ascribed to the work of angels. The dedication of the Chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathæa at Glastonbury was ascribed to Christ Himself, who appeared to warn off St. David, as St. Peter at Westminster did Mellitus. St. Nicholas claimed to have received his restored pall, and St. Denys the sacraments of the Church, from the same source, and not from any episcopal or priestly hands. All these legends have in common the merit of containing a lurking protest against the necessity of external benediction for things or persons sacred by their own intrinsic virtue—a covert declaration of the great catholic principle (to use Hooker's words) that 'God's grace is not tied 'to outward forms.' But the Westminster tradition possesses, besides, the peculiar charm of the local colouring of the scene, and betrays the peculiar motives whence it arose. We are carried back by it to the times when the wild Thames, with its fishermen and its salmon, was still an essential feature of the neighbourhood of the Abbey. We see in it the importance attached to the name of the Apostle. We see also the union

of innocent fiction with worldly craft, which marks so many legends both of Pagan and Christian times.¹ It represents the earliest protest of the Abbots of Westminster against the jurisdiction of the Bishops of London. It was recited by them long afterwards as the solid foundation of the inviolable right of sanctuary in Westminster.² It contains the claim established by them on the tithe of the Thames fisheries from Gravesend to Staines. A lawsuit was successfully carried by the Convent of Westminster against the Rector of Rotherhithe, in 1282, on the ground that St. Peter had granted the first haul.³ The parish clergy, however, struggled against the claim, and the monastic historian Flete, in the gradually increasing scarcity of salmon, saw a Divine judgment on the fishermen for not having complied with St. Peter's request. Once a year, as late as 1382, one of the fishermen, as representative of Edric, took his place beside the Prior at the high table of the Refectory, and received ale and bread from the cellarer in return for the fish's tail.⁴

Legend
of the
Cripple.

The little Church or Chapel of St. Peter, thus dignified by the stories of its first origin, was further believed to have been specially endeared to Edward by two miracles, reported to have occurred within it in his own lifetime. The first was the cure of a crippled Irishman, Michael, who sate in the road between the Palace and 'the Chapel of St. Peter, which was 'near,' and who explained to the inexorable Hugolin that, after six pilgrimages to Rome in vain, St. Peter had promised his cure if the King would, on his own royal neck, carry him to the monastery. The King immediately consented; and, amidst the scoffs of the Court, bore the poor man to the steps of the High Altar. There he was received by Godric the sacristan, and walked away on his own restored feet, hanging his stool on the wall for a trophy.⁵

¹ See *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, p. 80.

² See Chapter V.

³ See Neale, p. 6.

⁴ Pennant's *London*, p. 57.

⁵ Cambridge Life, 1920-2020.

Before that same High Altar was also believed to have been seen one of the Eucharistical portents, so frequent in the Middle Ages. A child, 'pure and bright like a spirit,' appeared to the King in the sacramental elements.¹ Leofric Earl of Coventry, who, with his famous countess Godiva, was present, saw it also. The King imposed secrecy upon them during his life. The Earl confided the secret to a holy man at Worcester (perhaps the hermit before mentioned), who placed the account of it in a chest, which, after all concerned were dead, opened of itself and revealed the sacred deposit.

Legend
of the
Sacrament.

Such as these were the motives of Edward. Under their influence was fixed what has ever since been the local centre of the English monarchy and nation—of the Palace and the Legislature no less than of the Abbey.

There had, no doubt, already existed, by the side of the Thames, an occasional resort of the English Kings. But the Roman fortress in London, or the Saxon city of Winchester, had been hitherto their usual abode. Edward himself had formerly spent his time chiefly at his birthplace, Islip, or at the rude palace on the rising ground, still marked by various antique remains, above 'Old Windsor.'² But now, for the sake of superintending the new Church at Westminster, he lived, more than any previous king, in the regal residence (which he in great part rebuilt) close beside it. The Abbey and the Palace grew together, and into each other, in the closest union; just as in Scotland, a few years later, Dumfermline Palace sprang up by Dumfermline Abbey, and, yet later again, Holyrood Abbey—first within the Castle of Edinburgh, and then on its present site—by Holyrood Palace.

Palace
of West-
minster.

'The Chamber of St. Edward,' as it was called from him, or 'the Painted Chamber,' from its subsequent decorations,

¹ Cambridge Life, 2515-55. It is represented on the screen of the Confessor's chapel.

² Runny-Mede, 'the meadow of

assemblies,' seems to derive its name and its original association from this neighbourhood of the royal residence.

was the kernél of the Palace of Westminster. This was the 'Old Palace,' as distinguished from the 'New Palace' of William Rufus, of which the only vestige is the Hall, looking out on what, from its novelty at that time, was called the 'New Palace Yard,'—as the open space, before what were the Confessor's buildings, is still known as 'Old Palace Yard.'

Journey to
Rome.

The privileges¹ which the King was anxious to obtain for the new institution were in proportion to the magnificence of his design, and the difficulties encountered for this purpose is a proof of the King's eagerness to obtain them. As always in such cases, it was necessary to procure the confirmation of them from the Pope. The journey to Rome was, in those troubled times, a serious affair. The deputation consisted of Alred,² who had lately been translated from Worcester to York; the King's two chaplains, Gyso and Walter; Tosti and Gurth, the King's brothers-in-law; and Guy, kinsman of the Confessor and companion of Tosti. Some of the laymen had taken this opportunity to make their pilgrimage to the graves of the Apostles. The Archbishop of York had also his own private ends to serve—the grant of the pall for York, and a dispensation to retain the see of Worcester. The Pope refused his request, on the not unreasonable ground that the two sees should not be held together. Tosti was furious on behalf of his friend Alred, but could not gain his point. On their return they were attacked by a band of robbers at Sutri, a spot still dangerous for the same reason. Some of the party were stripped to the skin—amongst them the Archbishop of York.³ Tosti was saved only by the magnificent appearance of Guy, who rode before, and misled the robbers into the belief that he was the powerful Earl.⁴

¹ Cambridge Life, 2325. Kemble, §§ 824, 825. See Chapter V. The exact statement of these privileges depends on the genuineness of the charters, but their general outline is unquestionable.

² Harleian Life, 755–80.

³ Stubbs, c. 1702. William of Malmesbury in *Life of Wulfstan*, pt. II. c. 10. (*Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. 250.)

⁴ Harleian Life, 770.

Meanwhile Tosti returned to Rome, in a state of fierce indignation, and, with his well-known ‘adamantine obstinacy,’ declared that he would take measures for stopping Peter’s-pence from England, by making it known that the Pope, whose claims were so formidable abroad, was in the hands of robbers at home.¹ With this threat (so often repeated in every form and tone since) he carried the suit of his friend; and the deputation returned, not only with the privileges of Westminster, but with the questionable confirmation of Alred’s questionable demands.

The Abbey had been fifteen years in building. The King had spent upon it one-tenth of the property of the kingdom. It was to be a marvel of its kind. As in its origin it bore the traces of the fantastic childish character of the King and of the age, in its architecture it bore the stamp of the peculiar position which Edward occupied in English history between Saxon and Norman. By birth he was a Saxon, but in all else he was a foreigner. Accordingly, the Church at Westminster was a wide sweeping innovation on all that had been seen before.² ‘Destroying the old building,’ he says in his Charter, ‘I have built up a new one from the ‘very foundation.’³ Its fame as ‘a new style’ of composition’ lingered in the minds of men for generations. It was the first cruciform church in England, from which all the rest of like shape were copied—an expression of the increasing hold

Building of
the Abbey.

¹ Brompton, c. 952; Knyghton, c. 2336.

² The collegiate church of Waltham, which was founded by Harold in A.D. 1060, must have been the nearest approach to this. But whatever view is taken of the present structure of the church at Waltham, it was considerably smaller than the Abbey. The proof of the size of the Confessor’s church rests on the facts—1. That the Lady Chapel of Henry III. must have abutted on the east end of the old choir

as of the present; 2. That the cloisters occupied the same relative position, as may be seen from the existing substructures; 3. That the pillars, as excavated in the choir in the repairs of 1866, stand at the same distance from each other as the present pillars. The nave of the church and the chapel of St. Catherine must have been finished under Henry I., the south cloister under William Rufus.

³ Kemble, No. 824, iv. 176.

⁴ Matthew Paris, p. 2.

which the idea of the Crucifixion in the tenth century had laid on the imagination of Europe.¹ Its massive roof and pillars formed a contrast with the rude wooden rafters and beams of the common Saxon churches. Its very size—occupying, as it did, almost the whole area of the present building—was in itself portentous. The deep foundations, of large square blocks of grey stone, were duly laid. The east end was rounded into an apse. A tower rose in the centre and two at the western point, with five large bells. The hard strong stones were richly sculptured. The windows were filled with stained glass. The roof was covered with lead. The cloisters, chapter-house, refectory, dormitory, infirmary, with its spacious chapel,² if not completed by Edward, were all begun, and finished in the next generation on the same plan. This structure, venerable as it would be if it had lasted to our time, has almost entirely vanished. Possibly one vast dark arch in the southern transept—certainly the substructures of the dormitory, with their huge pillars, ‘grand and ‘regal at the bases and capitals’³—the massive low-browed passage, leading from the great cloister to Little Dean’s Yard—and some portions of the refectory and of the infirmary chapel, remain as specimens of the work which astonished the last age of the Anglo-Saxon and the first age of the Norman monarchy.⁴

The institution was made as new as the building. Abbot Edwin remained; but a large body of monks was imported from Crediton,⁵ coincidently with the removal of the see of that place to Exeter in the person of the King’s friend Leofwin. A small chapel, dedicated to St. Margaret, which stood on the north side of the present Abbey,⁶ is said to have been pulled down; and a new church, bearing the

¹ Milman’s *History of Latin Christianity*, vi. 507.

² Cambridge Life, 2270–2310.

³ Ibid. 2300.

⁴ See *Gleanings of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 3, 4.

⁵ Cambridge Life, 2390; Oxford Life, 381.

⁶ Ackermann, i. 86–87.

same name, was built on the site of the present Church of St. Margaret.¹ The affection entertained for the martyr-saint of Antioch by the House of Cerdic appears in the continuation of her name in Edward's cousin, Margaret of Scotland.

The end of the Confessor was now at hand. Two legends mark its approach. The first is as follows. It was at Easter.² He was sitting in his gold-embroidered robe, and solemnly crowned, in the midst of his courtiers, who were voraciously devouring their food after the long abstinence of Lent. On a sudden he sank into a deep abstraction. Then came one of his curious laughs,³ and again his rapt meditation. He retired into his chamber, and was followed by Duke Harold, the Archbishop, and the Abbot of Westminster.⁴ To them he confided his vision. He had seen the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus suddenly turn from their right sides to their left, and recognised in this omen the sign of war, famine, and pestilence for the coming seventy years, during which the Sleepers were to lie in their new position. Immediately on hearing this, the Duke despatched a knight, the Archbishop, a bishop, the Abbot, and a monk, to the Emperor of Constantinople.⁵ To Mount Celion under his guidance they went, and there found the Seven Sleepers as the King had seen them. The proof of this portent at once confirmed the King's prevision, and received its own confirmation in the violent convulsions which disturbed the close of the eleventh century.

Legend of
the Seven
Sleepers.

The other legend has a more personal character. The King was on his way to the dedication of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist.⁶ As Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, was the

Legend of
the
Pilgrim.

¹ Widmore, p. 12. Compare the same process at Pershore and Norwich.

² William of Malmesbury, ii. 13.

³ Ailred, c. 395.

⁴ Who the prelate and the abbot were is not directly stated; but it can hardly be doubted that these were intended.

⁵ Oxford Life, 409. Their journey is represented in the screen.

⁶ No vestiges of this building or of its site now exist. In memory of it, doubtless, was in the last century erected the church, and formed the parish, of St. John's, Westminster.

saint before whom the Confessor trembled with a mysterious awe, John, the Apostle of Love, was the saint whom he venerated with a familiar tenderness.¹ A beggar implored him, for the love of St. John, to bestow alms upon him. Hugolin was not to be found. In the chest there was no gold or silver. The King remained in silent thought, and then drew off from his hand a ring, 'large, royal, and beautiful,' which he gave to the beggar, who vanished. Two English pilgrims, from the town of Ludlow,² shortly afterwards found themselves benighted in Syria; when suddenly the path was lighted up, and an old man, white and hoary, preceded by two tapers, accosted them. They told him of their country and their saintly King, on which the old man, 'joyously like to a clerk,' guided them to a hostelry, and announced that he was John the Evangelist, the special friend of Edward; and gave them the ring to carry back, with the warning that in six months the King should be with him in Paradise. The pilgrims returned. They found the King at his palace in Essex, said to be called from this incident *Haivering atte Bower*, and with a church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. He acknowledged the ring, and prepared for his end accordingly.³

Dedication
of the
Abbey.

The long-expected day of the dedication of the Abbey at last arrived. 'At Midwinter,' says the Saxon Chronicle, 'King Edward came to Westminster, and had the minster there consecrated, which he had himself built, to the honour of God and St. Peter, and all God's saints.' It was at Christmas-time (when, as usual at that age, the Court

¹ Ailred, c. 397.

² Hence the representation of the story in the painted windows of St. Lawrence's Church at Ludlow.

³ Cambridge Life, 3455-3590; Oxford Life, 410-40. The story is one of those which attached to St. John, from the old belief (John xxi. 23) that he was not dead, but sleeping. Com-

pare his apparition to James IV. at Linlithgow. It occupies two compartments on the screen, and is also to be seen on the tiles of the chapter-house floor. (See *Archæol.* xxix. 39.) From the time of Henry III. a figure of St. John, as the pilgrim, stood by the Confessor's shrine.

assembled), that the dedication so eagerly desired was to be accomplished. On Christmas Day he appeared, according to custom, wearing his royal crown;¹ but on Christmas night, his strength, prematurely exhausted, suddenly gave way. The mortal illness, long anticipated, set in. He struggled, however, through the three next days, even appearing, with his occasional bursts of hilarity, in the stately banquets with the bishops and nobles. On St. John's Day he grew so rapidly worse, that he gave orders for the solemnity to be fixed for the morrow.² On the morning of that morrow (Wednesday, the Feast of the Holy Innocents, Childermas³) he roused himself sufficiently to sign the charter of the Foundation. The peculiar nature of the Festival may have had an attraction for the innocent character of the King; but in the later Middle Ages, and even down to the last century, a strong prejudice prevailed against beginning anything of moment on that day.⁴ If this belief existed already in the time of the Confessor, the selection of the day is a proof of the haste with which the dedication was pushed forward. It is, at any rate, an instance of a most auspicious work begun (if so be) on the most inauspicious day of the year. The signatures which follow the King's acquire a tragic interest in the light of the events of the next few months. Edith the Queen, her brothers Harold and Gurth, Stigand and Alred, the two rival primates, are the most conspicuous. They, as the King's illness grew upon him, took his place at the consecration. He himself had arranged the ornaments, gifts, and relics;⁵ but the Queen presided at

1065.

December
25.December
27.December
28.¹ Cambridge Life, 3610.² Ailred, c. 399.³ So in the Charter itself (Kemble, iv. 180). Robert of Gloucester and Ailred of Rievaulx fix it on St. John's Day.⁴ Hone's *Everyday Book*, i. 1648. See Chapter II.⁵ For the relics, see Dart, i. 37.

They consisted of the usual extraordinary fragments of the dresses, &c. of the most sacred personages. The most remarkable were the girdle dropt by the Virgin to convince St. Thomas of her assumption (which is also shown in the Batopædi Convent of Mount Athos), and the cross which came over

1065. the ceremony¹ (she is queen, as he is king, both in church² and in palace); and the walls of Westminster Abbey, then white and fresh from the workman's tools, received from Stigand their first consecration—the first which, according to the legend of St. Peter's visit, had ever been given to the spot by mortal hands. By that effort the enfeebled frame and overstrained spirit of the King were worn out. On the evening of Innocents' Day he sank into a deep stupor, and was laid in the chamber in Westminster Palace which long afterwards bore his name. On the third day, the last day of the year 1065, a startling rally took place. His voice again sounded loud and clear; his face resumed its brightness. But it was the rally of delirium. A few incoherent sentences broke from his lips, describing how in his trance he had seen two holy monks whom he remarked in Normandy, and who foretold to him the coming disasters, which should only be ended when the green tree, after severance from its trunk and removal to the distance of three acres, should return to its parent stem, and again bear leaf and fruit and flower. The Queen, who was sitting on the ground, fondling his feet in her lap,³ her brother Harold, Rodbert the keeper of the palace, and others who had been called in by Edward's revival, were terror-struck. Stigand alone had the courage to whisper into Harold's ear that the aged King was doting.⁴ The others carefully caught his words; and the courtly poet of the next century rejoiced to trace in 'the three acres' the reigns of the three illegitimate kings who followed; and in the resuscitation of 'the parent tree,' the marriage of the First Henry with the Saxon Maud, and their ultimate issue in the Third Henry.⁵ Then followed a calm, and on the fifth day afterwards, with words variously reported, respecting the Queen, the

December
31.

sea, against winds and waves, with the Confessor from Normandy.

¹ Ailred, c. 399.

² Cambridge Life, 3655.

³ Harleian Life, 1480–90.

⁴ Cambridge Life, 3714–85.

⁵ Cambridge Life, 3934. See Chapter III.

succession, and the 'hope that he was passing from the land of 1066.
' the dead to the land of the living,' he breathed his last; and Death of
' St. Peter, his friend, opened the gate of Paradise, and St. the Con-
' John, his own dear one, led him before the Divine Majesty.' fessor,
Jan. 5.

A horror, it is described, of great darkness filled the whole island. With him, the last lineal descendant of Cerdic, it seemed as if the happiness, the strength, the liberty of the English people had vanished away.¹ So gloomy were the forebodings, so urgent the dangers which seemed to press, that on the very next day (Friday,² the Festival of the Epiphany), His burial,
took place at once his own funeral and the coronation of his Jan. 6.
successor.

We must reserve the other event of that memorable day—the coronation of Harold—for the next chapter, and follow the Confessor to his grave. The body, as it lay in the palace, seemed for a moment to recover its lifelike expression. The unearthly smile played once more over the rosy cheeks, and the white beard beneath seemed whiter, and the thin stretched-out fingers paler and more transparent than ever.³ As usual in the funerals of all our earlier sovereigns, he was attired in his royal habiliments: his crown upon his head; a crucifix⁴ of gold, with a golden chain round his neck; the pilgrim's ring on his hand. 'Crowds flocked from all the neighbouring villages. The prelates and magnates assisted, and the body was laid before the High Altar.'⁵ Thrice at least it has since been identified: once when, in the curiosity to know whether it still remained uncorrupt, the grave was opened by order of Henry I., in the presence of Bishop Gundulf, who plucked out a hair from the long white beard⁶; again when, on its 'translation' by Henry II., the ring was withdrawn; and

¹ Ailred, c. 402. Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1066.

² The usual date of his death is January 5. In Fabian, Robert of Gloucester, and the Cambridge Life, it is January 4.

³ Harleian Life, 1590. Ailred, c. 402.

⁴ Taylor's *Narrative of the Finding of the Crucifix* in 1688, p. 12.

⁵ See Chapter III.

⁶ Ailred, c. 408.

again at its final removal to its present position by Henry III. It must probably also have been seen both during its disturbance by Henry VIII., and its replacement by Mary; and for a moment the interior of the coffin was disclosed, when a rafter broke in upon it after the coronation of James II.¹

Effects of
his cha-
racter on
the Foun-
dation.

In the centre of Westminster Abbey thus lies its Founder, and such is the story of its foundation. Even apart from the legendary elements in which it is involved, it is impossible not to be struck by the fantastic character of all its circumstances. We seem to be in a world of poetry. Edward is four centuries later than Ethelbert and Augustine; but the origin of Canterbury is commonplace and prosaic compared with the origin of Westminster. We can hardly imagine a figure more incongruous to the soberness of later times than the quaint, irresolute, wayward prince whose chief characteristics have been just described. His titles of Confessor and Saint belong not to the general instincts of Christendom, but to the most transitory feelings of the age—the fierce struggles between Saxon and Dane, the worldly policy of Norman rulers, the lingering regrets of Saxon subjects. His opinions, his prevailing motives, were such as in no part of modern Europe would now be shared by any educated teacher or ruler. But in spite of these irreconcilable differences, there was a solid ground for the charm which he exercised over his contemporaries. His childish and eccentric fancies have passed away; but his innocent faith and sympathy with his people are qualities which, even in our altered times, may still retain their place in the economy of the world. Westminster Abbey, so we hear it said, sometimes with a cynical sneer, sometimes with a timorous scruple, has admitted within its walls many who have been great without being good, noble with a nobleness of the earth earthy, worldly with the wisdom of this world. But it is a

¹ See Chapters III. and VI.

balancing reflection, that the central tomb, round which all those famous names have clustered, contains the ashes of one who, weak and erring as he was, rests his claims of interment here not on any act which ranks him among the great ones of the earth, but only on his artless piety and simple goodness. He—towards whose dust was attracted the fierce Norman, and the proud Plantagenet, and the grasping Tudor, and the fickle Stuart, even the Independent Oliver, the Dutch William, and the Hanoverian George—was one whose humble graces are within the reach of every man, woman, and child of every time, if we rightly part the immortal substance from the perishable form.

Secondly, the foundation of the Abbey and the character of its Founder, consciously or unconsciously, inaugurated the greatest change which, with one exception, the English nation has witnessed from that time till this. Not in vain had the slumbers of the Seven Sleepers been disturbed; nor in vain the ghosts of the two Norman monks haunted the Confessor's deathbed, with their dismal warnings; nor in vain the comet appeared above the Abbey, towards which, in the Bayeux Tapestry, every eye is strained, and every finger pointing. The Abbey itself—the chief work of the Confessor's life, the last relic of the Royal House of Cerdic—was the shadow cast before of the coming event, the portent of the mighty future. When Harold stood by the side of his brother Gurth and his sister Edith on the day of the dedication, and signed his name with theirs as witness to the Charter of the Abbey, he might have seen that he was signing his own doom, and preparing for his own destruction. The solid pillars, the ponderous arches, the huge edifice, with triple tower and sculptured stones and storied windows, that arose in the place and in the midst of the humble wooden churches and wattled tenements of the Saxon period, might have warned the nobles who were present that the days of their rule were

Connexion
with the
Conquest.

numbered, and that the avenging, civilizing, stimulating hand of another and a mightier race was at work, which would change the whole face of their language, their manners, their church, and their commonwealth.

The Abbey, so far exceeding the demands of the dull and stagnant minds of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, was founded not only in faith but in hope: in the hope that England had yet a glorious career to run; that the line of her sovereigns would not be broken even when the race of Alfred ceased to reign; that the troubles which the Confessor saw, in prophetic vision, darkening the whole horizon of Europe, would give way before a brighter day than he, or any living man, in the gloom of that disastrous winter and of that boisterous age, could venture to anticipate. The Norman church erected by the Saxon king—the new future springing out of the dying past—the institution, founded for a special and transitory purpose, expanding, till it was coextensive with the interests of the whole commonwealth through all its stages—are standing monuments of the continuity by which in England the new has been ever intertwined with the old; liberty thriving side by side with precedent, the days of the English Church and State ‘linked’ each to each ‘by natural piety.’

Connexion
with the
English
Constitu-
tion.

Miracle of
Wulfstan's
crozier.

Again, it may be almost said that the Abbey has risen and fallen in proportion to the growth of the strong English instinct of which, in spite of his Norman tendencies, Edward was the representative. The first miracle believed to have been wrought at his tomb exemplifies, as in a parable, the rooted characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon basis of the monarchy. When, after the revolution of the Norman Conquest, a French and foreign hierarchy was substituted for the native prelates, one Saxon bishop alone remained—Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester. A Council was summoned to Westminster, over which the Norman king and the Norman primate presided, and Wulfstan was declared incapable of holding his

office because he could not speak French.¹ The old man, down to this moment compliant even to excess, was inspired with unusual energy. He walked from St. Catherine's Chapel² straight into the Abbey. The King and the prelates followed. He laid his pastoral staff on the Confessor's tomb before the high altar. First he spoke in Saxon to the dead King: 'Edward, thou gavest me the staff; to thee I return it.' Then, with the few Nórman words that he could command, he turned to the living King: 'A better than thou gave it to me—take it if thou canst.'³ It remained fixed in the solid stone,⁴ and Wulfstan was left at peace in his see. Long afterwards, King John, in arguing for the supremacy of the Crown of England in matters ecclesiastical, urged this story at length in answer to the claims of the Papal Legate. Pandulf answered, with a sneer, that John was more like the Conqueror than the Confessor.⁵ But, in fact, John had rightly discerned the principle at stake, and the legend expressed the deep-seated feeling of the English people, that in the English Crown and Law lies the true safeguard of the rights of the English clergy. Edward the Confessor's tomb thus, like the Abbey which encases it, contains an aspect of the union of Church and State of which all English history is a practical fulfilment.

In the earliest and nearly the only representation which exists of the Confessor's building—that in the Bayeux Tapestry—there is the figure of a man on the roof, with one hand resting on the tower of the Palace of Westminster, and with the other grasping the weathercock of the Abbey. The probable intention of this figure is to indicate the close contiguity of the two buildings. If so, it is the natural

¹ M. Paris, 20; Ann. Burt., A.D. 1211; Knyghton, c. 2368 (Thierry, ii. 224).

² There, doubtless, the Council must have been held. See Chapter V.

³ Knyghton, c. 2368.

⁴ Brompton, c. 976; M. Paris, 21; *Vit. Alb.* 3.

⁵ Ann. Burt., A.D. 1211.

architectural expression of a truth valuable everywhere, but especially dear to Englishmen. The close incorporation of the Palace and the Abbey from its earliest days is a likeness of the whole English Constitution—a combination of things sacred and things common—a union of the regal, legal, lay element of the nation with its religious, clerical, ecclesiastical tendencies, such as can be found hardly elsewhere in Christendom. The Abbey is secular because it is sacred, and sacred because it is secular. It is secular in the common English sense, because it is ‘sæcular’ in the far higher French and Latin sense: a ‘sæcular’ edifice, a ‘sæcular’ institution—an edifice and an institution which has grown with the growth of ages, which has been furrowed with the scars and cares of each succeeding century.

A million wrinkles carve its skin ;
A thousand winters snow'd upon its breast,
From cheek, and throat, and chin.

The vast political pageants of which it has been the theatre, the dust of the most worldly laid side by side with the dust of the most saintly, the wrangles of divines or statesmen which have disturbed its sacred peace, the clash of arms which have pursued fugitive warriors and princes into the shades of its sanctuary—even the traces of Westminster boys, who have played in its cloisters and inscribed their names on its walls—belong to the story of the Abbey no less than its venerable beauty, its solemn services, and its lofty aspirations. Go for your smooth polished buildings, your purely ecclesiastical places of worship, elsewhere: go to the creations of yesterday—the modern basilica, the restored church, the nonconformist tabernacle. But it is this union of secular with ecclesiastical grandeur in Westminster Abbey that constitutes its special delight. It is this union which has made the Abbey the seat of the imperial throne, the sepulchre of

kings and kinglike men, the home of the English nation; where for the moment all Englishmen may forget their differences; and feel as one family gathered round the same Christmas hearth, finding underneath its roof, each, of whatever church or sect or party, echoes of some memories dear to himself alone—some dear to all alike—all blending with a manifold yet harmonious ‘voice from Heaven,’ which is as ‘the ‘voice of many waters’ of ages past.

To draw out those memories will be the object of the following Chapters.

NOTE (on p. 7).

It is very likely that the statement of Maitland (referred to in p. 7) may be founded on that of Weever, who says (p. 454) that Matilda ‘built the bridges over the River of Lea at Stratford Bow, ‘and over the little brooke called Chancelsebridge.’ The situation of the second bridge not being definitely given in this passage, Maitland may have assumed, as Dart actually does assume (ii. 28), that it was identical with the bridge near Channel Row, Westminster. On referring to Stow, however (*Annals*, A.D. 1118), we find that the Queen built two stone bridges—one over the Lea at Stratford, and one not far from it, over a little brook called ‘Chancelsebridge.’ And it is evident, from certain other facts which he mentions, that Stow had seen the record of proceedings in the King’s Bench in 6 Edward II., in which is recited an inquisition of 32 Edward I., assigning the foundation of these two bridges, the Stratford bridge and the ‘Chancelsebrigg,’ near it, to Queen Matilda. Stow evidently knew nothing about the founder of the bridge near Channel Row, Westminster; for in his *Survey* he merely mentions it as ‘a bridge over Long ‘Ditch . . . near which . . . is a way leading to Channon ‘Row.’ And in his notice of Matilda’s place of sepulture he makes no allusion whatever to it. It is of course possible that the bridge

may have been built by Matilda, but it seems very probable that the statements of Maitland and Dart that it was are merely inferences from a badly-expressed passage in Weever, who follows the account in Stow's *Annals*.

F. S. HAYDON.



FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

CHAPTER II.

THE CORONATIONS.

The Queen sitting in St. Edward's Chair, the Archbishop, assisted with the same Archbishops and Bishops as before, comes from the Altar; the Dean of Westminster brings the Crown, and the Archbishop, taking it of him, reverently putteth it upon the Queen's head. At the sight whereof the people, with loud and repeated shouts, cry 'God save the Queen!' and the trumpets sound, and, by a signal given, the great guns at the Tower are shot off. As soon as the Queen is crowned, the Peers put on their coronets and caps. The acclamation ceasing, the Archbishop goeth on and saith: 'Be strong and of a good courage. Observe the commandments of God, and walk in His holy ways. Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal life: that in this world you may be crowned with success and honour, and, when you have finished your course, receive a crown of righteousness, which God the righteous Judge shall give you in that day.'

(Rubric of Coronation Service, p. 40.)

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

The special authorities for each Coronation are contained in the various
Chronicles of each reign. On the general ceremonial the chief
works are—

1. Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesie Anglicane*, vol. iii.
2. Selden's *Titles of Honour*.
3. Martene's *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*.
4. The *Liber Regalis* of Richard II., in the custody of the Dean of Westminster.
5. Ogilvy's *Coronation of Charles II.*
6. Sandford's *Coronation of James II.*
7. Taylor's *Glory of Regality* (published for the Coronation of George IV.).
8. Chapters on Coronations (published for the Coronation of Queen Victoria).

CHAPTER II.

THE CORONATIONS.

THE Church of the Confessor was, as we have seen, the precursor of the Conquest. The first event in the Abbey of which there is any certain record, after the burial of the Confessor, is one which, like the Conquest, arose immediately out of that burial, and has affected its fortunes ever since. It was the Coronation of William the Conqueror.

The Coronation of William the Conqueror.

No other coronation-rite in Europe reaches back to so early a period as that of the sovereigns of Britain. The coronation of Aidan by Columba is the oldest in Christendom. From the Anglo-Saxon order of the Coronation of Egbert¹ was derived the ancient form of the coronations of the Kings of France. Even the promise not 'to dispute the throne of the Saxons, Mercians, and Northumbrians' was left unaltered in the inauguration of the Capetian Kings at Rheims.² But, in order to appreciate the historic importance of the English coronations, we must for a moment consider the original idea of the whole institution. Only in two countries does the rite of coronation retain its full primitive savour. In Hungary, the Crown of St. Stephen still invests the sovereign with a national position; and in Russia, the coronation of the Czars in the Kremlin at Moscow is an event rather than a ceremony. But this sentiment once pervaded the whole of mediæval Christendom, of which the history was, in fact, inaugurated through the coronation of Charlemagne

The rite of Coronation.

¹ Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, iii. p. lxxvii.

² See Selden's *Titles of Honour*, pp. 177, 189; Maskell, iii. p. xiv.

Its elective
character.

Its sacred
character.

by Pope Leo III., in the year 800. The rite represented the two opposite aspects of European monarchy. On the one hand, it was a continuation of the old German usage of popular election, and of the pledge given by the sovereign to preserve the rights of his people—in part, perhaps, of the election of the Roman Emperors by the Imperial Guard.¹ On the other hand, partly as a means of resisting the claims of the electors, it was a solemn consecration, derived from the Jewish Church, by a sacred unction,² accompanied by the gift of a crown, through the hands of a prelate. This was unknown in the older Empire. It first began with Charlemagne.³ It was believed to convey to the sovereign a spiritual jurisdiction⁴ and inalienable sanctity :

Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed king.

A white coif was left on his head seven days, to allow the sacred oil to settle into its place, and was then solemnly taken off.⁵ This unction was believed to be the foundation of the title, reaching back to the days of King Ina, of ‘*Dei Gratia*.’⁶ By its virtue every consecrated king was admitted a canon of some cathedral church.⁷ They were clothed for the moment in the garb of bishops.⁸ The ‘*Veni Creator Spiritus*’ was sung over them as over bishops. At first five sovereigns alone received the full consecration—

¹ The Earls Palatine in England wore the sword to show that they had authority to correct the King. (Holinshed, A.D. 1236.)

² Charlemagne is described as having been anointed from head to foot (Martene, ii. 204). In like manner, in English history, on more than one occasion the King is described as having been stripped naked, from the waist upwards, in the presence of the whole congregation, in order that the sacred oil might flow freely over his person. (Hoveden, A.D. 1189; Roger of

Wendover, *ibid.*; Grafton, *Cont. of Hardyng*, p. 517; Maskell, iii. p. xv.)

³ Selden’s *Titles of Honour*, p. 237.

⁴ 33 Edward III. § 103.

⁵ Maskell, iii. p. xxi.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. xiii.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. xvi.

⁸ Taylor, p. 81. ‘. . . Lyke as a bysshop shuld say masse, with a dalmatyke and a stole about his necke. And also as hosyn and shone and copys and gloves lyke a bysshop . . .’ (Maskell, iii. p. liii., speaking of Henry VI.’s coronation.)

the Emperor,¹ and the Kings of France, England, Jerusalem, and Sicily. And, though this sacred circle was constantly enlarged by the ambition of the lesser princes, and at last included almost all, the older sovereigns long retained a kind of peculiar dignity.²

A King, therefore, without a coronation was regarded almost as, by strict ecclesiologists, a bishop-elect would be regarded before his consecration, or a nonconformist minister without episcopal ordination. Hence the political importance of the scenes which we shall have to describe. Hence the haste (the indecent haste, as it seems to us) with which the new king seized the crown, sometimes before the dead king was buried. Hence the appointment of the great state officer, who acted as viceroy between the demise of one sovereign and the inauguration of another, and whose duty it was, as it still is in form, to preside at the coronations—the Lord High *Steward*, the ‘Steadward,’ or ‘Ward of the King’s ‘Stead or Place.’ Hence the care with which the chroniclers note the good or evil omen of the exact day on which the coronation took place. Hence the sharp contests which raged between the ecclesiastics who claimed the right of sharing in the ceremony. Hence, lastly, the dignity of the place where the act was performed.

The traditionary spot of the first coronation of a British sovereign is worthy of the romantic legend which enshrines his name. Arthur was crowned at Stonehenge.³ Of the Saxon

The scene of the English Coronations.

¹ Taylor, p. 37.

² What marks the more than ceremonial character of the act is the distinction drawn between the coronation of the actual sovereigns and their consorts. The Queens of France were crowned, not at Rheims, but at St. Denys (Taylor, p. 50). Of the Queens-Consort of England, out of seventeen since the time of Henry VIII., only six

have been crowned (Argument of the Attorney-General before the Privy Council, July 7, 1821, in the case of *Queen Caroline*). The Anglo-Saxon Queens were deprived of the right in the ninth century, from the crimes of Eadburga, but Judith, Queen of Ethelwulf, regained it. (Maskell, iii. p. xxiv.)

³ Rishanger, *Annals*, p. 425.

Kings, seven, from Edward the Elder to Ethelred (A. D. 900—971), were crowned on the King's Stone¹ by the first ford of the Thames. In Saxon times the Danish Hardicanute was believed to have been crowned at Oxford. But the selection of a church as the usual scene of the rite naturally followed from its religious character. A throng of bishops always attended. The celebration of the Communion always formed part of it.² The day, if possible, was Sunday, or some high festival.³ The general seat of the Saxon coronations, accordingly, was the sanctuary of the House of Cerdic—the cathedral of Winchester. When they were crowned in London it was at St. Paul's. There at least was the coronation of Canute. It is doubtful whether Harold was crowned at St. Paul's⁴ or Westminster.⁵ From the urgent necessity of the crisis, the ceremony took place on the same day as the Confessor's funeral. All was haste and confusion. Stigand, the last Saxon primate, was present.⁶ But it would seem that Harold placed the crown on his own head.⁷

Coronation
of William
the Con-
queror.

1. The coronation of Duke William in the Abbey is, however, undoubted. Whether the right of the Abbey to the coronation of the sovereigns entered into the Confessor's designs depends on the genuineness of his Charters. But, in any case, William's selection of this spot for the most important act of his life sprang directly from regard to the Confessor's memory. To be crowned beside the grave of the last hereditary Saxon king, was the direct fulfilment of the

¹ Still to be seen in the market-place of Kingston-on-Thames.

² Maskell, iii. p. xxxix.—The breaking of the fast, immediately after the Communion, was in the retiring-place by St. Edward's Shrine in the Abbey. (Ibid. p. lvi.)

³ *Liber Regalis*; Maskell, iii. p. lxiv.

⁴ 'A Peace of God' succeeded for eight days. (Ibid. p. lxi.)

⁵ Brompton, c. 958; Rishanger's

Annals, p. 427.

⁶ *Relatio de Origine Will. Conq.*, p. 4. (Giles, *Script. Rer. Gest. Will. Conq.* 1845.) William of Malmesbury (*De Gest. Pont.* ii. 1) implies that the Conqueror's coronation was the first that took place in the Abbey.

⁷ Bayeux Tapestry.

⁸ Brompton, c. 958; Rishanger's *Annals*, p. 427; Matthew of Westminster, p. 221.

whole plan of the Conqueror, or 'Conquestor'; that is, the inheritor,¹ not by victory but by right, of the throne of 'his predecessor King Edward.'²

The time was to be Christmas Day³—doubtless because on that high festival, as on the other two of Easter and Whitsuntide, the Anglo-Saxon kings had appeared in state, re-enacting, as it were, their original coronations.

Monday,
Dec. 25,
1066.

'Two nations were indeed in the womb' of the Abbey on that day. Within the massive freshly-erected walls was the Saxon populace of London, intermixed with the retainers of the Norman camp and court. Outside sate the Norman soldiers on their war-horses, eagerly watching for any disturbance in the interior. The royal workmen had been sent into London a few days before, to construct the mighty fortress of the Tower, which henceforth was to overawe the city.⁴ Before the high altar, standing on the very gravestone of Edward, was the fierce, huge, unwieldy William, the exact contrast of the sensitive transparent King who lay beneath his feet. On either side stood an Anglo-Saxon and a Norman prelate. The Norman was Godfrey, Bishop of Coutances; the Saxon was Alred, Archbishop of York, holding in his own hand the golden crown, of Byzantine workmanship, wrought by Guy of Amiens. Stigand of Canterbury, the natural depositary of the rite of Coronation, had fled to Scotland. Alred, with that worldly prudence which characterised his career, was there, making the most of the new opportunity, and thus established over William an influence which no other ecclesiastic of the time, not even Hildebrand, was able to gain.⁵ The moment arrived for the ancient form

¹ The Bayeux Tapestry is devoted to the proof of this right.

² Charter of Battle Abbey.

³ Midwinter Day. (Raine's *Archbishops of York*, i. 144.) It was also the day of Charlemagne's coronation.

⁴ William of Poitiers, A.D. 1066.

⁵ See Chapter I.—An instance of this occurred in the Abbey a few years later. Alred came up to London to remonstrate with William for a plundering expedition in Yorkshire.

of popular election. The Norman prelate was to address in *French* those who could not speak English; the Saxon primate was to address in *English* those who could not speak French. A confused acclamation arose from the mixed multitude. The Norman cavalry without, hearing but not understanding this peculiarity of the Saxon institution, took alarm, and set fire to the gates of the Abbey, and perhaps the thatched dwellings which surrounded it.¹ The crowd—nobles and poor, men and women—alarmed in their turn, rushed out. The prelates and monks were left alone with William in the church, and in the solitude of that wintry day, amidst the cries of his new subjects, trampled down by the horses' hoofs of their conquerors, he himself, for the first time in his life, trembling from head to foot, the remainder of the ceremony was hurried on. Alred, in the name of the Saxons, exacted from him the oath to protect them before he would put the crown on his head,² and thus ended the first undoubted Westminster coronation. William kept up the remembrance of it, according to the Saxon custom, by a yearly triple coronation at the chief festivals. But, perhaps from the recollection of this disastrous beginning, the Christmas coronation was not at Westminster, but at Worcester; Easter was still celebrated at the old Saxon capital of Winchester; and Whitsuntide only was observed in London, but whether at St. Paul's or the Abbey is not stated.³

The connexion of the Coronations with the Abbey.

From this time forward the ceremony of the coronation has been inalienably attached to the Abbey. Its connexion with the grave of the Confessor was long preserved, even in

He found the King in the Abbey, and attacked him publicly. The King fell at his feet, trembling. The officers of the court tried to push the Archbishop away, but he persisted, and would not leave the place without a full apology. (Stubbs, c. 1703-4; Brompton, c. 962.

See also, for a different account, William of Malmesbury, *De Gest. Pont.* p. 271.)

¹ *Ord. Vit.* A.D. 1065; William of Malmesbury, p. 184; Palgrave's *Normandy*, iii. 379.

² Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 1066).

³ Radbourne (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 259).

its minutest forms. The Regalia were strictly Anglo-Saxon, by their traditional names: the crown of Alfred or of St. Edward for the King,¹ the crown of Edith, wife of the Confessor, for the Queen. The sceptre with the dove was the reminiscence of Edward's peaceful days after the expulsion of the Danes. The gloves were a perpetual reminder of his abolition of the Danegelt—a token that the King's hands should be moderate in taking taxes.² The ring with which, as the Doge to the Adriatic, so the king to his people was wedded, was the ring of the pilgrim.³ The 'great stone chalice,' which was borne by the Chancellor to the altar, and out of which the Abbot of Westminster administered the sacramental wine, was believed to have been prized at a high sum 'in Saint Edward's days.'⁴ The form of the oath, retained till the time of James II., was to observe 'the laws of the glorious Confessor.'⁵ A copy of the Gospels, purporting to have belonged to Athelstane, was the book on which, as early as the fifteenth century, it was believed that the coronation-oath had been taken.⁶ On the arras hung round the choir, at least from the thirteenth century, was the representation of the ceremony,⁷ with words, which remind us of the like inscription in St. John Lateran, expressive of the peculiar privilege of the place—

'Hanc regum sedem, ubi Petrus consecrat ædem,
Quam tu, Papa, regis; inungit et unctio regis.'

The Church of Westminster was called, in consequence, 'the head, crown, and diadem of the kingdom.'⁹

The Regalia were kept in the Treasury of Westminster

¹ Spelman's *History of Alfred*. (Planché's *Regal Records*, p. 64.)

² The 'orb' appears in the Bayeux Tapestry.

³ Planché, p. 85; Mill's *Catalogue of Honours*, p. 86; Fuller, ii. §§ 16, 26.

⁴ Maskell, iii. p. lxx.

⁵ Taylor, 85.

⁶ *Gent. Mag.* 1838, p. 471.

⁷ Weever, p. 45.

⁸ Alluding to its exemption from the jurisdiction of the see of London. See Chapter V.

⁹ *Liber Regalis*; Maskell, iii. p. xlvii.

The Regalia, as connected with the Confessor.

entirely till the time of Henry VIII., and the larger part till the time of the Commonwealth, when (in 1642) they were broken to pieces.¹ But the new regalia, after the Restoration, were still called by the same names; and, though permanently kept in the Tower, are still, by a shadowy connexion with the past, placed in the Jerusalem Chamber before each coronation.

The coronation-privileges of the Abbots and Deans of Westminster.

The Abbot of Westminster was the authorised instructor to prepare each new King for the solemnities of the coronation, as if for confirmation; visiting him two days before, to inform him of the observances, and to warn him to shrive and cleanse his conscience before the holy anointing.² He also was charged with the singular office of administering the chalice to the King and Queen, as a sign of their conjugal unity, after their reception of the sacrament from the Archbishop.³ The Convent on that day was to be provided, at the royal expense, with '100 simnals (that is, cakes) of the best bread, 'a gallon of wine, and as many fish as become the royal 'dignity.'

These privileges have, so far as altered times allow, descended to the Protestant Deans. The Dean and Canons of Westminster, alone of the clergy of England, stand by the side of the Prelates. On them, and not on the Bishops, devolves the duty, if such there be, of consecrating the sacred oil.⁴ The Dean has still the charge of the '*Liber Regalis*,' containing the ancient Order of the Service. It is still his duty to direct the sovereign in the details of the service. Even the assent of the people of England to the election of the sovereign has found its voice, in modern days, through the shouts of the Westminster scholars, from their recognised seats in the Abbey.⁵

¹ Taylor, p. 94; see Chapters V. & VI.

² Taylor, p. 134; *Liber Regalis*; Maskell, iii. p. lxvi.

³ *Liber Regalis*; Maskell, iii. p. xlv.

⁴ Maskell, iii. p. xxii. See Sandford's account of the Coronation of James II., p. 91.

⁵ Maskell, iii. pp. xlvii., xlviii.

If by the circumstances of the Conqueror's accession the Abbey was selected as the perpetual place of the coronations, so by the same circumstances it became subject to the one intrusion into its peculiar privileges. It was now that the ecclesiastical minister of the coronation was permanently fixed. Neither the Abbot of Westminster nor (as might have been expected from his share in the first coronation) the Archbishop of York could maintain their ground against the overwhelming influence of the first Norman primate. Lanfranc pointed out to William, that if the Archbishops of York were allowed to confer the crown, they might be tempted to give it to some Scot or Dane, elected by the rebel Saxons of the North;¹ and that to avoid this danger, they should be for ever excluded from the privilege, which belonged to Canterbury only. In the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the privilege was to belong, not to York, but to London.² From that time accordingly, with three exceptions, the Primate of Canterbury has been always the chief ecclesiastic at the coronations, and the Bishop of London has usually preached the sermon.³ On that occasion, only, these prelates take their places, as by right, in the Choir of the Abbey; and the Archbishop of York has been obliged to remain content with the inferior and accidental office of crowning the Queen-Consort, which had been performed by Alred for Queen Matilda two years after the Conqueror's coronation.⁴

The right of the Archbishops of Canterbury.

Coronation of Matilda. Whitsunday, May 11, 1067.

¹ Eadmer, c. 3; Lanfranc, 306, 378; Stubbs, c. 1706 (Thierry, ii. 145); Hugh Sotevagine (Raine's *Archbishops of York*, i. 147).

² Rudbourn (Anglia Sacra, i. 218).

³ But by 1 W. & M. c. 6, it is now enacted 'that the coronation may be performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York, or either of them, or any other bishop whom the King's Majesty shall appoint.' The claim of the Archbishop of

Canterbury to marry royal personages rests on the theory that the Kings and Queens are always *parishioners* of the see of Canterbury: hence the protest of the nobles against the claim of the Bishop of Salisbury to marry Henry I., on the ground that the Castle of Windsor was in the diocese of Salisbury. (Maskell, iii. p. lxii.)

⁴ Raine, i. 144; Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1067.

Coronation
of William
Rufus.

Sunday,
September
26, 1087.

2. The arrangement of Lanfranc immediately came into operation. William Rufus — whose fancy for Westminster manifested itself in the magnificent Hall, which was to be but as a bedchamber to the 'New Palace' meditated by him in the future—naturally followed the precedent of his father's coronation in the Abbey; and as the Norman Godfrey and the Saxon Alred had lent their joint sanction to the Conqueror's coronation, so his own was inaugurated by the presence of the first Norman primate, with the one remaining Saxon bishop, Wulfstan.¹

Coronation
of
Henry I.

Aug. 5,
1100.
Eleventh
Sunday
after
Trinity.
Feast of St.
Oswald.²

3. The coronation of Henry I. illustrates the importance attached to the act. He lost not a moment. Within four days of his brother's death, in the New Forest, he was in Westminster Abbey, claiming the election of the nobles and the consecration of the prelates.² 'At that time the present providing of good swords was accounted more essential to a king's coronation than the long preparing of gay clothes. Such preparatory pomp as was used in after-ages for the ceremony was now conceived not only useless but dangerous, speed being safest to supply the vacancy of the throne.'³ Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was absent; and here, therefore, Lanfranc's provision was adopted, and Maurice, Bishop of London, acted in his stead. Thomas, Archbishop of York, who had made a desperate effort to recover the lost privileges of his see at Anselm's consecration, was at Ripon when the tidings of William's death reached him. He, like Henry, but for a different reason, hurried up to London. But Winchester was nearer than Ripon, and the King was already crowned.⁵ The disappointment of the northern Primate was met by various palliatives. The King and the

¹ Rudbourn (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 263).

² Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1100; Florence of Worcester, ii. 46; Malmesbury, v.; Brompton, c. 997.

³ Palgrave's *Normandy*, iv. 688.

⁴ Fuller, iii. 1, § 41.

⁵ Hugh the Cantor. (Raine, i. 153.)

prelates pleaded haste. Some of the chroniclers represent that he joined in the ceremony, giving the crown after Maurice had given the unction.¹ But, in fact, the privilege was gone.

The compact between Henry and the electors was more marked than in any previous Norman coronation. He promised everything, except the one thing which he declared that he could not do, namely, to give up the forests of game which he had received from his father.² A yet more important coronation than his own, in the eyes of the Saxon population, was that of his wife Matilda. ‘Never since the Battle of Hastings had there been such a joyous day as when Queen Maude, the descendant of Alfred, was crowned in the Abbey and feasted in the great Hall.’³

Coronation of Maude, St. Martin’s Day, Nov. 10, 1100.

4. Stephen, in securing ‘the regalising and legalising virtue of the crown,’⁴ was, from the necessities of his position, hardly less precipitate than his predecessor. Henry I. died, of his supper of lampreys, on December 1; and whilst he still lay unburied in France, Stephen—with the devotion to favourite days then so common—chose December 26, the feast of his own saint, Stephen, for the day of the ceremony. The prelates approved the act; the Pope went out of his way to sanction it.⁵ But the coronation teemed with omens of the misfortunes which thickened round the unhappy King. It was observed that the Archbishop, whose consent was directly in defiance of his oath to Maude,⁶ died within the year, and that the magnates who assisted all perished miserably.⁷ It was remarked that the Host given at the

Coronation of Stephen, St. Stephen’s Day, Dec. 26, 1135.

¹ Rudbourn (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 273); Diceto, c. 498; *Chronicle of Peterborough* (Giles), p. 69; Walsingham (*Hypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 443). Raine.

² Palgrave’s *Normandy*, iv. 730.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 719—722; see Chapter III.

⁴ I owe this expression to a striking

description of this incident in an unpublished lecture of Professor Vaughan.

⁵ Thierry, ii. 393, 394.

⁶ *Gesta Stephani*, p. 7. See the whole case in Hook’s *Archbishops*, ii. 318.

⁷ Rudbourn (*Anglia Sacra*, i. 284.)

Communion suddenly disappeared,¹ and that the customary kiss of peace was forgotten.²

Coronation
of Henry
II.
Dec. 19,
1154.

5. The coronation of Henry II. was the first peaceful inauguration of a King that the Abbey had witnessed. In it the Saxon population saw the fulfilment of the Confessor's prophecy, and the Normans rejoiced in the termination of their own civil war. Theobald of Canterbury presided, but with the assistance of the Archbishop of Rouen and the Archbishop of York, who was a personal friend of Theobald.³ It was a momentary union of the two rival sees, soon to be broken by blows, and curses, and blood,—of which the next coronation in the Abbey was the ill-fated beginning.

And of
his son
Henry,
June 14,
1170.

6. The King, in his later years, determined to secure the succession, by providing that his eldest son Henry should be crowned during his lifetime. In his own case the ceremony of consecration had been repeated several times.⁴ The coronation took place in the Abbey, during the height of the King's quarrel with Becket. Accordingly, as the Primate of Canterbury was necessarily absent, the Primate of York took his place. It was the same Roger of Bishopsbridge who had assisted at Henry's own inauguration. To fortify him in his precarious position, the Bishops of London, Durham, Salisbury, and Rochester were also present⁵; and the young Prince was crowned by them under the name of Henry III.⁶, and rose at once to the full pride of an actual sovereign. When his father appeared behind him at the coronation banquet, the Prince remarked, 'The son of an Earl may well wait on the son of a King!' His wife, the French princess, was

¹ Knyghton, c. 2384; Brompton, c. 1023.

² Gervas, c. 1340; Hoveden, 481.

³ Raine, i. 234.

⁴ Maskell, iii. pp. xviii., xix.

⁵ Benedict, A.D. 1170.

⁶ See *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 63. Richard of Devizes (i. § 1) calls Richard I. brother of Henry III.

afterwards crowned with him at Winchester, by French bishops.¹

Perhaps no event—certainly no coronation—in Westminster Abbey ever led to more disastrous consequences. ‘*Ex hac consecratione, potius execratione, provenerunt detestandi eventus*’²—‘From this consecration, say rather execration,’ followed directly the anathema of Becket on the three chief prelates, the invaders of the inalienable prerogative of the see of Canterbury; and as the result of that anathema, the murder of Becket, by the rude avengers of the rights of the see of York; and indirectly, according to popular belief, the untimely death of the young Prince Henry himself, the tragical quarrels of his brothers, and the unhappy end of his father.

7. With the coronation of Richard I. we have the first detailed account of the ceremonial, as continued to be celebrated: the procession from the Palace to the Abbey—the spurs, the swords, the sceptre—the Bishops of Durham and Bath (then first mentioned in this capacity) supporting the King on the right and left—the oath—the anointing—the crown, taken by the King himself from the altar, and given to the Archbishop. There was an unusual array of magnates. The King’s mother and his brother John were present,³ and the Primate was assisted by the Archbishops of Rouen, Tours, and Dublin: the Archbishop of York was absent.⁴

Coronation
of Richard
I.

The day was, however, marked by disasters highly characteristic of the age. It was on September 3, a day fraught with associations fatal to the English monarchy in a later age, but already at this time marked by astrologers as ill-omened, or what was called ‘an Egyptian day.’⁵ Much alarm

Sept. 3,
1189.

¹ Taylor, 247.

² Annals of Margan, p. 16 (A.D. 1170).

³ Benedict, A.D. 1189.

⁴ Hoveden, A.D. 1189.

⁵ Ibid. There were two such in each month, supposed to be proscribed by the Egyptians as unwholesome for bleeding.

was caused during the ceremony by the appearance of a bat, 'in the middle and bright part of the day,' fluttering through the church, 'inconveniently circling in the same tracks, and 'especially round the King's throne.' Another evil augury, 'hardly allowable to be related even in a whisper,' was the peal of bells at the last hour of the day, without any agreement or knowledge of the ministers of the Abbey.¹

The Jews.

But the most serious portent must be told in the dreadful language of the chronicler himself: 'On that solemn 'hour in which the Son was immolated to the Father, a sacrifice of the Jews to their father the devil was commenced in 'the City of London; and so long was the duration of the 'famous mystery, that the holocaust could hardly be accomplished on the ensuing day.'² It seems that on previous coronations the Jews of London had penetrated into the Abbey and Palace to witness the pageant. The King and the more orthodox nobles were apprehensive that they came there to exercise a baleful influence by their enchantments. In consequence, a royal proclamation the day before expressly forbade the intrusion of Jews or witches into the royal presence. They were kept out of the Abbey, but their curiosity to see the banquet overcame their prudence. Some of their chief men were discovered. The nobles, in rage or terror, flew upon them, stripped off their clothes, and beat them almost to death. Two curious stories were circulated, one by the Christians, another by the Jews. It was said that one of the Jews, Benedict³ of York, to save his life, was baptised 'William,' after a godfather invited for the occasion, the Prior of St. Mary's, in his native city of York. The next day he was examined by the King as to the reality of his conversion, and had the courage to confess that it was by mere compulsion. The King turned to the prelates who were

¹ Richard of Devizes, A.D. 1189.

³ Probably 'Baruch.'

² Ibid.

standing by, and asked what was to be done with him. The Archbishop, 'less discreetly than he ought,' replied, 'If he 'does not wish to be a man of God, let him remain a man 'of the devil.'¹ The Jewish story is not less characteristic. The King in the banquet had asked, 'What is this noise to-day?' The doorkeeper answered, 'Nothing; only the boys 'rejoice, and are merry at heart.' When the true state of the case was known, the doorkeeper was dragged to death at the tails of horses. 'Blessed be God, who giveth vengeance! 'Amen.'² But, however the King's own temper might have been softened, a general massacre and plunder amongst the Jewish houses took place in London, 'and the other cities 'and towns' (especially York) 'emulated the faith of the 'Londoners, and with a like devotion despatched their 'bloodsuckers with blood to hell. Winchester alone, 'the people being prudent and circumspect, and the city 'always acting mildly, spared its vermin. It never did 'anything over-speedily. Fearing nothing more than to 'repent, it considers the result of everything beforehand, 'temperately concealing its uneasiness, till it shall be possible at a convenient time to cast out the whole cause of the 'disease at once and for ever.'³ Such was the coronation of the most chivalrous of English kings. So truly did Sir Walter Scott catch the whole spirit of the age in his description of Front de Bœuf's interview with Isaac of York. Such could be the Christianity, and such the Judaism, of the Middle Ages.

On his return from his captivity, Richard was crowned again at Winchester, as if to reassure his subjects. This was the last trace of the old Saxon regal character of Winchester.⁴ He submitted very reluctantly to this repetition;⁵ but the

Richard's
second Co-
ronation,
1194

¹ Benedict, A.D. 1189.

² Richard of Devizes, A.D. 1189.

³ The Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph (Bialloblotzky, i. 196, 197). Chapters, 148.

⁴ Ibid. A.D. 1194.

⁵ M. Paris, 176. See Chapter III.

reinvestiture in the coronation robes was considered so important, that in these he was ultimately buried.

Coronation
of John.

8. John was crowned on Ascension Day¹—the same fatal festival as that which the soothsayer afterwards predicted as the end of his reign. Archbishop Hubert at a later period pointedly dwelt on the fact, that he had scrupulously gone through the forms of election on that day; and gave as his reason that, foreseeing the King's violent career, he had wished to place every lawful check on his despotic passions.² Geoffrey, the Archbishop of York, was absent, and, on his behalf, the Bishop of Durham³ protested, but in vain, against Hubert's sole celebration of the ceremony.⁴

Ascension
Day, May
27, 1199.

The
Cinque
Ports.

A peculiar function was now added. As a reward for the readiness with which the Cinque Ports had assisted John, in his unfortunate voyages to and from Normandy, their five Barons were allowed henceforward to carry the canopy over the King as he went to the Abbey, and to hold it over him when he was unclothed for the sacred unction. They had already established their place at the right hand of the King at the banquet, as a return for their successful guardianship of the Channel against invaders; the Conqueror alone had escaped them.⁵

First Coro-
nation of
Henry III.
St. Simon
and St.
Jude, Oct.
28, 1216.

9. The disastrous reign of John brought out the sole instance, if it be an instance, of a coronation apart from Westminster. On Henry III.'s accession the Abbey was in the hands of the Dauphin of France. He was, accordingly, crowned in the Abbey of Gloucester, by the Bishop of Winchester, in the presence of Gualo the Legate; but without unction or imposition of hands, lest the rights of Canterbury should be infringed, and with a chaplet or garland

¹ Hoveden, 793.

² M. Paris, 197.

³ Hoveden, 793; Maskell, iii. p. Iviii.

⁴ He was afterwards crowned at

Canterbury with his Queen, Isabella.

(Hoveden, 818; *Ann. Margan*, A.D. 1201.)

⁵ Ridgway, p. 141.

rather than a crown.¹ At the same time, with that inconsistency which pervades the history of so many of our legal ceremonies, an edict was issued that for a whole month no lay person, male or female, should appear in public without a chaplet, in order to certify that the King was really crowned.² So strong, however, was the craving for the complete formalities of the inauguration, that, as soon as Westminster was restored to the King, he was again crowned there in state, on Whitsunday, by Stephen Langton,³ having the day before laid the foundation of the new Lady Chapel,⁴ the germ of his magnificent church. The feasting and joviality was such that the oldest man present could remember nothing like it at any previous coronation.⁵ It was a kind of triumphal close to the dark reign of John. The young King himself, impressed probably by the peculiarity of his double coronation, asked the great theologian of the episcopal bench at that time, Grostete Bishop of Lincoln, the difficult question, ‘What was the precise grace wrought ‘in a King by the unction?’ And was answered, with truly episcopal discretion, ‘The same as in Confirmation.’⁶

Second Coronation of Henry III. Whitsunday, May 17, 1220.

One alteration Henry III. effected for future coronations, which implies a slight declension of the sense of their importance. The office of Lord High Steward (the temporary Viceroy between the late King’s demise and the new King’s inauguration), which had been hereditary in the house of Simon de Montfort, was on his death abolished—partly, perhaps, from a dislike of De Montfort’s encroachments, partly to check the power of so formidable a potentate. Henceforward

Abolition of the Lord High Stewardship.

¹ Possibly this might be from John’s crown having been lost in the Wash. (Pauli, i. 489.)

² Capgrave’s *Henries*, p. 87.—Henry IV. of France, in like manner, was crowned at Chartres, instead of Rheims, from the occupation

of that city by the opposite faction.

³ See Hook’s *Archbishops*, ii. 735.

⁴ See Chapter III.

⁵ Cont. Hoveden. (Bouquet. Rer. Gallie. Script. xviii. 186.)

⁶ Selden. (Taylor’s *Glory of Reality*, p. 89.)

the office was merely created for the occasion. At his Queen's coronation, a curious incident marred the splendour of the coronation banquet. Its presiding officer, the hereditary Chief Butler, Hugh de Albini, was absent, having been excommunicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, for refusing to let the Primate hunt in his Sussex forest.¹

10. The long interval between the accession of Edward I. and his coronation (owing to his absence in the Holy Land) reduced it more nearly to the level of a mere ceremony than it had ever been before. He was also the first sovereign who discontinued the commemoration of the event in wearing the crown in state at the three festivals.² But in itself it was a peculiarly welcome day, as the return from his perilous journey. It was the first coronation in the Abbey as it now appears, bearing the fresh marks of his father's munificence. He and his beloved Eleanor appeared together, the first King and Queen who had been jointly crowned. His mother, the elder Eleanor, was present. Archbishop Kilwarby officiated as Primate.⁴ On the following day Alexander III. of Scotland, whose armorial bearings were hung in the Choir of the Abbey, did homage.⁵ For the honour of so martial a king, 500 great horses—on some of which Edward and his brother Edmund, with their attendants, had ridden to the banquet—were let loose among the crowd, anyone to take them for his own as he could.⁶

Coronation
of Edward
I. and
Eleanor,
Aug. 19,
1274.

¹ Chapters on Coronations, p. 56.—The original authority is the Red Book of the Exchequer (f. 232): 'De officio pincernarie servivit eâ die 'Comes Warenn' vice Hugonis de Albiniaco Comitis de Arundel ad quem '[? nunc] illud officium spectat. Fuit 'autem idem . . . eo tempore sententia excommunicationis innodatus a 'Cant' eo quod cum fugare fecisset 'Archiepiscopus in forestâ dicti Hugonis in Suthsex idem Hugo canes

'suos cepit. Dicit autem Archiepiscopus hoc esse jus suum fugandi 'in quâlibet forestâ Angliæ quando- 'cunque voluerit.' Holinshed, following Mathew Paris (p. 421) says he was under ago.

² Planché, p. 73.

³ Close Roll, 2 Edw. I. m. 5.

⁴ Hook, iii. 311.

⁵ Trivet, p. 292. See Chapter III.

⁶ Stow's *Annals*; Knyghton, c. 2461. (Pauli, ii. 12.)

There was, however, another change effected in the coronations by Edward, which, unlike most of the incidents which this chapter relates, has a direct bearing on the Abbey itself. Besides the ceremonies of unction and coronation, which properly belonged to the consecration of the kings, there was one more closely connected with the original practice of election—that of raising the sovereign aloft into an elevated seat.¹ In the Frankish tribes, as also in the Roman Empire, this was done by a band of warriors lifting the chosen chief on their shields, of which a trace lingered in the French coronations, in raising the King to the top of the altar-screen of Rheims. But the more ordinary and primitive usage, amongst the Gothic and Celtic races, was to place him on a huge natural stone, which had been, or was henceforth, invested with a magical sanctity. On such a stone, the ‘great stone’ (*mora-sten*), still visible on the grave of Odin near Upsala, were inaugurated the Kings of Sweden till the time of Gustavus Vasa. Such a chair and stone, for the Dukes of Carinthia, is still to be seen at Zollfell.² Seven stone seats, for the Emperor and his Electors, mark the spot where the Lahn joins the Rhine at Lahnstein. On such a mound the King of Hungary appears, sword in hand, at Presburg. On such stones decrees were issued in the republican states of Torcello, Venice, and Verona. On a stone like these, nearer home, was placed the Lord of the Isles. The stone on which the Kings of Ireland were crowned was, even down to Elizabeth’s time, believed to be the inviolable pledge of Irish independence. On the King’s Stone, as we have seen, beside the Thames, were crowned seven of the Anglo-Saxon kings. And in Westminster itself, doubtless dating back from a very early period, the Kings, before they passed from the Palace to the Abbey, were lifted to a marble seat, twelve

The
Coronation
Stone.

The Instal-
lation of
the Kings.

¹ So *Liber Regalis*. See Maskell, iii. p. xlviii.

² See a full account of it in Churchill’s *Dolomite Mountains*, p. 483.

feet long and three feet broad, placed at the upper end of Westminster Hall, and called, from this peculiar dignity, '*The King's Bench*.'¹

Legend of
the Stone
of Scone.

Still there was yet wanting something of this mysterious natural charm in the Abbey itself, and this it was which Edward I. provided. In the capital of the Scottish kingdom was a venerable fragment of rock, to which, at least as early as the fourteenth century, the following legend was attached:—The stony pillow on which Jacob slept at Bethel was by his countrymen transported to Egypt. Thither came Gahelus, son of Cecrops, King of Athens, and married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh. He and his Egyptian wife, alarmed at the rising greatness of Moses, fled with the stone to Sicily or to Spain. From Spain it was carried off by Simon Brech,² the favourite son of Milo the Scot, to Ireland. It was thrown on the seashore as an anchor; or (for the legend varied at this point) an anchor which was cast out, in consequence of a rising storm, pulled up the stone from the bottom of the sea. On the sacred Hill of Tara it became '*Lia Fail*,' '*the Stone of Destiny*.' On it the Kings of Ireland were placed. If the chief was a true successor, the stone was silent; if a pretender, it groaned aloud as with thunder.³ At this point, where the legend begins to pass into history, the voice of national discord begins to make itself heard. The Irish antiquarians maintain that the true stone still remains on the Hill of Tara.⁴ But the stream of Scottish tradition carries us on. Fergus, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, bears it across the sea from Ireland to

¹ Taylor, p. 303.—It is mentioned at the coronations of Richard II. and Richard III. (Maskell, iii. pp. xlviii., xlix.) It was also used at the banquet, but its especial use was *before* the coronation.

² Holinshed, *The Historie of Scotland* (1585), p. 31.

³ Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland*

(Harris), 1764, i. 10, 124.—Compare the *Llechllafar*, or Speaking Stone, in the stream in front of the Cathedral of St. David's. (Jones and Freeman's *History and Antiquities of St. David's*, p. 222.)

⁴ Petrie's *History and Antiquities of Tara*.

Dunstaffnage. In the walls of Dunstaffnage Castle a hole is still shown, where the stone is said to have been laid. With the migration of the Scots eastward, the stone was moved by Kenneth II. (A.D. 840), and planted on a raised plot of ground at Scone, 'because that the last battle with the Picts was 'there fought.'¹

Whatever may have been the previous wanderings of the relic, at Scone it assumes an unquestionable historical position. It was there encased in a chair of wood, and stood by a cross on the east of the monastic cemetery, on or beside the 'Mount of Belief,' which still exists. In it, or upon it, the Kings of Scotland were placed by the Earls of Fife. From it Scone became the 'Sedes principalis' of Scotland, and the kingdom of Scotland the kingdom of Scone; and hence for many generations Perth, and not Edinburgh, was regarded as the capital city of Scotland.² Its history.

Wherever else it may have strayed, there can be no question, at least, of its Scottish origin. Its geological formation is that of the sandstone of the western coasts of Scotland.³ It has the appearance—thus far agreeing with the tradition of Dunstaffnage—of having once formed part of a building. But of all explanations concerning it, the most probable is that which identifies it with the stony pillow on which Columba rested, and on which his dying head was laid in his Abbey of Iona;⁴ and if so, it belongs to the minister of the first authentic coronation in Western Christendom.⁵

¹ Holinshed's *Hist. Scot.*, p. 132.

² The facts respecting Scone and the Scottish coronations I owe to the valuable information of the late lamented Mr. Joseph Robertson of Edinburgh. See Appendix A, and Preface to *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scotiæ*, p. xxi.

³ Particles of the stone, detached in 1838, were compared with the quarries of Scone, and thought to be

identical. (*Historical Antiquities of Scotland: 'Scone.'*) But the most recent account is that given in the examination described in Appendix A.

⁴ For the argument by which this is supported, I must refer to Mr. Robertson's statement. (Appendix A.)

⁵ The coronation of Aidan by Columba, A.D. 571. (Martene, *De Litibus Ecclesiæ*, ii. 212.)

Its
capture.

On this precious relic Edward fixed his hold. He had already hung up before the Confessor's Shrine the golden coronet of the last Prince of Wales. It was a still further glory to deposit there the very seat of the kingdom of Scotland. On it he himself was crowned King of the Scots.¹ From the Pope he procured a bull to raze to the ground the rebellious Abbey of Scone, which had once possessed it; and his design was only prevented, as Scotland itself was saved, by his sudden death at Brough-on-the-Sands. Westminster was to be an English Scone. It was his latest care for the Abbey. In that last year of Edward's reign, the venerable chair, which still encloses it, was made for it by the orders of its captor; the fragment of the world-old Celtic races was embedded in the new Plantagenet oak.² The King had originally intended the seat to have been of bronze, and the workman, Adam, had actually begun it. But it was ultimately constructed of wood, and decorated by Walter the painter, who at the same time was employed on the Painted Chamber, and probably on the Chapter House.

The elation of the English King may be measured by the anguish of the Scots. Now that this foundation of their monarchy was gone, they laboured with redoubled energy to procure, what they had never had before, a full religious consecration of their Kings. It was granted to Robert the Bruce by the Pope a short time before his death; and his son David, to make up for the loss of the stone, was the first crowned and anointed King of Scotland.³ But they still cherished the hope of recovering it. A solemn article in the Treaty of Northampton, which closed the long war between the two countries, required the restoration of the lost relics to Scotland. Accordingly Edward III., then residing at Bardesly,

¹ *The Life and Acts of Sir William Wallace* (Blind Harry), Aberdeen, 1630, p. 5.

² *Gleanings*, p. 125; Neale, ii. 132.

³ *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scotianæ*, Pref. p. xlv.

directed his writ, under the Privy Seal, to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, commanding them to give the stone for this purpose to the Sheriffs of London, who would receive the same from them by indenture,¹ and cause it to be carried to the Queen-mother. All the other articles of the treaty were fulfilled. Even 'the Black Rood,' the sacred cross of Holy Rood, which Edward I. had carried off with the other relics, was restored. But 'the Stone of Scone, on which the Kings of Scotland used at Scone to be placed on their inauguration, the people of London would by no means whatever allow to depart from themselves.'² Nearly thirty years after, David II. being then old and without male issue, negotiations were begun with Edward III., that he should succeed to the Scottish crown; but that, in this event, the Royal Stone should be delivered out of England, and he should, after his English coronation, be crowned upon it at Scone.³ But these arrangements were never completed. In the Abbey, in spite of treaties and negotiations, it remained, and still remains. The affection which now clings to it had already sprung up.

A.D. 1328,
July 21.

Its retention.

A.D. 1363.

It would seem as if Edward's chief intention had been to present it, as a trophy of his conquest, to the Confessor's Shrine. On it the priest was to sit when celebrating mass at the altar of St. Edward. The Chair, doubtless, standing where it now stands, was then visible down the whole church, facing, as it naturally would, westward, and thus giving to the Abbey the one feature which it needed to make it equal to a cathedral—a sacred Chair or Cathedra.

Its use.

But, further, from that time there is no cause to doubt that every English sovereign has been inaugurated upon it. The chair is that in which Richard II., in the

¹ Aylliffe's *Calendar of Ancient Charters*, p. lviii.

Maitland, p. 146.

² *Chronicle of Lanercost*, p. 261; *

³ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vi. 426.

The prediction.

contemporary portrait still preserved in the Abbey, is represented as sitting. The 'Regale Scotiæ' is expressly named in the coronation of Henry IV.,¹ and 'King Edward's 'Chair' in the coronation of Mary.² Camden calls it 'the 'Royal Chair'; and Selden says, 'In it are the coronations 'of our sovereigns.' When James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, 'the antique regal chair of enthronisation did confessedly receive, with the person of his Majesty, 'the full accomplishment also of that prophetic prediction 'of his coming to the crown, which antiquity hath recorded 'to have been inscribed thereon.'³ It was one of those secular predictions of which the fulfilment cannot be questioned. Whether the prophecy was actually inscribed on the stone may be doubted, though this seems to be implied,⁴ and on its lower side is still visible a groove which may have contained it; but the fact that it was circulated and believed as early as the fourteenth century⁵ is certain :

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Its interest.

Once only it has been moved out of the Abbey, and that for an occasion which proves, perhaps more than any other single event since its first capture, the importance attached to it by the rulers and the people of England. When Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector in Westminster Hall, he was placed 'in the Chair of Scotland,' brought out of Westminster Abbey for that singular and special occasion.⁶

It has continued, probably, the chief object of attraction to the innumerable visitors of the Abbey. 'We were then,' says Addison,⁷ 'conveyed to the two coronation chairs, when

¹ *Annales Henrici Quarti*, (St. Alban's Chronicles. Riley, A.D. 1399), p. 294.

² Planché, p. 16.

³ Speed, p. 885.

⁴ Boethius, *Hist. Scot.* (Par. 1575),

f. 2. § 30.

⁵ See Appendix A. Fordun. l. i. c. xxviii.

⁶ Forster's *Life of Cromwell*, v. 421.

⁷ *Spectator*, No. 329.

‘my friend, having heard that the stone underneath the most ancient of them, which was brought from Scotland, was called Jacob’s Pillow, sate himself down in the chair; and, looking like the figure of an old Gothic king, asked our interpreter what authority they had to say that Jacob had ever been in Scotland. The fellow, instead of returning him an answer, told him that he hoped his honour would pay the forfeit. I could observe Sir Roger a little ruffled on being thus trepanned; but, our guide not insisting upon his demand, the knight soon recovered his good-humour, and whispered in my ear that if Will Wimble were with us, and saw those two chairs, it would go hard but he would get a tobacco-stopper out of one or t’other of them.’ •

The ‘Spectator.’

That is indeed a picture which brings many ages together:—the venerable mediæval throne; the old-fashioned Tory of the seventeenth century, filled with an unconscious reverence for the past; the hard-visaged eighteenth century, in the person of the guide, to whom stone and throne and ancient knight were alike indifferent; the philosophic poet, standing by, with an eye to see and an ear to catch the sentiment and the humour of the whole scene. In the next generation, the harsh indifference has passed from the rude guide into the mouth of the most polished writer of the time.

‘Look ye there, gentlemen,’ said the attendant to Goldsmith, pointing to an old oak chair; ‘there’s a curiosity for ye! In that chair the Kings of England were crowned. You see also a stone underneath, and that stone is Jacob’s Pillow!’ ‘I could see no curiosity either in the oak chair or the stone: could I, indeed, behold one of the old Kings of England seated in this, or Jacob’s head laid on the other, there might be something curious in the sight.’¹ But, in spite of Goldsmith’s sneer, the popular interest has been unabated; and the

Goldsmith.

¹ *Citizen of the World* (Letter xiii.).

very disfigurements of the Chair,¹ scratched over from top to bottom with the names of inquisitive visitors, proves not only the reckless irreverence of the intruders, but also the universal attraction of the relic. It is the one primeval monument which binds together the whole Empire. The iron rings, the battered surface, the crack which has all but rent its solid mass asunder, bear witness to its long migrations.² It is thus embedded in the heart of the English monarchy—an element of poetic, patriarchal, heathen times, which, like Araunah's rocky threshing-floor in the midst of the Temple of Solomon, carries back our thoughts to races and customs now almost extinct; a link which unites the Throne of England to the traditions of Tara and Iona, and connects the charm of our complex civilisation with the forces of our mother earth,—the stocks and stones of savage nature.

Coronation
of Ed-
ward II.
Feb. 25,
Shrove
Tuesday,
1308.

11. The first English King who sat on this august seat in the Abbey was the unworthy Edward II.³ He and Isabella his wife were crowned together by Woodcock, Bishop of Winchester, one of a commission of three, named, according to Lanfranc's arrangement, by Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury,⁴ who was absent and ill at Rome. The selection of Woodcock from among the three was a special insult to the memory of Edward I.,⁵ against whom Woodcock had conspired.⁶ The like unfeeling insolence was shown in the fact that the most conspicuous personage in the whole ceremony, who carried the crown before any of the magnates of the realm, was Piers Gaveston, the favourite whom his father's

¹ 'Peter Abbott slept in this chair 'July 5, 1800.' It is part of the same adventure in which the said Peter Abbott engaged for a wager, by hiding in the tombs, that he would write his name at night on Purcell's monument. (Malcolm's *London*, p. 191.)

² A base foul stone, made precious

by the foil

Of England's Chair. — (Shakespeare's *Richard III.* Act v. Sc. iii.)

³ His is the first Coronation Roll. (Rymer, p. 33. Pauli, ii. 205.)

⁴ Taylor, p. 390.

⁵ See Chapter III.

⁶ Hook, iii. 438.

dying wish had excluded from his court.¹ There was one incident which the clergy of the Abbey marked with peculiar satisfaction. In the enormous throng an old enemy of the convent, Sir John Bakewell, was trodden to death.²

12. Edward III.'s accession, taking place not after the death but the deposition of his father, was marked by a solemn election. In a General Assembly convened in the Abbey, January 20, 1327, Archbishop Reynolds preached on the dubious text, *Vox populi vox Dei*. The Prince would not accept the election till it had been confirmed by his father, and then within ten days was crowned. Isabella his mother, 'the shewolf of France,' affected to weep through the whole ceremony. The medals represented the childish modesty of the Prince: a sceptre on a heap of hearts, with the motto, *Populi dat jura voluntas*; and a hand stretched out to save a falling crown, *Non rapit sed accipit*.⁴ The sword of state and shield of state, still kept in the Abbey, were then first carried before the sovereign.⁵ Queen Philippa was crowned in the following year, on Quinquagesima Sunday.

Coronation
of Ed-
ward III.

Feb. 1,³
1327.

The Sword
and Shield
of State.

Corona-
tion of
Philippa.
Feb. 2,
1328.

Coronation
of Rich-
ard II.
July 16,
1377.

The 'Liber
Regalis.'

13. If Edward III.'s coronation is but scantily known, that of his grandson, Richard II., is recorded in the utmost detail. The '*Liber Regalis*,' which prescribed its order and has been the basis of all subsequent ceremonials, has been in the custody of the Abbots and Deans of Westminster from the time that it was drawn up, on this occasion, by Abbot Littlington. The magnificence of the dresses and of the procession is also described at length in the contemporary chronicles.⁶ Archbishop Sudbury officiated. Three historical peculiarities marked the event. It is the first known instance of

¹ Coronation Roll of Edward II., m. 3d. (Rymer, p. 33). Close Roll of 1 Edward II., m. 10d. (Rymer, p. 36).

² Neale, i. 71.

³ Close Roll of 1 Edward III., m. 24d. (Rymer, p. 684).

⁴ Chapters, p. 156. I cannot find

the authority for these statements.

⁵ See the account in the *Ironmongers' Exhibition*, pp. 142, 144. See also Chapter III.

⁶ Walsingham i. 331, 332. It is also well given in Ridgway, pp. 126—160; *Genl. Mag.* 1831, (part ii.) p. 113.

The
Procession
from the
Tower.

The
'Knights
of the
Bath.'

The
Champion.

a custom, which prevailed till the time of Charles II.—the cavalcade from the Tower. The King remained there for a week, in order to indicate that he was master of the turbulent city; and then rode bareheaded, amidst every variety of pageant, through Cheapside, Fleet Street, and the Strand, to Westminster. He was accompanied by a body of knights, created for the occasion, who, after having been duly washed in a bath, assumed their knightly dresses, and escorted their young companion to his palace. This was the first beginning of the 'Knights of the Bath,' who from this time forward formed part of the coronation ceremony till the close of the seventeenth century. A third peculiarity is the first appearance of the Champion—certainly of the first Dymoke. When the service was over, and the boy-King, exhausted with the long effort, was carried out fainting, the great nobles, headed by Henry Percy, Lord Marshal, mounted their chargers at the door of the Abbey, and proceeded to clear the way for the procession, when they were met by Sir John Dymoke, the Champion. The unexpected encounter of this apparition, and the ignorance of the Champion as to where he should place himself, seem to indicate that either the office or the person was new. Dymoke had, in fact, contested the right with Baldwin de Freville, who, like him, claimed to be descended from the Kilpecs and the Marmonions. He won his cause, and appeared at the gates of the monastery on a magnificently-caparisoned charger, 'the best but one,' which, according to fixed usage, he had taken from the royal stable. Before him rode his spear-bearer and shield-bearer, and they sate at the gates waiting for the end of Mass. His motto, in allusion to his name, was *Dimico pro rege*. The Earl Marshal 'bade him wait for his perquisites 'until the King was sate down to dinner, and in the meantime he had better unarm himself, take his rest and ease 'awhile.' So he retired, discomfited, to wait outside the

Hall, the proper scene of his challenge.¹ His appearance at that juncture probably belonged to the same revival of chivalric usages that had just produced the Order of the Garter and the Round Table at Windsor. It lingered down to our own time, with the right of wager of battle, which was repeated only a few years before the last appearance of the Champion at the coronation of George IV.

The profusion of the banquet accorded with the extravagant character of the youthful Prince. The golden eagle in the Palace Yard spouted wine. The expense was so vast as to be made an excuse for the immense demands on Parliament afterwards. The Bishop of Rochester, in his coronation sermon, as if with a prescience of Wat Tyler, uttered a warning against excessive taxation:²

Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows :
In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,
Youth on the prow, and pleasure at the helm,
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
That hush'd in grim repose expects his evening prey.
Fill high the sparkling bowl,
The rich repast prepare . . .
Close by the royal chair
Fell thirst and famine scowl
A baleful smile upon their baffled guest.³

14. The breach in the direct line of the Plantagenets, which is marked by the interruption of their Westminster tombs, is also indicated by the unusual precautions added at the coronation of Henry IV., to supply the defects of his title. The election had been in Westminster Hall. The texts of the three inauguration sermons were all significant: '*Jacob*' (a supplanter indeed) 'received the blessing;' '*This man*'

Corona-
tion of
Henry IV.

The Elec-
tion, Sept.
30, 1399.

¹ Holinshed, p. 417; Walsingham, ii. 337. See also *Archæologia*, xx. 207; Maskell, iii. p. xxxiii.

² Turner's *Middle Ages*, ii. 245.

³ Gray's *Bard*.—See the description

of the King's portrait in Chapter III. Queen Anne was crowned in the Abbey by Archbishop Courtney, 1382. (Sandford, p. 193.)

Wednes-
day, Oct.
13, 1399.²

The Am-
pulla.

(in contrast to the unfortunate youth) ‘shall rule over us;’ ‘We’ (the Parliament) ‘must take care that our kingdom ‘be quiet.’¹ The day of his coronation was the great festival of the Abbey, October 13, the anniversary of his own exile. He came to the Abbey with an ostentatious unpunctuality, having heard three Masses, and spent long hours with his confessor on the morning of that day, in accordance with the real or affected piety, which was to compensate, in the eyes of his subjects, for his usurpation. His bath and the bath of his knights is brought out more prominently than before. In his coronation the use of the Scottish stone³ is first expressly mentioned; and, yet more suspiciously, a vase of holy oil, corresponding to the ampulla of Rheims, first makes its appearance. The Virgin Mary had given (so the report ran) a golden eagle filled with holy oil to St. Thomas of Canterbury, during his exile, with the promise that any Kings of England anointed with it would be merciful rulers and champions of the Church.⁴ It was revealed by a hermit, through the first Duke of Lancaster, to the Black Prince, by him laid up in the Tower for his son’s coronation, unaccountably overlooked by Richard II., but discovered by him in the last year of his reign, and taken to Ireland, with the request to Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, to anoint him with it. The Archbishop refused, on the ground that the regal unction, being of the nature of a sacrament, could not be repeated. The King accordingly, on his return from Ireland, delivered the ampulla to the Archbishop at Chester, with the melancholy presage that it was meant for some more fortunate King.⁵ The ‘Lancaster’ sword was now first introduced, being that which Henry had worn at Ravenspur.⁶ The pall over his head was carried by the four

¹ Knyghton, cc. 2745, 2756. (*Rich-
ard II.* par M. Wallon, ii. 307–312.)

² *Arch.* xx. 206.

³ *Annales Ric. II. et Hen. IV.*, S.

Alban’s Chronicles (Riley), pp. 294, 297.

⁴ Maskell, iii. p. xvii.

⁵ Walsingham, ii. 240.

⁶ *Arch.* xx. 206.

Dukes of York, Surrey, Aumale, and Gloucester, more or less willingly, according to their politics.¹ Both Archbishops joined in the coronation of this orthodox 'Jacob.'² His wife Joan was crowned alone, three months after her marriage.³

Queen
Joan,
Feb. 26,
1403.
Corona-
tion of
Henry V.,
April 9,
Passion
Sunday,
1413.

15. The coronation of Henry V. is the only one represented in the structure of the Abbey itself. The ceremony is sculptured on each side of his Chantry; and assuredly, if ever there was a coronation which carried with it a transforming virtue, it was his.⁴ The chief incident, however, connected with it at the time was the terrible thunderstorm, which was supposed to predict the conflagration of Norwich, Gloucester, and other cities during the ensuing summer, the heavy snow⁵ and rain during the ensuing winter, and the wars⁶ and tumults of the rest of his reign. His Queen, Catherine, was crowned when they returned from France.⁷

Queen
Catherine,
Feb. 24,
1420.

16. The coronation of Henry VI. was the first of a mere child. He was but nine years old, and sate on the platform in the Abbey, 'beholding all the people about sadly and 'wisely.'⁸ It was on the 6th of November, corresponding, as was fancifully thought, to the 6th of December,⁹ his birthday, and to the perfection of the number 6 in the Sixth Henry. Perhaps, in consideration of his tender years, was omitted, at the request of the Pope, the prayer that the King should have Peter's keys and Paul's doctrine.¹⁰ He was afterwards crowned at Paris. His Queen, Margaret, he brought back to be crowned in the Abbey.

Corona-
tion of
Henry VI.
Dec. 6,
1429.

Dec. 17,
1431.
Queen
Margaret,
Jan. 20,
1445.

17. Of the coronation of Edward IV. there is nothing to record except the difficulty about the day.¹¹ It was to have been early in March 1461. It was then, in consequence of the

Corona-
tion of
Edward
IV., June
29, 1466.

¹ *Arch.* xx. 207.

² Pauli, iii. 3.

³ Strickland, iii. 78.

⁴ See Chapter V.

⁵ Redman, p. 62.

⁶ Capgrave, p. 125.

⁷ For the feast see Holinshed, p. 579.

⁸ Taylor, p. 163.

⁹ Capgrave, p. 146; Hook, v. 78.

¹⁰ D'Israeli's *Charles I.*, i. 276.

¹¹ The story of his coronation at York is a mistake, founded on another incident. (Holinshed, iii. 616.)

siege of Carlisle, put off till the 28th of June,¹ ‘the Sunday ‘after Midsummer,’—the day of one other and happier coronation, hereafter to be noticed. But it was again deferred till the 29th,² in consequence of the singular superstition which regarded the 28th of any month to be a repetition of Childermas Day, always considered as unlucky.³

June 29,
1461.

Edward V.
June 22,
1483.

18. All was prepared for the coronation of Edward V.—wildfowl for the banquet, and dresses for the guests.⁴ But he, alone of our English sovereigns, passed to his grave ‘uncrowned, without sceptre or ball.’⁵ His connection with the Abbey is through his birth⁶ and burial.⁷

Corona-
tion of
Richard
III. July 6,
1483.

19. As Henry IV. compensated for the defect of his title by the superior sanctity of his coronation, so the like defect in that of Richard III. was supplied by its superior magnificence. ‘Never,’ it was said, ‘had such an one been seen.’⁸ On the 20th of June he rode in state from the Tower, accompanied by 6,000 gentlemen from the North, to Westminster Hall; and ‘there sate in the seat royal, and called before him ‘the judges to execute the laws, with many good exhortations, of which he followed not one.’⁹ He then went to make his offerings at the shrine of the Confessor. The Abbot met him at the door with St. Edward’s sceptre. ‘The monks ‘sang Te Deum with a faint courage.’ He then returned to the Palace, whence, on the 6th of July, he went with the usual procession to the Abbey. The lofty platform, high above the altar; the strange appearance of King and Queen, as they sate, stripped from the waist upwards, to be anointed—the dukes around the King, the bishops and ladies around the Queen—the train of the Queen borne by Margaret of Richmond¹⁰—were incidents long remembered.

¹ Hall, p. 257.

² Speed, p. 853; Sandford, p. 404.

³ See *Piston Letters*, i. 230, 235.
See also Chapter I.

⁴ *Arch.* i. 387.
Speed, p. 909.

See Chapter V.

See Chapter III.

Speed, p. 933; Hall; Grafton.

Strickland, iii. 375.

Hall, p. 376; Strickland, iii. 376.

20. With all her prescience, Margaret could hardly have foreseen that within three years her own son would be in the same place; nor Bouchier, Cardinal Archbishop, that he would be dragged out, in his extreme old age,¹ a third time to consecrate the doubtful claims of a new dynasty. The coronation of Henry VII. was, however, by its mean appearance, a striking contrast to that of his predecessor.² This may, in part, have been caused by Henry VII.'s well-known parsimony. But it probably also arose from the fact that his real title to the throne rested elsewhere. 'His marriage,' says Lord Bacon, 'was with greater triumph than either his entry or his coronation.'³ His true coronation he felt to have been when, on the field of Bosworth, the crown of Richard was brought by Sir Reginald Bray from the hawthorn-bush to Lord Stanley, who placed it on Henry's head, on the height still called, from the incident, Crown Hill.⁴ As such it appears in the stained glass of the chapel built for him in the Abbey, by the very same Sir Reginald. And in his will he enjoined that his image on his tomb should be represented as holding the crown, 'which it pleased God to give us with the victory of our enemy at our first field.'⁵ Elizabeth of York, from the same feeling, was not crowned till two years afterwards.⁶ Two ceremonies were added, or first noticed, however, in this truncated inauguration. Now first, in the archers needed to guard his dubious claims, appear the 'Yeomen of the Guard.'⁷ The Bishops of Durham and of Bath and Wells, who had both been officers under the York dynasty, were superseded in their proper functions of supporters by the Bishops of Exeter and Ely.⁸

Coronation of Henry VII.
Oct. 30,
1485.

Coronation of Elizabeth of York,
Nov. 27,
1487.
The 'Yeomen of the Guard.'

¹ Hook, v. 383.

² Hall, p. 423.

³ Bacon, *Henry VII.*, p. 26.

⁴ Hutton's *Bosworth*, p. 132.

⁵ Jesse's *Richard III.*, p. 297.

⁶ Leland, iv. 224. Jesse, p. 299.

⁷ Roberts' *York and Lancaster*, p. 472.

⁸ This appears from 'the Device for the Coronation of Henry VII.' (p. 12), published by the Camden Society (No. XXI. 1842).

Coronation
of Henry
VIII.,
June 24,
Sunday,
1509.

21. The splendour of the coronation of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon was such as might have been anticipated from their position and character. Then for the last time, in the person of Warham, an Archbishop of Canterbury officiated, with the sanction of the see of Rome.¹ During its rejoicings Margaret of Richmond, the foundress of the Tudor dynasty, passed away to a more tranquil world.²

Corona-
tion of
Anne Bo-
leyn, 1533.

22. One other female coronation took place in his reign, that of Anne Boleyn. It must be told at length :—

It was resolved that such spots and blemishes as hung about the marriage should be forgotten in the splendour of the coronation. If there was scandal in the condition of the Queen, yet under another aspect that condition was matter of congratulation to a people so eager for an heir ; and Henry may have thought that the sight for the first time in public of so beautiful a creature, surrounded by the most magnificent pageant which London had witnessed since the unknown day on which the first stone of it was laid, and bearing in her bosom the long-hoped-for inheritor of the English crown, might induce a chivalrous nation to forget what it was the interest of no loyal subject to remember longer, and to offer her an English welcome to the throne.

In anticipation of the timely close of the proceedings at Dunstable, notice had been given in the city early in May, that preparations should be made for the coronation on the first of the following month. Queen Anne was at Greenwich, but, according to custom, the few preceding days were to be spent at the Tower ; and on the 19th of May, she was conducted thither in state by the Lord Mayor and the city companies, with one of those splendid exhibitions upon the water which, in the days when the silver Thames deserved its name, and the sun could shine down upon it out of the blue summer sky, were spectacles scarcely rivalled in gorgeousness by the world-famous wedding of the Adriatic. The river was crowded with boats—the banks and the ships in the Pool swarmed with people ; and fifty of the great barges formed the procession, all blazing with gold and banners. The Queen herself was in her own barge, close to that of the Lord Mayor ; and, in keeping with the fantastic genius of the time, she was preceded up the water by ‘a foyst or vafter full of ordnance, in which was a great dragon continually moving and

¹ Hall, p. 509.

² See Chapter III.

‘casting wildfire, and round about the foyst stood terrible ‘monsters 1533.
 ‘and wild men, casting fire and making hideous noise.’ So, with trumpets blowing, cannon pealing, the Tower guns answering the guns of the ships, in a blaze of fireworks and splendour, she was borne along to the great archway of the Tower, where the King was waiting on the stairs to receive her. . . .

On the morning of the 31st of May, the families of the London May 31.
 citizens were stirring early in all houses. From Temple Bar to the Tower, the streets were fresh-strewed with gravel, the footpaths were railed off along the whole distance, and occupied on one side by the guilds, their workmen and apprentices, on the other by the city constables and officials in their gaudy uniforms, ‘with their staves ‘in hand for to cause the people to keep good room and order.’ Cornhill and Gracechurch Street had dressed their fronts in scarlet and crimson, in arras and tapestry, and the rich carpet-work from Persia and the East. Cheapside, to outshine her rivals, was draped even more splendidly in cloth of gold, and tissue and velvet. The sheriffs were pacing up and down on their great Flemish horses, hung with liveries, and all the windows were thronged with ladies crowding to see the procession pass. At length the Tower guns opened, the grim gates rolled back, and under the archway, in the bright May sunshine, the long column began slowly to defile. Two States only permitted their representatives to grace the scene with their presence—Venice and France. It was, perhaps, to make the most of this isolated countenance, that the French ambassador’s train formed the van of the cavalcade. Twelve French knights came riding foremost, in surcoats of blue velvet with sleeves of yellow silk, their horses trapped in blue, with white crosses powdered on their hangings. After them followed a troop of English gentlemen, two-and-two, and then the Knights of the Bath, ‘in gowns of violet, ‘with hoods purpled with miniver like doctors.’ Next, perhaps at a little interval, the Abbots passed on, mitred in their robes; the Barons followed in crimson velvet; the Bishops then, and then the Earls and Marquises, the dresses of each order increasing in elaborate gorgeousness. All these rode on in pairs. . . . It is no easy matter to picture to ourselves the blazing trail of splendour which in such a pageant must have drawn along the London streets—those streets which now we know so black and smoke-grimed, themselves then radiant with masses of colour, gold and crimson and violet. Yet there it was, and there the sun could shine upon it, and tens of thousands of eyes were gazing on the scene out of the crowded lattices.

1533,
May 31.

Glorious as the spectacle was, perhaps, however, it passed unheeded. Those eyes were watching all for another object, which now drew near. In an open space behind the constable, there was seen approaching 'a white chariot,' drawn by two palfreys in white damask which swept the ground, a golden canopy borne above it making music with silver bells: and in the chariot sat the observed of all observers, the beautiful occasion of all this glittering homage—Fortune's plaything of the hour, the Queen of England—Queen at last—borne along upon the waves of this sea of glory, breathing the perfumed incense of greatness which she had risked her fair name, her delicacy, her honour, her self-respect, to win: and she had won it.

There she sat, dressed in white tissue robes, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders, and her temples circled with a light coronet of gold and diamonds—most beautiful—loveliest—most favoured perhaps, as she seemed at that hour, of all England's daughters. . . . Fatal gift of greatness! so dangerous ever! so more than dangerous in those tremendous times when the fountains are broken loose of the great deeps of thought, and nations are in the throes of revolution—when ancient order and law and tradition are splitting in the social earthquake; and as the opposing forces wrestle to and fro, those unhappy ones who stand out above the crowd become the symbols of the struggle, and fall the victims of its alternating fortunes! And what if into an unsteady heart and brain, intoxicated with splendour, the outward chaos should find its way, converting the poor silly soul into an image of the same confusion—if conscience should be deposed from her high place, and the Pandora-box be broken loose of passions and sensualities and follies; and at length there be nothing left of all which man or woman ought to value, save hope of God's forgiveness!

Three short years have yet to pass, and again, on a summer morning, Queen Anne Boleyn will leave the Tower of London—not radiant then with beauty on a gay errand of coronation, but a poor wandering ghost, on a sad tragic errand, from which she will never more return, passing away out of an earth where she may stay no longer, into a Presence where, nevertheless, we know that all is well—for all of us—and therefore for her. . . .

With such 'pretty conceits,' at that time the honest tokens of an English welcome, the new Queen was received by the citizens of London. These scenes must be multiplied by the number of the streets, where some fresh fancy met her at every turn. To preserve the festivities from flagging, every fountain and conduit within the walls ran all day with wine; the bells of every steeple were ringing;

children lay in wait with songs, and ladies with posies, in which all the resources of fantastic extravagance were exhausted ; and thus in an unbroken triumph—and to outward appearance received with the warmest affection—she passed under Temple Bar, down the Strand, by Charing Cross, to Westminster Hall. The King was not with her throughout the day, nor did he intend to be with her in any part of the ceremony. She was to reign without a rival, the undisputed sovereign of the hour. 1533.

Saturday being passed in showing herself to the people, she retired for the night to ' the King's manor-house at Westminster,' where she slept. On the following morning, between eight and nine o'clock, she returned to the Hall, where the Lord Mayor, the City Council, and the Peers were again assembled, and took her place on the high dais at the top of the stairs under the cloth of state ; while the Bishops, the Abbots, and the monks of the Abbey formed in the area. A railed way had been laid with carpets across Palace Yard and the Sanctuary to the Abbey gates ; and when all was ready, preceded by the Peers in their robes of Parliament, the Knights of the Garter in the dress of the Order, she swept out under her canopy, the Bishops and the monks ' solemnly singing.' The train was borne by the old Duchess of Norfolk, her aunt, the Bishops of London and Winchester on either side ' bearing up the lappets of her robe.' The Earl of Oxford carried the crown on its cushion immediately before her. She was dressed in purple velvet furred with ermine, her hair escaping loose, as she usually wore it, under a wreath of diamonds. Sunday, June 1.

On entering the Abbey, she was led to the coronation chair, where she sat while the train fell into their places, and the preliminaries of the ceremonial were despatched. Then she was conducted up to the High Altar, and anointed Queen of England ; and she received from the hands of Cranmer, fresh come in haste from Dunstable, with the last words of his sentence upon Catherine scarcely silent upon his lips, the golden sceptre and St. Edward's crown.

Did any twinge of remorse, any pang of painful recollection, pierce at that moment the incense of glory which she was inhaling ? Did any vision flit across her of a sad mourning figure, which once had stood where she was standing, now desolate, neglected, sinking into the darkening twilight of a life cut short by sorrow ? Who can tell ? At such a time, that figure would have weighed heavily upon a noble mind, and a wise mind would have been taught by the thought of it, that although life be fleeting as a dream, it is long enough to experience strange vicissitudes of fortune. But Anne Boleyn was not noble and was not wise,—too probably she felt

nothing but the delicious, all-absorbing, all-intoxicating present ; and if that plain suffering face presented itself to her memory at all, we may fear that it was rather as a foil to her own surpassing loveliness. Two years later, she was able to exult over Catherine's death ; she is not likely to have thought of her with gentler feelings in the first glow and flush of triumph.¹

The 'three gentlemen' who met in 'a street in Westminster' in the opening of the 4th Act of Shakspeare's 'Henry VIII.' are the lively representatives, so to speak, of the multitudes who since have 'taken their stand here,' to behold the pageant of coronations :—

God save you, sir ! Where have you been broiling ?

3rd Gent. Among the crowd i' the Abbey

2nd Gent. You saw the ceremony ?

3rd Gent. That I did.

1st Gent. How was it ?

3rd Gent. Well worth the seeing.

2nd Gent. Good sir, speak it to us.

3rd Gent. As well as I am able. The rich stream
Of lords, and ladies, having brought the Queen
To a prepar'd place in the Choir, fell off
A distance from her ; whilst her Grace sat down
To rest a while, some half an hour or so,
In a rich chair of state, opposing freely
The beauty of her person to the people.
Believe me, sir, she is the goodliest woman
That ever lay by man. . . . Such joy
I never saw before. . . .

At length her Grace rose, and with modest paces
Came to the altar ; where she kneel'd and, saintlike,
Cast her fair eyes to heaven, and pray'd devoutly.
. . . . So she parted,
And with the same full state pac'd back again
To York Place, where the feast is held.²

After Anne Boleyn's death, none of Henry's Queens were crowned. Jane Seymour would have been but for the plague, which raged 'in the Abbey itself.'³

¹ Froude, i. 456-58.

² *Henry VIII.*, Act iv. sc. 1.

³ Henry VIII.'s *State Papers* (i. 460).

22. The design which had been conceived by the Second Henry, for securing the succession by the coronation of his eldest son before his death, also, for like reasons, took possession of the mind of Henry VIII. The preparations for Edward VI.'s inauguration were in progress at the moment of his father's death: in fact, it took place within the next month. The incidents in the procession from the Tower here first assume a characteristic form.¹ An Arragonese sailor capered on a tight-rope down from the battlements of St. Paul's to a window at the Dean's Gate, which delighted the boy King. Logic, Arithmetic, and other sciences greeted the precocious child on his advance. One or two vestiges of the fading past crossed his road. 'An old man in a chair, with crown and sceptre, represented the state of King Edward the Confessor. 'St. George would have spoken, but that his Grace made 'such speed that for lack of time he could not.'² On his arrival at the Abbey, he found it, for the one only time that it ever wore that aspect during a coronation, a '*cathedral*.'³ He was met not by Abbot or Dean, but by the then Bishop of Westminster, Thirlby. The King's godfather, Archbishop Cranmer, officiated; and the changes of the service, which was still that of the Mass of the Church of Rome, were most significant. It was greatly abridged, partly 'for the 'tedious length of the same,' and 'the tender age' of the King—partly for 'that many points of the same were such as, by 'the laws of the nation, were not allowable.' Instead of the ancient form of election, the Archbishop presented the young Prince as 'rightful and undoubted inheritor.'⁴ The consent of the people was only asked to the ceremony of the coronation. The unction was performed with unusual care.

Coronation
of Edward
VI. Feb.
20, Shrove
Tuesday,
1546.

¹ Holinshed; Taylor, p. 285; Leland, iv. 321; Frynne's *Signal Loyalty*, part ii. p. 250.

² Leland, iv. 324.

³ See Chapter VI.

⁴ Burnet, *Coll. Rec.*, part ii. book i. No. 4.

‘My Lord of Canterbury kneeling on his knees, and the King lying prostrate upon the altar, anointed his back.’ The coronation itself was peculiar. ‘My Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, held the crown in his hand for a certain space,’¹ and it was set on the King’s head by those two, the Duke and the Archbishop. There was no sermon; but the short address of Cranmer, considering the punctiliousness with which the ceremony had been performed, and the importance of his position as the Father of the Reformed Church of England, is perhaps the boldest and most pregnant utterance ever delivered in the Abbey:

Arch-
bishop
Cranmer’s
address.

Most dread and Royal Sovereign!—The promises your Highness hath made here, at your coronation, to forsake the devil and all his works, are not to be taken in the Bishop of Rome’s sense, when you commit anything distasteful to that see, to hit your Majesty in the teeth, as Pope Paul the Third, late Bishop of Rome, sent to your royal father, saying, ‘*Didst thou not promise, at our permission of thy coronation, to forsake the devil and all his works, and dost thou run to heresy? For the breach of this thy promise, knowest thou not, that it is in our power to dispose of thy sword and sceptre to whom we please?*’¹ We, your Majesty’s clergy, do humbly conceive that this promise reacheth not at your Highness’s sword, spiritual or temporal, or in the least at your Highness swaying the sceptre of this your dominion, as you and your predecessors have had them from God. Neither could your ancestors lawfully resign up their crowns to the Bishop of Rome or his legates, according to their ancient oaths then taken upon that ceremony.

The Bishops of Canterbury, for the most part, have crowned your predecessors, and anointed them Kings of this land; yet it was not in their power to receive or reject them, neither did it give them authority to prescribe them conditions to take or to leave their crowns, although the Bishops of Rome would encroach upon your predecessors by their act and oil, that in the end they might possess those bishops with an interest to dispose of their crowns at their pleasure. But the wiser sort will look to their claws, and clip them.

The solemn rites of coronation have their ends and utility, yet

¹ Strype’s *Memorials of Cranmer*, quoted in ‘*Chapters in Coronations*,’ i. 204. For the story of the Bible, (p. 174), I can find no authority.

neither direct force nor necessity : they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity : for they be God's anointed—not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained ; of the sword, which is authorised ; of their persons, which are elected of God, and endued with the gifts of His Spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of His people.

The oil, if added, is but a ceremony : if it be wanting, that king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled. Now for the person or bishop that doth anoint a king, it is proper to be done by the chiefest. But if they cannot, or will not, any bishop may perform this ceremony.

To condition with monarchs upon these ceremonies, the Bishop of Rome (or other bishops owning his supremacy) hath no authority : but he may faithfully declare what God requires at the hands of kings and rulers—that is, religion and virtue. Therefore not from the Bishop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your Royal Majesty what things your Highness is to perform.

Your Majesty is God's Vicegerent and Christ's Vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josias, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed ; the tyranny of the Bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts be signs of a second Josias, who reformed the Church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms. For precedents on those kings who performed not these things, the old law shows how the Lord revenged His quarrel ; and on those kings who fulfilled these things, He poured forth His blessings in abundance. For example, it is written of Josiah, in the Book of the Kings, thus : *'Like unto him there was no king that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according to all the law of Moses, neither after him arose there any like him.'* This was to that prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to remain to the end of days.

Being bound by my functions to lay these things before your Royal Highness—the one as a reward, if you fulfil ; the other as a judgment from God, if you neglect them—yet I openly declare, before the living God, and before these nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your Majesty deprived, if your Highness miss in part, or in whole, of these performances : much less to draw up indentures between God and your Majesty, or to say you forfeit

your crown, with a clause for the Bishop of Rome, as have been done by your Majesty's predecessors, King John and his son Henry, of this land. The Almighty God, of His merey, let the light of His countenance shine upon your Majesty, grant you a prosperous and happy reign, defend you, and save you; and let your subjects say, Amen.

'God save the King!'¹

Mary.

23. Mary's coronation was stamped with all the strange vicissitudes of her accession. Now first rose into view the difficulties, which in various forms have reappeared since, respecting the Coronation Oath.

The Council proposed to bind the Queen, by an especial clause, to maintain the independence of the English Church; and she, on the other hand, was meditating how she could introduce an adjective *sub silentio*, and intended to swear only that she would observe the 'just' laws and constitutions. But these grounds could not be avowed.

The Pro-
cession,
Oct. 9,
1553.

The Queen was told that her passage through the streets would be unsafe until her accession had been sanctioned by Parliament, and the Act repealed by which she was illegitimatised. With Paget's help she faced down these objections, and declared that she would be crowned at once; she appointed the 1st of October for the ceremony; on the 28th she sent for the Council, to attempt an appeal to their generosity. She spoke to them at length of her past life and sufferings, of the conspiracy to set her aside, and of the wonderful Providence which had preserved her and raised her to the throne: her only desire, she said, was to do her duty to God and to her subjects; and she hoped (turning, as she spoke, pointedly to Gardiner) that they would not forget their loyalty, and would stand by her in her extreme necessity. Observing them hesitate, she cried, 'My Lords, on my knees I implore you!'—and flung herself on the ground at their feet.

The most skilful acting could not have served Mary's purpose better than this outburst of natural emotion; the spectacle of their kneeling sovereign overcame for a time the scheming passions of her ministers; they were affected, burst into tears, and withdrew their opposition to her wishes.

On the 30th, the procession from the Tower to Westminster through the streets was safely accomplished. The retinues of the Lords protected the Queen from insult, and London put on its usual

¹ Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, i. 205.

outward signs of rejoicing ; St. Paul's spire was rigged with yards like a ship's mast [an adventurous Dutchman outdoing the Spaniard at Edward VI.'s coronation, and sitting astride on the weathercock, five hundred feet in the air].¹ The Hot Gospeller, half-recovered from his gaol-fever, got out of bed to see the spectacle, and took his station at the west end of St. Paul's. The procession passed so close as almost to touch him, and one of the train, seeing him muffled up, and looking more dead than alive, said, ' There is one that loveth Her Majesty well, to come out in such condition. The Queen turned her head and looked at him. To hear that any one of her subjects loved her just then was too welcome to be overlooked.'²

On the next day the ceremony in the Abbey was performed, without fresh burdens being laid upon Mary's conscience. The three chief prelates, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London, were prisoners in the Tower. Gardiner therefore, as Bishop of Winchester, officiated, ' without ' any express right or precedent,' as Archbishop Parker afterwards indignantly wrote.³ The sermon was by Bishop Day, who had preached at her brother's funeral.⁴ She had been alarmed lest Henry IV.'s holy oil should have lost its efficacy through the interdict ; and, accordingly, a fresh supply was sent through the Imperial Ambassador, blessed by the Bishop of Arras. She had also feared lest even St. Edward's Chair had been polluted, by having been the seat of her Protestant brother ; and accordingly, though it is expressly stated to have been brought out, another chair was sent by the Pope, in which she sate, and which is now said to be in the cathedral of Winchester.⁵ Anne of Cleves was present, and also Elizabeth. The Princess complained to the French Ambassador of the weight of her coronet. ' Have patience,' said Noailles, ' and before long you will exchange it for a crown.'⁶

The Coronation,
Oct. 10,
1553.

24. That time soon arrived. The coronation of Elizabeth,

¹ Taylor, p. 287. Holinshed.

² Froude, vi. 100, 101.

³ *De Ant. Brit.* p. 509.

⁴ Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* ii. 251.

⁵ Planché, p. 60. — A reasonable

doubt is expressed (in *Gent. Mag.* 1838, p. 612) whether the Winchester chair is not that which served for her marriage.

⁶ Froude, vi. 102.

Elizabeth. like that of her sister, had its own special characteristics. The day (January 15) was fixed in deference to her astrologer, Dee, who pronounced it a day of good luck. It is the first example (except in the enforced instance of Edward I.) of the long interval between the accession and the coronation, which has since become habitual—itself a sign that the belief in the sacramental and legalising virtue of the rite was evaporating.

The Pro-
cession,
Jan. 14,
1557.

As she passed out to her carriage under the gates of the Tower, fraught to her with such stern remembrances, she stood still, looked up to heaven, and said—

‘O Lord, Almighty and Everlasting God, I give Thee most humble thanks, that Thou hast been so merciful unto me as to spare me to behold this joyful day; and I acknowledge that Thou hast dealt wonderfully and mercifully with me. As Thou didst with Thy servant Daniel the prophet, whom Thou deliveredst out of the den, from the cruelty of the raging lions, even so was I overwhelmed, and only by Thee delivered. To Thee, therefore, only be thanks, honour, and praise for ever. Amen.’

She then took her seat, and passed on—passed on through thronged streets and crowded balconies, amidst a people to whom her accession was as the rising of the sun. Away in the country the Protestants were few and the Catholics many. But the Londoners were the firstborn of the Reformation, whom the lurid fires of Smithfield had worked only into fiercer convictions. The aldermen wept for joy as she went by. Groups of children waited for her with their little songs at the crosses and conduits. Poor women, though it was midwinter, flung nosegays into her lap. In Cheapside the Corporation presented her with an English Bible. She kissed it, ‘thanking the City for their goodly gift,’ and saying ‘she would diligently read therein.’ One of the crowd, recollecting who first gave the Bible to England, exclaimed, ‘Remember old King Harry the Eighth!’ and a gleam of light passed over Elizabeth’s face—‘a natural child,’ says Holinshed, ‘who at the very remembrance of her father’s name took so great a joy, that all men may well think that as she rejoiced at his name whom the realm doth still hold of so worthy memory, so in her doings she will resemble the same.’¹

¹ Froude, vii. 38, 39.

The pageants in the City were partly historical—partly theological: her grandparents and her parents, the eight Beatitudes; Time with his daughter Truth—‘a seemly and ‘meet personage richly apparelled in Parliament robes’—Deborah ‘the judge and restorer of the House of Israel.’ On Temple Bar, for once deserting their stations at Guildhall, Gog and Magog stood, with hands joined over the gate. The Queen thanked her citizens, and assured them that she would ‘stand their good Queen.’ It has been truly remarked, that the increased seriousness of the time is shown in the contrast between these grave Biblical figures and the light classical imagery of the pageants that witnessed the passage of her mother.¹

At the ceremony in the Abbey, on the following day, the Coronation Mass was celebrated, and the Abbot of Westminster took his part in the service for the last time. Thus far Elizabeth’s conformity to the ancient Ritual was complete. But the coming changes made themselves felt. The Litany was read in English; the Gospel and Epistle, still more characteristically representing her double ecclesiastical position, in Latin and English. On these grounds, and from an unwillingness to acknowledge her disputed succession, the whole Bench of Bishops, with one exception, were absent.² The see of Canterbury was vacant. The Archbishop of York demurred to the English Litany. The Bishop of London, the proper representative of the Primate on these occasions, was in prison. But his robes were borrowed; and Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, Dean of the Chapel Royal, consented to act for him, but, it was believed, afterwards died of remorse.³ ‘The oil was grease, and smelt ill.’ Still the ceremony was completed, and she was elected and ‘proclaimed’ by the singular but expressive title—‘Empress ‘from the Orcade Isles unto the Mountains Pyrenee.’⁴

The
Corona-
tion, Sun-
day, Jan
15, 1559.

¹ Aikin's *Elizabeth*, i. 251.

² Burnet, ii. pt i. p. 685.

³ Ibid. i. 252; Nichols' *Progresses*, i. 30; Taylor, p. 287.

⁴ Planché, p. 47; Strickland, vi. 165, 167.

Corona-
tion of
James I.
Monday,
St. James's
Day, Feb.
25, 1603.

25. The coronation of James I., like that of Elizabeth, took place nearly a year after his accession. The day was chosen from his namesake the Apostle. The procession from the Tower was abandoned, in consequence of the plague; though Ben Jonson, who had been employed by the City to prepare the pageants, published his account of what they would have been.¹ The King and Queen went straight from the Palace to the Abbey, Anne 'with her hair down hanging.'² The presence of all the Bishops, contrasted with the scanty attendance at the inauguration of Elizabeth, indicates that this was the first coronation celebrated by the Anglican Reformed Church. Andrews was Dean; Whitgift was Archbishop. When James sat on the Stone of Scone,³ the first King of Great Britain, the Scots believed the ancient prediction to have been at last fulfilled. The only drawback in the ceremonial was the refusal of Anne to take the sacrament: 'she had 'changed her Lutheran religion once before,' for the Presbyterian forms of Scotland, and that was enough.

Two significant changes were made in the Ritual, indicative of the grasping tendency of the Stuart kings. For the first time, instead of the words 'whom we *elect*,' were inserted the words 'whom we *consecrate*;' and instead of the words, 'the laws which the commons have *chosen*,' were substituted the words, 'the laws which the commonalty of your kingdom 'have chosen.'⁵ This last was made one of the articles of Laud's impeachment, on the erroneous supposition that he had made the change for Charles I.

Corona-
tion of
Charles I.

26. The coronation of Charles I. was filled, both to the wise and to the superstitious, with omens of coming disaster. As in the time of his father, there was no procession, nominally

¹ Aikin's *James I.*, p. 151. They took place some months later. (*Gent. Mag.*, 1838, p. 189.)

² Nichols' *Progresses*, i. 377; Birch, *State Papers*, ii. 504; Strickland,

v. 105.

³ Speed, p. 888.

⁴ Chapters, p. 103.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 108; Heylin's *Laud*, p. 143.

because of the plague;¹ but really, it was suspected, because of the wish of 'Baby Charles' to save the money for the Spanish war, without the need of going to Parliament for supplies. Sir Robert Cotton was waiting at the stairs leading to his house, in the neighbourhood of the Palace, to present him with the ancient Gospels, 'on which for divers hundred years together the Kings of England had solemnly taken their coronation oaths.' But the royal barge 'balked those steps,' and 'was run aground at the Parliament stairs.' Sir Robert was glad that the inconvenient precedent of landing at his stairs was missed; but it was believed that 'the Duke of Buckingham had prevented that act of grace being done him.'² There was a feud raging within the Chapter of Westminster—an echo of the larger struggles without—which was apparent as soon as the King entered the doors of the Abbey. Williams, the Dean, was in disgrace, and had in vain entreated Buckingham to be allowed to officiate. But his rival, Laud, carried the day through that potent favourite, and, as prebendary, took the place of his hated superior.³ The coronations of the Tudor sovereigns having been according⁴ to the Roman Pontifical, and James I. having been prepared in haste, Charles issued a Commission, in which Laud took the chief part, in preparing a service according to the rules of the Church of England. With a passion for the Royal Prerogative curiously contrasted with the antipathy to it manifested by his spiritual descendants, he introduced the prayer (omitted since the time of Henry VI.) that the King might

Feast of
the Puri-
fication,
Feb. 2,
1626.

¹ Though the infectious air of London had lately been corrected with a sharp winter, yet . . . a suspicion of danger did remain. (Fuller's *Church Hist.* A.D. 1626.)

² Ellis's *Collection of Original Letters*, i. 214; *Gent. Mag.* 1838, vol. ix. p. 473.

³ It was left to Williams's choice to

name a prebendary. He could not pass over Laud (as Bishop of St. David's), and he would not nominate him. He therefore presented a complete list, and left to the King to choose (Fuller's *Church Hist.* A.D. 1626). See Chapter VI.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 143.

have ‘Peter’s keys and Paul’s doctrine.’¹ The words ‘to the people’ were said to have been left out in the oath.² On the altar he planted an ancient crucifix from the Regalia. Whether by accident, or from its being the proper colour for the day (the Feast of the Purification, or ‘to declare the virgin purity with which he came to be espoused to his kingdom’), Charles changed the usual purple velvet robe for one of white satin, which the spectators, at the time or afterwards, regarded as ominous of his being led out as a victim, or as having drawn upon him the misfortunes predicted in ancient days for the ‘White King.’ ‘The left wing of the dove, the mark of the Confessor’s halcyon days, was broken on the sceptre staff—by what casualty God himself knows. The King sent for Mr. Acton, then his goldsmith, commanding him that the ring-stone should be set in again. The goldsmith replied that it was impossible to be done so fairly but that some mark would remain thereof. The King, in some passion, returned, “If you will not do it, another shall.” Thereupon Mr. Acton returned and got another dove of gold to be artificially set in; whereat his Majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof.’³ It was the first infringement on the old regalia. The text was, as if for a funeral sermon, ‘I will give thee a crown of life,’ by Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, who died shortly after of black jaundice, ‘a disease which hangs the face with mourning as against its burial.’⁴ During the solemnity an earthquake was felt, which Baxter long remembered, ‘being a boy at school at the time, and having leave to play. It was about two o’clock in the afternoon, and did affright the boys and all in the neighbourhood.’⁵

The whole ceremonial is detailed by Fuller as coming within (if not the park and pale) the purlious of ecclesias-

¹ Heylin’s *Laud*, p. 143.

² Oldmixon, i. 82.

³ Ibid.; Palgrave’s *Normandy*, iii.

880; Heylin’s *Laud*, p. 144.

⁴ Fuller’s *Church Hist.* A.D. 1626.

⁵ Baxter’s *Life*, p. 2.

‘tical history.’ But he adds, with a touching pathos: ‘I have insisted the longer on this subject, moved thereat by this consideration—that if it be the last solemnity performed on an English King in this land, posterity will conceive my pains well bestowed, because on the last. But, if hereafter Divine Providence shall assign England another King, though the transactions herein be not wholly preceded, something of state may be chosen out grateful for imitation.’¹

27. At the time when Fuller wrote these words, it did indeed seem as if Charles I.’s coronation would be the last. All its disastrous omens had been verified, and a new dynasty seemed firmly established on the throne of this realm. The Regalia were gone.² Yet even then there was a semblance preserved of the ancient Ritual. Not in the Abbey, but in the adjacent Hall, his Highness Oliver Cromwell was ‘installed’ as Lord Protector; and out of the Abbey was brought, for that one and only time, ‘the Chair of Scotland,’ and on it, ‘under a prince-like canopy of state,’ as a successor of Fergus and Kenneth, of Edward I. and of James I., Oliver was solemnly enthroned. To him, first of English sovereigns, was presented the Bible: ‘a book of books,’ which ‘doth contain both precepts and examples for good government;’ ‘the book of life, which, in the Old Testament, shows *Christum velatum*; in the New, *Christum revelatum*.’³

Install-
ation of
Oliver
Cromwell.
June 26,
1657.

28. The coronation of Charles II.⁴ was celebrated with all the splendour which the enthusiasm of the Restoration could provide. It is the first of which an elaborate pictorial

Corona-
tion of
Charles II.

¹ Fuller’s *Church Hist.* A.D. 1626.—Charles I. was crowned King of Scotland at Edinburgh, by Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews. (See Ellis’s *Letters*, iii. 283; D’Israeli’s *Charles I.*, i. 276.)

² See Chapters V. and VI.

³ Forster’s *Statuten of the Commonwealth*, v. 421. 423.

⁴ He had already been crowned, in

the parish church of Seone, on January 1, 1651. The sermon was preached by the Moderator of the General Assembly. The text was 2 Kings xi. 12—17. After the sermon the King swore, with his usual facility, to carry out the Solemn League and Covenant. He was crowned by the Marquis of Argyll, who was executed after the Restoration.

representation remains.¹ 'The ceremony of the King's coronation was done with the greatest solemnity and glory,' says Clarendon, 'that ever any had been seen in that kingdom.' The utmost care was taken to examine 'the records and old 'formularies,' and to ascertain the 'claims to privileges and 'precedency,' in order 'to discredit and discountenance the 'novelties with which the kingdom had been so much in- 'toxicated for so many years together.'²

The Pro-
cession,
April 22,
1661.

The procession from the Tower was revived. Pepys, of course, was there to see:

Up early, and made myself as fine as I could, and put on my velvet coat, the first day that I put it on, though made half a year ago. . . . It is impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid [in the procession], and their horses and horsecloths. Amongst others, my Lord Sackvill's diamonds and embroidery was not ordinary among them. The Knights of the Bath was a brave sight in itself. . . . Remarkable were the two men that represent the two Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine. The Bishops were next after Barons, which is the higher place; which makes me think that the next Parliament they will be called to the House of Lords. My Lord Monk rode bare after the King, and led in his hand a spare horse, being Master of the Horse. . . . The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets upon them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows. . . . Both the King and the Duke of York took notice of us, as they saw us at the window. . . .

The
Corona-
tion,
April 23,
1661.

About four I rose and got to the Abbey, and with much ado did get up into a scaffold across the north end, where with a great deal of patience I sate from past four till eleven. And a great pleasure it was to see the Abbey raised in the middle, all covered with red, and a throne, that is a chair and footstool, on the top of it, and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests. At last comes the Dean [Dr. Earle] and Prebendaries of Westminster.³

The ceremonial we need not follow, except in a few characteristic particulars. The sermon was preached before, on

¹ Ogilvy's *Coronation of King Charles II.*, where every triumphal arch is described.

² Clarendon's *Life*, April 23, 1661.

³ Pepys's *Diary*, April 22 and 23, 1661.

Prov. xxviii. 2, in Henry VII.'s Chapel,¹ by Morley, Bishop of Worcester. The Regalia were all new, though bearing the ancient names, in the place of those that perished in the Commonwealth. Busby carried the ampulla. Archbishop Juxon, 'in a rich ancient cope,' 'present but much indisposed the while,'² performed the anointing. The rest of the service was carried on by Sheldon, as Bishop of London. Several untoward incidents marred the solemnity. The Duke of York prevailed on the King, 'who had not high reverence for old customs,' that Lord Jermyn should act the part of his Master of the Horse, as the Duke of Albemarle did to the King.

The Lords were exceedingly surprised and troubled at this, of which they heard nothing till they saw it; and they liked it the worse because they discerned that it issued from a fountain from whence many bitter waters were like to flow—the customs of the Court of France, whereof the King and the Duke had too much the image in their heads, and than which there could not be a copy more universally ingrateful and odious to the English nation.

The Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Ossory quarrelled as to the right of carrying the insignia, 'as they sate at table in Westminster Hall.'³ The King's footmen and the Barons of the Cinque Ports had a desperate struggle for the canopy.

'Strange it is to think that these two days have held up fair till all is done, and then it fell raining, and thundering, and lightning as I have not seen it so for some years; which people did take great notice of.'⁴

29. As in the case of Charles II., so of James II., an elaborate description of the pageant is preserved.⁵ He was crowned, as his brother had been, on the 23rd of April, the Feast of St. George.

Coronation of James II. April 23, 1686.

¹ The King rode, not to Westminster, but to Whitehall. The banquet, however, was at Westminster. (Gilvy, 177.)

² Evelyn, April 23, 1661; Ogilvy, p. 177.

³ Clarendon's *Life*, *ibid*.

⁴ Pepys, April 23, 1661.—There was no coronation for the Queen-Consort in 1662.

⁵ Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II.*

The presence of the Queen and of the Peeresses gave to the solemnity a charm which had been wanting to the magnificent inauguration of the late King. Yet those who remembered that inauguration pronounced that there was a great falling-off. . . . James ordered an estimate to be made of the cost of the procession from the Tower, and found that it would amount to about half as much as he proposed to expend in covering his wife with trinkets. He accordingly determined to be profuse where he ought to have been frugal, and niggardly where he might pardonably have been profuse. More than a hundred thousand pounds were laid out in dressing the Queen, and the procession from the Tower was omitted. The folly of this course is obvious. If pageantry be of any use in politics, it is of use as a means of striking the imagination of the multitude. It is surely the height of absurdity to shut out the populace from a show of which the main object is to make an impression on the populace. James would have shown a more judicious munificence and a more judicious parsimony, if he had traversed London from east to west with the accustomed pomp, and had ordered the robes of his wife to be somewhat less thickly set with pearls and diamonds. His example was, however, long followed by his successors; and sums which, well employed, would have afforded exquisite gratification to a large part of the nation, were squandered on an exhibition to which only three or four thousand privileged persons were admitted.

James had ordered Sancroft to abridge the Ritual. The reason publicly assigned was that the day was too short for all that was to be done. But whoever examines the changes which were made will see that the real object was to remove some things highly offensive to the religious feelings of a zealous Roman Catholic. The Communion Service was not read.¹ . . .

Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, preached. He was one of those writers who still affected the obsolete style of Archbishop Williams and Bishop Andrews. The sermon was made up of quaint conceits, such as seventy years earlier might have been admired, but such as moved the scorn of a generation accustomed to the purer eloquence of Sprat, of South, and of Tillotson. King Solomon was King James. Adonijah was Monmouth. Joab was a Rye-house conspirator; Shimei, a Whig libeller; Abiathar, an honest but misguided old cavalier. One phrase in the Book of Chronicles was construed to mean that the King was above the Parliament, and another was

¹ The Coronation Oath is said to have been altered. (Oldmixon, ii. 695.) The ceremony of the presentation of the Bible was not yet a fixed part of the Ritual.

cited to prove that he alone ought to command the militia. Towards the close of the discourse, the orator very timidly alluded to the new and embarrassing position in which the Church stood with reference to the sovereign, and reminded his hearers that the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, though not himself a Christian, had held in honour those Christians who remained true to their religion, and had treated with scorn those who sought to earn his favour by apostacy. The service in the Abbey was followed by a stately banquet in the Hall, the banquet by brilliant fireworks, and the fireworks by much bad poetry.¹

The crown had tottered on James's head. Henry Sidney, as Keeper of the Robes, held it up. 'This,' he said, 'is not 'the first time our family has supported the crown.'²

30. The same apprehensions that Fuller entertained when he recorded the coronation of Charles I., under the feeling that it might be the last, were doubtless felt by many a spectator of the events which succeeded the coronation of James II., that this again would not be followed by another. The legitimate line was broken: the successor was neither an Englishman nor an Anglican. But, with that tenacity of ancient forms which distinguished the Revolution of 1688, the rite of Coronation, so far from being set aside, was now first sanctioned by Act of Parliament.³ It owed this recognition, doubtless, to the Coronation Oath, which had always been treated as the safeguard of the liberties of the English Church and nation, and was now, for the first time since the Reformation, altered into conformity with the actual usages of the kingdom, to maintain 'the Protestant religion as 'established by law.'⁴ 'From this time,' said a speaker in the House of Commons, 'the English will date their liberty and

William
and Mary.

Sanction of
their Coro-
nation by
Parlia-
ment.

¹ Macaulay, i. 473. 474.

² Oldmixon, i. 195; North, ii. 126. Two relics of James's coronation remain:—1. The music, then first used, of Purcell and Blow (Planché, p. 52). 2. The tapestry, preserved in Westminster School and in the Jerusalem Chamber, of which two of the pieces,

those of the Circumcision and of Goliath, can be identified in Sandford's engravings.

³ 1 William & Mary c. 14.

⁴ For the whole question of the alteration of the Coronation Oath, see Macaulay, iii. 114—117.

‘their laws from William and Mary, not from St. Edward
‘Confessor.’

The Pro-
cession.

The procession at their coronation, as in the case of James II., took place not from the Tower, but from the Palace of Whitehall. It was delayed more than two hours (from 11 A.M. to 1.30 P.M.), by the alarming intelligence, which reached the King and Queen that very morning, of the landing of James II. in Ireland.

The
Corona-
tion,
Saturday,
April 11,
1689.

At last they appeared. There were many peculiarities in the spectacle. The double coronation was such as had never been seen before. The tall Queen and short King walked side by side, not as sovereign and consort, but as joint sovereigns, with the sword between them. For the first time a second chair of state was provided, which has since been habitually used for the Queens-consort. Into this chair Mary was lifted, like her husband, girt with the sword, and invested with the symbols of sovereignty. The Princess Anne, who stood near, said, ‘Madam, I pity your fatigue.’ The Queen turned sharply, with the words, ‘A crown, sister, ‘is not so heavy as it seems.’¹ Behind the altar rose, for the first time, the seats of the assembled Commons. There was a full attendance of the lay magnates of the realm, including even some who had voted for a Regency. Amongst the gifts was (as at the installation of Cromwell) presented the Bible, now and henceforward, as ‘the most valuable thing that ‘this world contains.’²

The show of Bishops, indeed, was scanty. The Primate did not make his appearance; and his place was supplied by Compton. On one side of Compton, the paten was carried by Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, eminent among the seven confessors of the preceding year. On the other side Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, lately a member of the High Commission, had charge of the chalice. Burnet, the junior prelate, preached (on the last words of David the son of Jesse)³ with all his wonted ability, and more than

¹ Oldmixon’s *Hist. of England*;
William and Mary, p. 8.

² Maskell, iii. p. cxix.

³ Narcissus Luttrell’s *Diary*. i. 521.

his wonted taste and judgment. His grave and eloquent discourse was polluted neither by adulation nor by malignity. He is said to have been greatly applauded; and it may well be believed that the animated peroration, in which he implored Heaven to bless the royal pair with long life and mutual love, with obedient subjects, wise counsellors, and faithful allies, with gallant fleets and armies, with victory, with peace, and finally with crowns more glorious and more durable than those which then glittered on the altar of the Abbey, drew forth the loudest hums of the Commons.¹

There were, of course, bad omens observed by the Jacobites. The day was, for the first time, neither a Sunday nor a holy-day. The King had no money for the accustomed offering of twenty guineas, and it was supplied by Danby.² The way from the Abbey to the Palace was lined with Dutch soldiers. The medals had on their reverse a chariot, which was interpreted to be that on which Tullia drove over her father's body. The more scurrilous lampoons represented a boxing-match between the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London in the Abbey, and the Champion riding up the Hall on an ass which kicked over the royal tables.³ The Champion's glove was reported to have been carried off by an old woman upon crutches. 'I heard the sound of his gauntlet when he flung it on the ground,' says a spectator; 'but as the light in Westminster Hall had utterly failed, no person could distinguish what was done.'⁴

31. The coronation of Anne, the last Stuart sovereign, had been fixed long before to be, as that of her father and grandfather, on St. George's Day. The Queen was carried, owing to her gout, from St. James's to the Abbey.⁵ The duties of Lord Great Chamberlain were performed by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Her train was carried by Lady Mary Wortley

Coronation of Anne.
April 23
1702.

2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4: 'He that ruleth over man must be just, ruling in the fear of God. And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of

the earth by clear shining after rain.'

¹ Macaulay, iii. 118, 119.

² Lamberty in Strickland, xii. 24.

³ Macaulay, iii. 120.

⁴ Lamberty in Strickland, xi. 27.

⁵ Taylor, p. 111.

Montague. Archbishop Tenison crowned her.¹ Sharp, Archbishop of York, preached the sermon on Isa. xlix. 23, 'Kings 'shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queen's thy nursing 'mothers'—doubtless in the expectation, not altogether fruitless, of the advantages that the Church of England would derive from 'the bounty of good Queen Anne.' One important place was vacant. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, who should have supported her left side, was absent. For Ken was in his nonjuring retirement, and Kidder was in disgrace.² It was remembered that the high offices of the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine were represented by Jonathan Andrews and James Clark.³ The Queen received the homage of her husband, Prince George of Denmark, in the same form as that of the English nobles.

Corona-
tion of
George I.
Oct. 20,
1714.

32. George I.'s coronation was an awkward reconciliation between the two contending factions and nations. The ceremonies had to be explained by the ministers, who could not speak German, to the King, who could not speak English, in Latin, which they must both have spoken very imperfectly. Hence the saying, that much 'bad language' passed between them.⁴ Bolingbroke and Oxford endeavoured to propitiate the new dynasty by assisting at the coronation—Atterbury, by offering to the King the perquisites which he might have claimed as Dean. Bishop Talbot preached the sermon. The day was celebrated at Oxford by Jacobite degrees, and at Bristol by Jacobite riots.

In this reign a permanent change was effected in one of the accompaniments of the coronation,—namely, the new arrangement of the Knights of the Bath. In the earlier coronations, it had been the practice of the sovereigns to

¹ It is said that she had negotiated for Ken to crown her. But this could hardly have been done without expelling Tenison. (Strickland, xii. 48.)

² *Ibid.*

³ Taylor, p. 105.

⁴ Chapters, p. 188.

⁵ Oldmixon, ii. 578.

⁶ Stanhope's *England*, vol. i. 167.

create a number of knights before they started on their procession from the Tower. These knights being made in time of peace, were not enrolled in any existing order, and for a long period had no special designation; but, inasmuch as one of the most striking and characteristic parts of their admission was the complete ablution of their persons on the vigil of their knighthood, as an emblem of the cleanliness and purity of their future profession, they were called Knights of 'the Bath.'¹ The King himself bathed on the occasion with them. They were completely undressed, placed in large baths, and then wrapped in soft blankets.² The distinctive name first appears in the time of Henry V. The ceremony had always taken place at Westminster; the bath in the Painted or Prince's Chamber, and the vigils either before the Confessor's Shrine, or (since the Reformation) in Henry VII.'s Chapel. Edward II. was thus knighted, at his father's coronation; and the crowd was so great that two knights were suffocated.³ Evelyn saw 'the bathing of the knights, preparatory to the coronation of Charles II., in the Painted Chamber.'⁴ The badge which they wore was emblematic of the sacredness of their Order—three garlands twisted together in honour of the Holy Trinity, and supposed to be derived from Arthur, founder of British chivalry. The motto—with a somewhat questionable orthodoxy—was, '*Tria numina juncta in uno.*' The badge was altered in the reign of James I., who, by a no less audacious secularisation, left out *numina*, in order to leave the interpretation open for 'the junction in one' of the three kingdoms (*tria regna*) of England, Scotland, and Ireland.⁵ The Shamrock was added to the Rose and Thistle after the Union with Ireland, 1802.⁶

The Order
of the
Bath.

¹ The most remarkable 'bath' ever taken by a knight, for this purpose, was that of the Tribune Rienzi in the porphyry font of Constantine, in the Baptistry of St. John Lateran.

² Nichols's *History of the Orders*,

iii. 341.

³ Brayley's *Westminster*, p. 97.

⁴ Diary, April 19, 1661.

⁵ Nichols, pp. 37, 38, 46.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 192, 194.

1725.

It occurred to Sir Robert Walpole to reconstruct the Order, by the limitation of its members to persons of merit, and by the title, thus fitly earned, of 'the most honourable.' It is said that his main object was to provide himself with a means of resisting the constant applications for the Order of the Garter. As such he offered it to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, for her grandson. 'No,' she said, 'nothing but the 'Garter.' 'Madam,' said Walpole, 'they who take the Bath 'will the sooner have the Garter.'¹

Installations of the Knights of the Bath.

The first knight created under the new statutes was William Duke of Cumberland, son of the future King, George II. The child—afterwards to grow up into the fierce champion of his house—was but four years old, and was, 'by reason of his tender age,' excused from the bath. But he presented his little sword at the altar; and the other knights were duly bathed in the Prince's Chamber, and kept their vigil in Henry VII.'s Chapel, where also the installation took place, as has been the case ever since. The number of knights (36) was fixed to correspond with the number of the stalls in the Chapel. Every 20th of October—the anniversary of George I.'s coronation—a procession of the knights was to take place to the Chapel, with a solemn service.² On occasion of an installation, they proceeded after the service, in their scarlet robes and white plumes, to a banquet in the Prince's Chamber. The royal cook stood at the door of the Abbey, with his cleaver, threatening to strike off the spurs from the heels of any knight who proved unworthy of his knightly vows.³ The highest functionary was the Great

¹ Nichols, p. 39.

² Ibid. pp. 47, 52.

³ The whole scene is represented in a picture painted by Canaletto for Bishop Wilcocks, in 1747, now in the Deanery. (See Chapter VI.) From this picture it would appear that on that occasion the procession

came out by the west door. In 1803 (see *Gent. Mag.*, lxxiii. pt. 1, p. 460) it entered and retired by Poets' Corner; and the cook accordingly stood, not (as in 1747) at the west entrance, but at the South Transept door. 'Each of the knights bowed to him, and touched their hats. Some of

Master, an office first filled by Montagu, Earl of Halifax. In 1749 Lord Delamere asked the place for the Duke of Montagu, who died in that year; and from that time—to prevent the recurrence of such a precedent—no Great Master has been appointed, a Prince always acting on his behalf.¹ Next to him ranks the Dean of Westminster, as Dean of the Order. The selection of a dean rather than a bishop arose from the circumstance that the statutes were framed on the model of those of the Order of the Thistle, which, being established in Scotland during the abeyance of Episcopacy, had no place for a prelate amongst its officers. According to this Presbyterian scheme, the Dean of Westminster was naturally chosen, both from his position as the first Presbyterian in the Church of England, and also from his connexion with the Abbey in which the ceremony was to take place. It is his duty to receive the swords of the knights, lay them on the altar (erected for the purpose) in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and restore them to their owners with suitable admonitions. Under the altar are placed the banners of the deceased knights, during which ceremony the Dead March in Saul is played.²

The installations continued, at intervals more or less remote, till 1812, under the Regency, since which time they have ceased. In 1839 the Order underwent so extensive an enlargement and alteration, that no banners have been added to those then hung in the Chapel.

One remarkable degradation and restitution has taken place. Earl Dundonald's banner was, after the charges of fraud brought against him in 1814, taken from its place,

Lord Dundonald's banner.

them asked whether there were any fees to pay; to which he answered, he would do himself the honour to call upon them. We understand that he receives four guineas for this extraordinary speech.'

¹ Nichols, p. 82.

² *Gent. Mag. ut supra*.—In 1803

the Queen and Princesses sat in the Dean's Gallery, at the south-west corner of the Nave, and were afterwards entertained in the Deanery. The knights, in their passage round the Nave, halted and made obeisance to them, the trumpets sounding the whole time of the procession.

and ignominiously kicked down the steps of the Chapel. After many vicissitudes, it was restored to the family upon his death ; and in 1860, on the day of his funeral in the Abbey, by order of the Queen, was restored by the Lancaster Herald to its ancient support. In the place of the shield an unknown admirer has rudely carved, in Spanish, '*Cochrane—Chili e Libertad viva !*'

Corona-
tion of
George II.
Oct 11,
1727.

33. We return to the ordinary routine of the royal inaugurations. The coronation of George II.¹ was performed with all the pomp and magnificence that could be contrived ; the present King differing so much from the last, that all the pageantry and splendour, badges and trappings of royalty, were as pleasing to the son as they were irksome to the father. The dress of the Queen on this occasion was as fine as the accumulated riches of the city and suburbs could make it ; for besides her own jewels (which were a great number, and very valuable), she had on her head and on her shoulders all the pearls she could borrow of the ladies of quality at one end of the town, and on her petticoat all the diamonds she could hire of the Jews and jewellers at the other ; so that the appearance of her finery was a mixture of magnificence and meanness, not unlike the *éclat* of royalty in many other particulars when it comes to be really examined, and the sources traced to what money hires or flattery lends.²

Corona-
tion of
George
III.
Sept. 22,
1761.

34. 'The coronation of George III.³ is over,' says Horace Walpole,—

'Tis even a more gorgeous sight than I imagined. I saw the procession and the Hall ; but the return was in the dark. In the morning they had forgot the sword of state, the chairs for King and Queen, and their canopies. They used the Lord Mayor's for the first, and made the last in the Hall : so they did not set forth till noon ; and then, by a childish compliment to the King, reserved the illumination of the Hall till his entry, by which means they arrived like a funeral, nothing being discernible but the plumes of the Knights of

¹ For a quarrel with the Dean on this occasion, see Chapter Book, November 4, 1727.

² Lord Hervey.—But this was occasioned by the loss of Queen Anne's jewels.

³ It is noted, that whereas few gave

half-a-guinea for places to see George III.'s coronation, in the time of George III. front seats along the line of procession cost ten guineas. (*Gent Mag.*, 1821, pt. ii. p. 77 ; *Ann. Register*, 1761, p. 218.)

the Bath, which seemed the hearse. Lady Kildare, the Duchess of Richmond, and Lady Pembroke, were the capital beauties; Lady Harrington, the finest figure at a distance; old Westmoreland, the most majestic. . . . My Lady Townshend said she should be very glad to see a coronation, as she never had seen one. 'Why,' said I, 'Madam, you walked at the last?' 'Yes, child,' said she, 'but I saw nothing of it: I only looked to see who looked at me.' The Duchess of Queensberry walked! Her affectation that day was to do nothing preposterous.¹

The English representatives of the Dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy appeared for the last time,² and with them the last relics of our dominion over France vanished.³ Another incident, interpreted in a more ominous manner, was the fall of the largest jewel from the crown, which was afterwards believed to have foretold the loss of America.⁴

When Pitt resign'd a nation's tears run o'er,
Then fell the brightest jewel of the crown.

Archbishop Secker, who officiated, had baptised, confirmed, and married the King. Bishop Drummond preached on 1 Kings x. 9. One incident, characteristic of George III., fixed henceforward what had hitherto been a matter of doubtful etiquette. As the King was about to receive the Holy Communion, he inquired of the Archbishop whether he should not lay aside his crown. The Archbishop asked the Dean of Westminster (Zachary Pearce), but neither knew, nor could say, what was the usual form.⁵ The King then took it off, saying, 'There ought to be one.' He wished the Queen to do the same, but the crown was fastened to her hair.⁶ It is not clearly known what George IV.

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, ii. 293, 294, which relate other 'diverting incidents' of the day. See also the account by Bonnell Thornton in *Chapters*, pp. 185—192; and *Gent. Mag.* (1761), pp. 414—416. The Champion rode the white charger that carried George II. on the battlefield of Dettingen. (*Ann. Reg.* 1861, p. 232.)

² *Gent. Mag.*, 1761, p. 419.—They

ranked before the Archbishop of Canterbury.

³ The claims of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster were made in *Old French and English*. (Chapter Book, July 31, 1761.)

⁴ Hughes's *England*, xiv. 49; *Anecdotes of Chatham*, iii. 383.

⁵ Maskell, iii. pp. li. & liii.

⁶ Hughes, xiv. 49.

and William IV. did;¹ but in the coronation of Queen Victoria, the Rubric ran, and doubtless henceforth will run, 'The Queen, taking off her crown, kneels down.'

Appear-
ance of
Prince
Charles
Edward.

But the most interesting peculiarity of George III.'s coronation was the unseen attendance of the rival to the throne—Prince Charles Edward.² 'I asked my Lord Marshal,' says David Hume, 'the reason of this strange fact. "Aye," says he, "a gentleman told me so who saw him there, and whispered "in his ear, 'Your Royal Highness is the last of all mortals whom I should expect to see here.' 'It was curiosity that led me,' said the other; 'but I assure you,' added "he, 'that the person who is the cause of all this pomp and "magnificence is the man I envy least.'"'³

Corona-
tion of
George IV.
July 19,
1821.

35. The splendour of the coronation of George IV., which has been described by Sir Walter Scott⁴ too fully to need repetition, was remarkable as furnishing the materials for what was, in fact, a political battle between the King and his Queen, almost between the King and his people. On the one side the magnificence of the pageant, on the other side the failure of the ill-advised attempt of Queen Caroline to enter the Abbey, by a combination of feelings not altogether unusual, and not creditable to the judgment of the English people, produced a complete reaction in favour of the successful husband against the unsuccessful wife. The Queen, after vainly appealing to the Privy Council, to the Prime Minister, and to the Earl Marshal, rashly determined to

¹ The crown was worn by Henry VI. and Henry VIII., but was not worn by Charles II. (Maskell, iii. p. liii.)

² He was in London under the name of Mr. Brown. (*Gent. Mag.* 1764, p. 24.) See also the scene in Westminster Hall, described in *Redgauntlet*.

³ Hume, in *Gent. Mag.*, 1773.

⁴ See *Gent. Mag.* 1821, pt. ii. pp. 104—110. The Duke of Wellington

acted as Lord High Constable, Lord Anglesey as Lord High Steward. The banquet was celebrated, and the Champion then appeared, probably for the last time. The sermon was preached by the Archbishop of York (Vernon), on the same text as that selected by Barnett for William III. (See p. 96.) The ceremony was rehearsed the week before in the Abbey and Hall. (*Ann. Register*, 1821, p. 344.)

be present. At 6 o'clock on the morning of the day, she drove from South Audley Street to Dean's Yard,¹ where she 'vainly endeavoured to enter by the two cloister doors.'² She then proceeded to the regular approach by Poets' Corner, and, after some difficulty, found her way to the entrance. Sir Robert Inglis, then a young man, was charged with the duty of keeping order near Poets' Corner. It was early in the day, and the royal procession had not yet begun. He heard a cry that the Queen was coming. He flew (such was his account), rather than ran, to the door of the South Transept. She had just left her carriage, and was leaning on Lord Hood's arm, magnificently dressed. He had but a moment to make up his mind how to meet her. 'It is my duty,' he said, 'to announce to your Majesty that there is no place in the Abbey prepared for your Majesty.' The Queen paused, and replied, 'Am I to understand that you prevent me from entering the Abbey?' 'Madam,' he answered, in the same words, 'it is my duty to announce to you that there is no place provided for your Majesty in the Abbey.' She turned without a word.³ This was the final repulse. She who had come with deafening cheers retired in dead silence.⁴ Her old coachman, it is said, had for the first time that morning harnessed the horses reluctantly, conscious that the attempt would be a failure. On the following day she wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Manners-Sutton), expressing her desire to be crowned some days after the King, and before the arrangements were done away with, so that there might be no additional expense. The Primate answered that he could not act except under orders from the

Attempted
entrance of
Queen
Caroline.

¹ *Gent. Mag.* 1824, pt. ii. p. 73.

² She was refused here, as not being the entrance for persons of rank. (*Ann. Register*, 1831, p. 347.)

³ I have given the account as I heard it from Sir R. Inglis. A longer

narrative of the dialogue between Lord Hood and the doorkeepers is given in the *Gent. Mag.* 1821, pt. i. p. 74.

⁴ Or with mingled cries of 'The Queen!—the Queen!' or 'Shame! shame!' (*Ibid.* p. 37.)

King.¹ In a few weeks she was dead; and her remains—carried with difficulty through the tumultuous streets of London, where the tide of popularity had again turned in her favour, and greeted with funeral welcomes at every halting-place in Germany—reposed finally, not in Windsor or Westminster, but in her ancestral vault at Brunswick.

Corona-
tion of
William
IV.
Thursday,
Sept. 8,
1831.

36. As George IV. had conciliated the popular favour by the splendour of his coronation, so, in the impending tempests of the Reform agitation, William IV. endeavoured to do the like by the reverse process. A question was even raised, both by the King in correspondence² with his ministers, and by a peer in the House of Lords, whether the coronation might not be dispensed with. There was no procession, and the banquet, for the first time, was omitted. The day was the anniversary of his father's wedding. Queen Adelaide was crowned with her husband.³

Corona-
tion of
Queen
Victoria,
Thursday,
June 28,
1838.

37. The last coronation⁴ doubtless still lives in the recollection of all who witnessed it. They will long remember the early summer morning, when, at break of day, the streets were thronged, and the vast city awake—the first sight of the Abbey, crowded with the mass of gorgeous spectators, themselves a pageant—the electric shock through the whole mass, when the first gun announced that the Queen was on her way—and the thrill of expectation with which the iron rails seemed to tremble in the hands of the spectators, as the long procession closed with the entrance of the small figure, marked out from all beside by the regal train and attendants, floating like a crimson and silvery cloud behind her. At the moment when she first came within the

¹ *Gent. Mag.* 1821, pt. ii. p. 75.

² *Correspondence of William IV. and Earl Grey*, i. 301, 302.

³ *Gent. Mag.* 1831, pp. 219—230; *Ann. Register*, 1831.

⁴ It was marked by two or three peculiarities. The procession was

partly revived by the cavalcade from Buckingham Palace. The House of Commons joined for the first time in the ceremony, by nine loud and hearty cheers after the homage of the Peers. (*Gent. Mag.* 1838, pt. ii. p. 198.)

	°Lord Russell	°Sir B. Brocas	
	Lady Katherine Knollys		°H. BOURCHIER
	°E. Russell		
	°Lady Jane Seymour	°Abp. Walden	°Sir R. Pecksall
		°E. DE BOHUN	
	°Bishop Ferne	°Lady Stafford	
E	°F. HOLLES		W
Bishop Monk	°FRANCES		
	°EDWARD III.'S CHILDREN		
°E Sta	°JOHN OF ELTHAM	°WILLIAM DE VALENCE	

CHAPEL OF ST. EDMUND.

full view of the Abbey, and paused, as if for breath, with clasped hands,—as she moved on, to her place by the altar,—as, in the deep silence of the vast multitude, the tremulous voice of Archbishop Howley could be faintly heard, even to the remotest corners of the Choir, asking for the recognition,—as she sate immovable on the throne, when the crown touched her head, amidst shout and trumpet and the roar of cannon, there must have been many who felt the hope that the loyalty which had waxed cold in the preceding reigns would once more revive, in a more serious form than it had, perhaps, ever worn before.¹ Other solemnities they may have seen more beautiful, or more strange, or more touching, but none at once so gorgeous and so impressive, in recollections, in actual sight, and in promise of what was to be.

With this fairy vision ends for us the series of the most continuous succession of events that the Abbey has witnessed. Conclu-
sion. None such belongs to any other building in the world. The coronations of the Kings of France at Rheims, and of the Popes in the Basilica of the Vatican, most nearly approach it. But Rheims is now deserted, and the present Church of St. Peter is by five centuries more modern than the Abbey. The Westminster Coronations are thus the outward expression of the grandeur of the English monarchy. They serve to mark the various turns in the winding road along which it has passed to its present form. They reflect the various proportions in which its elective and its hereditary character have counterbalanced each other. They contain, on the one hand, in the Recognition, the Enthronization, and the Oath, the utterances of the ‘fierce democracy’ of the people of

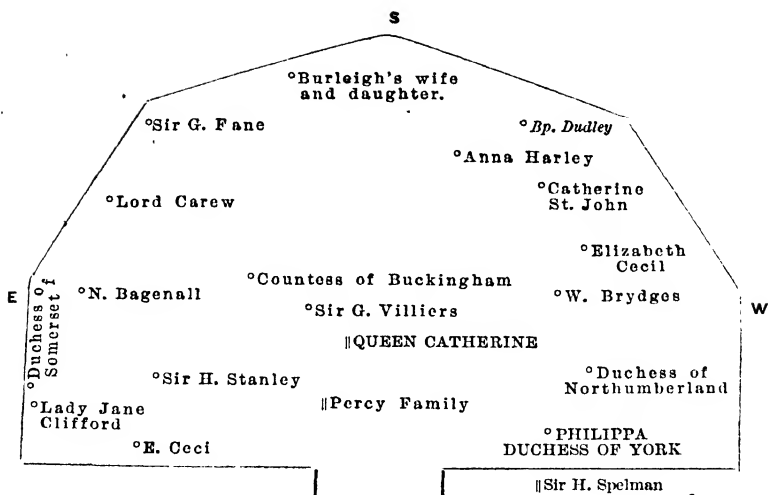
¹ For the best expression which has, perhaps, ever been given of the full religious aspect of an English Coronation, I cannot forbear to refer to the sermon preached on that day, in the

parish church of Ambleside, by Dr. Arnold. (*Sermons*, iv. 438.) The short sermon in the Abbey was preached by Bishop Blomfield.

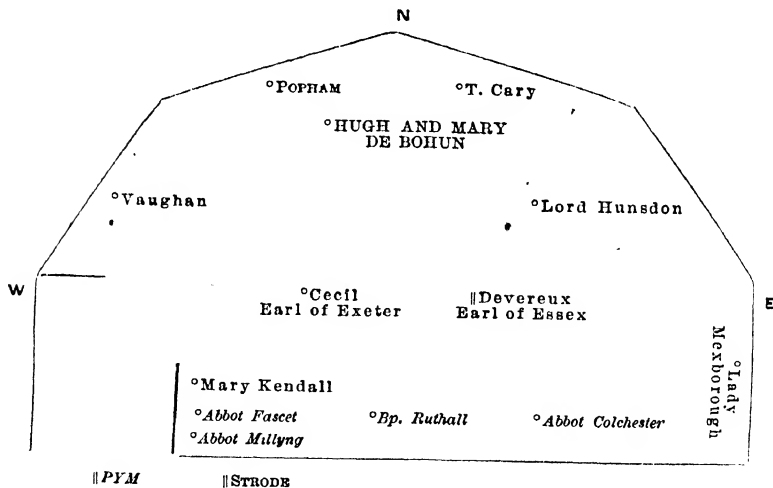
England. They contain, on the other hand, in the Unction, the Crown, the fatal Stone, in the sanction of the prelates and the homage of the nobles, the primitive regard for sacred places, sacred relics, consecrated persons, and heaven-descended right, lingering on through changes in the most opposite direction. They show the effect produced, even on times and minds the most uncongenial, by the combination of this sentiment with outward display and antique magnificence. They exhibit the curious devices, half political and half religious, by which new or unpopular sovereigns have been propped up—the Confessor's grave for William the Conqueror; the miraculous oil for Henry IV.; the Stone of Scone for Edward I., for James I., and for Oliver Cromwell; the unusual splendour for Richard III., for Anne Boleyn, and George IV.; the Oath and the Bible for William III. They show us the struggles for precedence, leading to outbreaks of the wildest passions, and the most deadly feuds between magnates not only of the world but of the church. The last conflict of Becket was the direct result of the infringement of his archiepiscopal rights in the coronation of Prince Henry. The keenest blow that Laud could inflict on his rival Williams, was by excluding him from the coronation of Charles I.

The Coronation Service—at once the most ancient and the most flexible portion of the Anglican Ritual—reveals the changes of ceremony and doctrine, and at the same time the unity of religious sentiment and faith, which escape us in the stiffer forms of the ordinary Liturgy. In its general structure it still represents the complex relations of the Church and State of England. In the varying expressions of its details, it exhibits the combination of the opposite elements which have given to the English Church its peculiar characteristics.

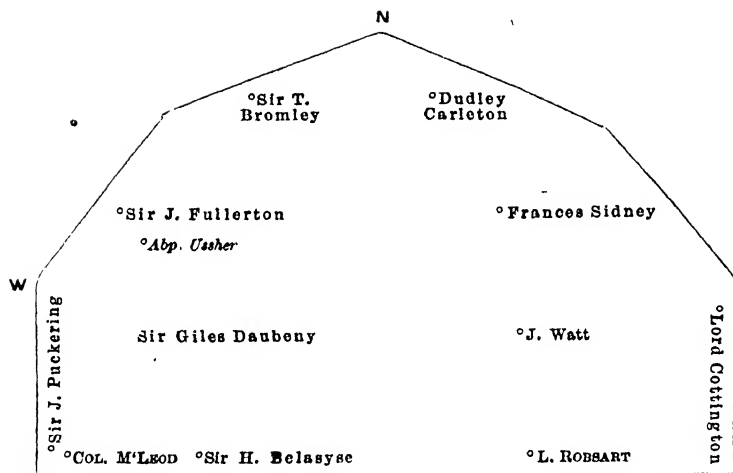
The personal characters of the sovereigns make themselves felt even in these merely ceremonial functions:—the iron nerves of the Conqueror for an instant shaken; the generosity



CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS.



CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.



CHAPEL OF ST. PAUL.

of Cœur-de-Lion; the martial spirit of Edward I.; the extravagance of Richard II.; the parsimony of Henry VII.; the timidity of James I.; the fancifulness of Charles I.; the decorous reverence of George III.; the heartlessness of George IV. The political and religious movements of the time have likewise stamped their mark on these transitory scenes. The struggles of the Saxon and Norman elements, not yet united, under the Conqueror; the fanatical hatred against the Jews, under Richard I.; the jealousy of the Crown under John, and of the Court favourites under Edward II.; the claims of the conflicting dynasties under Edward IV. and Henry VII.; the heavings of the Reformation under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth; the prognostications of the Rebellion under Charles I.; the enthusiasm of the Restoration under Charles II.; the triumph of the Constitution under William III.; the economical spirit of the Reform era under William IV., can be noted in the successive inaugurations of those sovereigns, even though all other records of their reigns were lost.

Yet still the Coronations are but as the outward wave of English history. They break over the Abbey, as they break over the country, without leaving any permanent mark. With the two exceptions of the Stone of Scone and the banners of the Knights of the Bath, they have left no trace in the structure of the building, unless where the scaffolding has torn away the feature of some honoured monument, or the decoration of some ancient column. They belong to the form of the history, and not to its substance.

But the next series of incidents is one which, whilst it exhibits to us far more clearly the characters of the Kings themselves, has also entered far more deeply into the vitals of the edifice. The close of each reign is the summary of the contents of each. The History of the Royal Tombs is the History of the Abbey itself.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROYAL TOMBS.

I have left the repository of our English Kings for the contemplation of a day, when I shall find my mind disposed for so serious an amusement. (*Spectator*, No. 26.)

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

Besides the notices in contemporary Chronicles and Histories, must be mentioned—

- I. The architectural descriptions of the Tombs in Dart, Neale, and Scott's *Gleanings of Westminster Abbey*.
- II. The notices of the Interments and of the Royal Vaults in—(a) The Burial Registers of the Abbey from 1606 to the present time; (b) Sandford's *Genealogical History of the Kings of England*, 1677; (c) *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, by H. K., i. c. Keepe, 1683; (d) *Antiquities of Westminster Abbey*, by Crull—sometimes under the name of H. S., sometimes of J. C.,—1711 and 1713.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROYAL TOMBS.

THE burialplaces of Kings are always famous. The oldest and greatest buildings on the earth are tombs of Kings—the Pyramids. The most wonderful revelation of the life of the ancient world is that which is painted in the rock-hewn catacombs of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes. The burial of the Kings of Judah was a kind of canonisation. In the vision of ‘all the kings of the nations, lying in glory, every one in his own house,’ the ancient prophets saw the august image of the nether world. Tombs
of Kings.

These burialplaces, however, according to the universal practice of antiquity, were mostly outside the precincts of the towns. The sepulchre of the race of David within the city of Jerusalem formed a solitary exception. The Roman Emperors were interred first in the mausoleum of Augustus, in the Campus Martius, beyond the walls—then in the mausoleum of Hadrian, on the farther side of the Tiber. The burial of Geta at the foot of the Palatine, and of Trajan at the base of his Column, in the Forum which bears his name, were the first indications that the sanctity of the city might be invaded by the presence of imperial graves. It was reserved for Constantine to give the earliest example of the interment of sovereigns, not only within the walls of a city, but within a sacred building, when he and his successors were laid in the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople. This precedent

was from. that time followed both in East and West, and every European nation has now its royal consecrated cemetery.

Peculiarities of the Royal Tombs in Westminster.

But there are two peculiarities in Westminster which are found nowhere else. The first is that it unites the Coronations with the Burials. The nearest approach to this is in Russia. There, in the Kremlin at Moscow, stand side by side the three cathedrals of the Assumption, of the Annunciation, and of the Archangel. In the first the Czars are crowned; in the second they are married; and in the third, till the accession of Peter, they were buried. Only two royal marriages have taken place in the Abbey—those of Henry III. and of Richard II. But its first coronation, as we have seen,¹ sprang out of its first royal grave. Its subsequent burials are the result of both. So Waller finely sang :

Combination of Coronations with Burials.

That antique pile behold,
Where royal heads receive the sacred gold :
It gives them crowns, and does their ashes keep,
There made like gods, like mortals there they sleep ;
Making the circle of their reign complete,
These suns of empire, where they rise they set.²

So Jeremy Taylor preached :

Where our kings are crowned, their ancestors lie interred, and they must walk over their grandsire's head to take his crown. There is an acre sown with royal seed, the copy of the greatest change, from rich to naked, from ceiled roofs to arched coffins, from living like gods to die like men. . . . There the warlike and the peaceful, the fortunate and the miserable, the beloved and the despised princes mingle their dust, and pay down their symbol of mortality, and tell all the world that, when we die, our ashes shall be equal to kings, and our accounts easier, and our pains for our crimes shall be less.³

¹ Chapter II.

² *On St. James's Park.*

³ *Sermon On Death.*

So, before Waller and Jeremy Taylor, had spoken Francis Beaumont:—

Mortality, behold and fear !
 What a change of flesh is here :
 Think how many royal bones
 Sleep within these heaps of stones :
 Here they lye, had realms and lands,
 Who now want strength to stir their hands.
 Here, from their pulpits seal'd with dust,
 They preach, ' In greatness is no trust !'
 Here's an acre, sown indeed,
 With the richest royallest seed,
 That the earth did e'er drink in,
 Since the first man dy'd for sin.
 Here the bones of birth have cry'd,
 ' Though gods they were, as men they dy'd.'
 Here are sands, ignoble things,
 Dropt from the ruin'd sides of kings.
 Here's a world of pomp and state,
 Buried in dust, once dead by fate.

The royal sepulchres of Westminster were also remarkable from their connexion not only with the coronation but with the residence of the English Princes. The burialplaces which, in this respect, the Abbey most resembles, were those of the Kings of Spain and the Kings of Scotland. ' In the Escorial, ' where the Spanish princes live in greatness and power, and ' decree war or peace, they have wisely placed a cemetery, ' where their ashes and their glory shall sleep till time shall ' be no more.'¹ The like may be said of Dunfermline and of Holyrood, where the sepulchral Abbey and the Royal Palace are as contiguous as at Westminster. There has, however, been a constant tendency to separate the two. The Escorial is now almost as desolate as the stony wilderness of which it forms a part. The vault of the House of Hapsburg, in the Capuchin Church at Vienna, is far removed from the Imperial Palace. The royal race of Savoy rests on

2. Combination of the Burials with the Royal Palace.

¹ Jeremy Taylor, *On Death*.

the lonely heights of St. Michael and of the Superga. The Kings of France not only were not crowned at St. Denys, but they never lived there—never came there. The town was a city of convents. Louis XIV. chose Versailles for his residence, because from the terrace at St. Germain he could still see the hated towers of the Abbey where he would be laid. But the Kings of England never seem to have feared the sight of death. The Anglo-Saxon Kings had for the most part been buried at Winchester, where they were crowned, and where they lived. The English Kings, as soon as they became truly English, were crowned, and lived, and died, for many generations, at Westminster; and, even since they have been interred elsewhere, it is still under the shadow of their grandest royal residence, in St. George's Chapel, or in the precincts of Windsor Castle. Their graves, like their thrones, were in the midst of their own life and of the life of their people.¹

3. Importance of the Royal Deaths.

There is also a peculiar concentration of interest attached to the deaths and funerals of Kings, in those days of our history with which we are here chiefly concerned. If the coronations of sovereigns were then far more important than they are now, so were their funeral pageants. 'The King 'never dies' is a constitutional maxim of which, except in very rare instances, the truth is at once recognised in all constitutional and in most modern monarchies. But in the Middle Ages, as has been truly remarked, the very reverse was the case. 'When the King died, the State seemed to die 'also. The functions of government were suspended. Felons 'were let loose from prison; for an offence against the law 'was also an offence against the King's person, which might 'die with him, or be wiped out in the contrite promises of his 'last agony. The spell of the King's peace became powerless.

¹ See Chapter IV.

'The nobles rushed to avenge their private quarrels in private warfare. On the royal forests, with their unpopular game, a universal attack was made. The highroads of commerce became perilous passes, or were obstructed; and a hundred vague schemes of ambition were concocted every day during which one could look on an empty throne and powerless tribunals.'¹ In short, the funeral of the sovereign was the eclipse of the monarchy. Twice only, perhaps, in modern times has this feeling in any degree been reproduced, and then not in the case of the actual sovereign: once on the death of the queenlike Princess, Charlotte, and again on the death of the kinglike Prince, Albert.

In those early times of England, there was another meaning of more sinister import attached to the royal funerals. They furnished the security to the successor that the predecessor was really dead. Till the time of Henry VII. the royal corpses lay in state, and were carried exposed on biers, to satisfy this popular demand. More than once the body of a King, who had died under doubtful circumstances, was laid out in St. Paul's or the Abbey, bare from the waist upwards, that the suspicion of violence might be dispelled.²

There was yet beyond this a general sentiment, intensified by the religious feeling of the Middle Ages, which brought the funerals and tombs of princes more directly into connection with the buildings where they were interred. The natural grief of a sovereign, or of a people, for the death of a beloved predecessor vents itself in the grandeur of the monuments which it raises over their graves. The sumptuous shrine on the coast of Caria, which Artemisia built for her husband Mausolus, and which has given its name to all similar structures—the magnificent Taj at

4. Publi-
city of the
Funerals.

5. Con-
nexion of
the Burials
with the
Services
of the
Church.

¹ I owe this to an unpublished lecture of Professor Vaughan.

² Richard II., Henry VI., Edward

IV., and Richard III. (at Leicester). (Maskell, vol. iii., p. lxviii.) •

Agra—the splendid memorials which commemorate the loss of the lamented Prince of our own day—are examples of the universality of this feeling, when it has the opportunity of indulging itself, under every form of creed and climate. But in the Middle Ages this received an additional impulse, from the desire on the part of the Kings, or their survivors, to establish through their monumental buildings and their funeral services, a hold, as it were, on the other world. The supposed date of the release of the soul of a Plantagenet king from Purgatory was recorded in the English chronicles with the same exactitude as any event in his life.¹ And to attain this end—in proportion to the devotional sentiment, sometimes we must even say in proportion to the weaknesses and vices, of the King—services were multiplied and churches adorned at every stage of the funeral, and with a view to the remotest ages to which hope or fear could look forward. The desire to catch prayers by all means, at all times and places, for the departed soul, even led to the dismemberment of the royal corpse; that so, by a heart here, entrails there, and the remainder elsewhere, the chances of assistance beyond the grave might be doubled or trebled.²

The sepulchral character of Westminster Abbey thus became the frame on which its very structure depended. In its successive adornments and enlargements, the minds of its successive founders sought their permanent expression, because they regarded it as enshrining the supreme act of their lives. The arrangements of an ancient temple were, as has been well remarked, from its sacrificial purpose, those of a vast slaughter-house; the arrangements of a Dominican church or modern Nonconformist chapel are those of a vast preaching-house; the arrangements of Westminster Abbey gradually became those of a vast tomb-house.

¹ Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, A.D. 1232 (in speaking of Richard I.). I owe the reference to Pro-

fessor Vaughan.

² *Arch.* xxix. 181.

The first beginning of the Royal Burials at Westminster is uncertain. Sebert and Ethelgoda were believed to lie by the entrance of the Chapter House.¹ A faint tradition speaks of the interment of Harold Harefoot in Westminster.² But his body was dug up by Hardicanute, decapitated, and afterwards cast into the adjacent marsh or into the Thames, and then buried by the Danes in their graveyard, where now stands the Church of St. Clement Danes. It was the grave of Edward the Confessor which eventually drew the other royal sepulchres around it.³ Such a result of the burial of a royal saint or hero has been almost universal. But though his charters enumerate the royal sepultures as amongst the privileges of Westminster, the custom grew but slowly. In the first instance, it may have indicated no more than his personal desire to be interred in the edifice whose building he had watched with so much anxious care; and his Norman successors were buried on the same principle, each in his own favourite sanctuary, unless some special cause intervened. The Conqueror was buried at Caen, in the abbey which he had dedicated to St. Stephen; William Rufus at Winchester,⁴ from his sudden death in the neighbouring forest; Henry I. at Reading, in the abbey founded out of his father's treasure for his father's soul; Stephen in his abbey at Faversham; Henry II.⁵ in the great Angevin Abbey of Fontevrault (the foundation of Robert Arbrissel by the 'fountain of the robber Evrard'). His eldest son Henry was buried at Rouen. In that same city, because it was so *heartly* and *cordial* to him,⁶ was laid the 'large

Sebert and
Ethelgoda.

Harold
Harefoot.

Edward
the Con-
fessor.

William
the Con-
queror at
Caen.
William
Rufus at
Winches-
ter.
Henry I.
at Reading.
Stephen at
Faver-
sham.
Henry II.
at Fonte-
vrault.

¹ See Chapter I.

² *Saxon Chron.* A.D. 1040; Widmore, p. 11.

³ So the grave of St. Columba at Iona, and the grave of St. Margaret at Dunfermline, became the centres of the sepultures of the Kings of Scotland: so the burial of the great Protestant House of Orange at Delft clus-

tered round the interment of William the Silent by the accidental scene of his murder.

⁴ *Ord. Vit.* (A.D. 1110), x. 14, by a confusion makes it Westminster.

⁵ Rishanger, p. 428; Hoveden, p. 654.

⁶ Fuller's *Church History*, A.D. 1189.

Richard I.
at Fontevrault.

'lion heart'¹ of Richard; whilst his bowels, as his least honoured parts, lay among the Poitevins, whom he least honoured, at Chaluz, where he was killed. But his body rested at Fontevrault, at his father's feet—in token of sorrow for his unfilial conduct, to be, as it were, his father's footstool²—in the robes which he had worn at his second coronation at Winchester.³ John's wife, Isabella, was interred at Fontevrault,⁴ and his own heart was placed there in a golden cup; but he himself was laid at Worcester, for a singularly characteristic reason. With that union of superstition and profaneness so common in the religious belief of the Middle Ages, he was anxious to elude after death the demons whom he had so faithfully served in life. For this purpose he not only gave orders to disguise his body in a monk's cowl, but to bury it between two saints. The royal cathedral of Worcester, which John had especially favoured in life, possessed two Saxon saints, in close juxtaposition; and between these two, Wulfstan and Oswald, the wicked King was laid.

John
at Worcester.

But meanwhile an irresistible instinct had been drawing the Norman princes towards the race of their English subjects, and therefore towards the dust of the last Saxon King. Along with the annual commemoration of those slain at the Battle of Hastings, were celebrated in the Abbey the anniversaries of Emma,⁵ the Confessor's mother, and of Ethelred

¹ Grossitudine præstans. See *Arch.* xxix. 210.

² In a work published at Angers in 1866 (*L'Abbaye de Fontevrault, notice Historique*, p. 76), by Lieut Malifaud, it is stated that the bones of Richard I., gathered together by an inhabitant of Fontevrault, on the spoliation of the tombs in 1793, were given to England, '*et reposent aujourd'hui dans l'Abbaye de Westminster.*' This is without foundation. The heart, under an effigy of the King, was found in

the choir of Rouen Cathedral on July 31, 1838, and is now in the Museum at Rouen. (*Archæologia*, xxix. 203.) The body of Prince Henry was found there in 1866.

³ *Anglia Sacra*, i. 304. See Chapter II.

⁴ For a full account of the fate of the monuments at Fontevrault down to the present time, see M. Malifaud's work, pp. 76, 77.

⁵ *Consuetudines* of Abbot Ware (pp. 566, 568, 582, 583, 587, 590).

his father. Edith, his wife 'of venerable memory,' lay beside him. And now to join them came the 'good Queen Maud,' daughter of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, and thus niece of Edgar and granddaughter of Edward Atheling, who had revived in the heart of Henry I. a feeling towards her Anglo-Saxon kinsfolk such as no other of the Conqueror's family had known. The importance of the marriage is indicated by the mass of elaborate scruples that had to be set aside to accomplish it. She, a veiled nun, had become a wedded wife for this great object. It was supposed to be a fulfilment of the Confessor's last prophetic apologue, in which he described the return of the severed branch to the parent tree.¹ His own sepulchral abbey at Reading was built by him chiefly to expiate his father's sins against the English.² His royal chapel at Windsor bore the name of the Confessor, till it was dedicated by Edward III. to St. George.³ He and she received from the Normans the derisive epithets of 'Goodric' and 'Godiva.'⁴ Her own name was Edith,⁵ after her great-aunt, the Confessor's wife. In deference to Norman prejudices she changed it to 'Matilda.' But she devoted herself with undisguised ardour to the Abbey where her kinsman Edward and her namesake Edith lay buried. Often she came there, in haircloth and barefooted, to pay her devotions.⁶ She increased its relics by the gift of a large part of the hair of Mary Magdalene.⁷ The honour of her sepulture was claimed by the old Anglo-Saxon sanctuary at Winchester,⁸ by the Abbey of Reading,⁹ and by the Cathedral of St. Paul's.¹⁰ But there

Queen
Maud.

May 1,
1118.

These celebrations may have been instituted only in the time of Henry III., but they are probably of earlier date. Edith is called 'Collaterana uxor.'

¹ See Chapters I. and II.

² Rudborne, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 262.

³ *Annals of Windsor*, p. 27.

⁴ See William of Malmesbury, p. 156. Knighton, c. 2375, says Henry's nickname was 'Godrych Godefadyr.'

⁵ *Ord. Vit.* A.D. 1118. Her brothers, in like manner, had almost all Saxon names — Edgar, Edward, Ethelred.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 712. See Chapter I.

⁷ Dart, i. 37; Fordun, *Scoti Chronicon*, pp. 480, 642.

⁸ Rudborne, p. 277.

⁹ Strickland's *Queens*, i. 200.

¹⁰ Pierre de Langtoft (Wright), i. 462.

is no reason to doubt the tradition that she lies on the south side of the Confessor's Shrine,¹ and is thus the first royal personage so interred since the troubles of the Conquest.²

Henry II. carried the veneration for Edward's remains a step further. At the instigation of Becket, he procured from Pope Alexander II. the Bull of Canonisation, which Innocent II. had refused.³ The Abbot Lawrence preached a sermon, enumerating the virtues and miracles of the Confessor. Osbert de Clare, the Prior, who had already made an unsuccessful expedition to Rome for the same object, under his predecessor Gervase, compiled the account out of which was ultimately composed the Life of the Confessor by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, and brought back the Bull of Canonisation in triumph. At midnight on the 13th of October, 1163, Lawrence, in his new-born dignity of mitred Abbot, accompanied by Becket, opened the grave before the high altar, and saw—it was said, in complete preservation—the body of the dead King. Even the long, white, curling beard was still visible. The ring of St. John was taken out and deposited as a relic.⁴ The vestments (with less reverence than we should think permissible) were turned into three splendid copes. An Irishman and a clerk from Winchester

First translation of Edward the Confessor, Oct. 13, 1163.

¹ *Waverley Ann.*; *Ord. Vit.* A.D. 1118.—The statement is that she was first buried at the entrance of the Chapter House, and then removed by Henry III. to the side of the Confessor's Shrine. Fordun gives it as 'post magnum altare in oratorio.' It has sometimes been alleged, in confirmation of this, that at the north-west angle of the pavement, by Edward I.'s tomb, was read the word *Regina*, and that she was laid underneath the pavement on which his tomb was afterwards raised. But the inscription is (as I have ascertained by careful examination) a mere fragment of a slab removed from

elsewhere, to make the covering of what is evidently the mere substructure of Edward I.'s tomb; and the words upon it are *MINIS. REGINI*—a portion of a broken inscription. But the statement of Abbot Ware (*Consuetudines*, p. 566), that Matilda was on the south and Edith on the north side of the Shrine, is decisive both as to the fact and the position of the grave. See also Smith's *Westminster* (p. 155).

² The anniversary of her daughter, the Empress Maude, was celebrated in the Abbey. (Ware, p. 568.)

³ See Akerman, i. 109.

⁴ *Gleanings*, p. 132.

were cured of some malady, supposed to be demoniacal possession. The whole ceremony ended with the confirmation of the celebrated Gilbert Folliott as Bishop of London.¹

The final step was taken by Henry III. It may be that the idea of making the Shrine of Edward the centre of the burial-place of his race did not occur to him till after he had already become interested in the building. His first work—what was called ‘the new work’—was not the church itself, but an addition, suggested by the general theological sentiment of the time. The beginning of the thirteenth century was remarkable for the immense development given, by the preaching of St. Bernard, to the worship of the Virgin Mary.² In architecture it was exhibited by the simultaneous prolongation of almost every great cathedral into an eastern sanctuary, a new place of honour behind the altar, ‘the Lady Chapel.’ Such a chapel was dedicated at the eastern extremity of the Abbey by the young King Henry III., on Whitsun Eve,³ the day before his coronation. The first offering laid upon its altar were the spurs worn by the King in that ceremony.⁴ Underneath was buried Abbot Barking, who probably claimed the merit of having been his adviser. His abbacy was long regarded in the convent as the passage from an old world to a new.⁵

Founda-
tion of the
Lady
Chapel,
May 16,
1220.

Henry's long reign was a marked epoch, alike for England and for the Abbey. It was the first which can be called pacific,⁶ partly from his defects, partly from his virtues. He was the first English King—that is to say (like George III.), the first of his family, born in England, and no longer living

Reign of
Henry III.

¹ Ridgway, p. 44.—He was translated from Hereford, the first instance of a canonical translation of an English bishop. (Le Neve's *Fasti*, ii. 282.)

² Montalembert's *Histoire de St. Elizabeth*, p. 21.—The girdle of the Virgin deposited in the Abbey (see Chapter I.) was, like that at Mount Athos, used for averting the perils

of childbirth, and was often employed for that purpose by Queen Philippa. (Widmore, p. 65.)

³ See Chapter II.

⁴ Pauli, i. 517.

⁵ See Chapter V.

⁶ This is well brought out in Rogers's *History of Princes*, i. 3.

in Normandy. This great boon of a race of Princes who could look on England as their home, had been conferred on our Kings and on our country by the losses of his father, John 'Lackland.'

Sterile and obscure as is that portion of our annals, it is there that we must seek for the origin of our freedom, our prosperity, and our glory. Then it was that the great English people was formed, that the national character began to exhibit those peculiarities which it has ever since retained, and that our fathers become emphatically islanders— islanders not merely in geographical position, but in their politics, their feelings, and their manners. Then first appeared with distinctness that Constitution which has ever since, through all changes, preserved its identity; that Constitution of which all the other free constitutions in the world are copies, and which, in spite of some defects, deserves to be regarded as the best under which any great society has ever yet existed during many ages. Then it was that the House of Commons, the archetype of all the representative assemblies which now meet, either in the Old or in the New World, held its first sittings. Then it was that the Common Law rose to the dignity of a science, and rapidly became a not unworthy rival of the imperial jurisprudence. Then it was that the courage of those sailors who manned the rude barks of the Cinque Ports first made the flag of England terrible on the seas. Then it was that the most ancient colleges which still exist at both the great national seats of learning were founded. Then was formed that language, less musical indeed than the languages of the South, but in force, in richness, in aptitude for all the highest purposes of the poet, the philosopher, and the orator, inferior to that of Greece alone. Then too appeared the first faint dawn of that noble literature, the most splendid and the most durable of the many glories of England.¹

Then too arose, in its present or nearly in its present form, the building which was destined to combine all these together, the restored Abbey of Westminster—'the most lovely and loveable thing in Christendom.'² It sprang, in the first instance, out of the personal sentiment, unconsciously fostered by these general influences, of the young

English
feelings of
Henry III.

¹ Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, i. 47.

² So called by one well qualified to judge, Mr. Street (*Essay on the In-*

fluence of Foreign Art on English Architecture in the Church and the World, p. 402).

King towards his Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Henry prided himself on his descent from Alfred, through the good Matilda. He determined to take up his abode in Westminster, beside the Confessor's tomb. His sons were the first of the English princes who were called by Anglo-Saxon names. His first-born—the first Prince ever born at Westminster, and therefore called, after it, Edward of Westminster¹—received his name from the Anglo-Saxon patron of Westminster; and was the first of that long series of 'Edwards,' which, though broken now and then by the necessities of intervening dynasties, is the one royal name that constantly reappears to assert its unchanging hold on the affections of the English people. His second son was in like manner named Edmund, after the other royal Anglo-Saxon saint, in whose abbey the King himself died, and to whom he had in life paid reverence only second to that due to St. Edward.

The concentration of this English Edwardian passion upon the Abbey of Westminster was encouraged by many converging circumstances in the reign of Henry III. It is possible that, as the consecration of the Cathedral of Rheims may have led to the first idea of a Royal Abbey in the mind of the Confessor, so the rebuilding and re-embellishment of the Abbey of St. Denys by Louis IX. suggested the idea of a place of royal sepulture to the mind of Henry III.² Before that time the Kings of France, like the Kings of England, had been buried in their own private vaults; thenceforth they were buried round the tomb of Dagobert.

His imitation of St. Denys.

Again, Henry was celebrated for a strength of external devotion out of all proportion to the natural feebleness of his character. Even St. Louis seemed to him but a

His devotion.

¹ He was sometimes called Edward III., reckoning Edward the Elder and Edward the Confessor as the first and second. (*Opus Chronicorum*, p. 37.)

² This rivalry with St. Denys appears in his anxiety to outdo it by the relic of the Holy Blood. (Matthew Paris, p. 735.)

lukewarm Rationalist. He kept the French peers in Paris so long waiting, by stopping to hear mass at every church he passed, that Louis caused all the churches on the road to be shut. When in France he lived not in the royal palace, but in a monastery. On Henry's declaring that he could not stay in a place which was under an interdict, the French King complained, and added, 'You ought to hear sermons, as well as attend mass.'¹ 'I had rather see my friend than hear him talked about,'² was the reply of the enthusiastic Henry. He would not be content with less than three³ masses a day, and held fast to the priest's hand during the service.⁴

His addiction to foreign art.

With this devotional sentiment the King combined a passionate addiction to art in all its forms, which carried him far beyond the limits of his own country. Whilst his devotion was English, his tastes were eclectic. His marriage with Eleanor of Provence opened the door for the influx of foreign princes, ecclesiastics, and artists into London. The Savoy Palace was their centre.

Of this union of religious feeling with foreign and artistic tendencies, the whole Abbey, as rebuilt by Henry, is a monument. He determined that his new Church was to be incomparable for beauty, even in that great age of art.⁵ Its Chapter House, its ornaments, down to the lecterns, were to be superlative of their kind. On it foreign painters and sculptors were invited to expend their utmost skill. 'Peter the Roman citizen' was set to work on the Shrine, where his name can still be read. The mosaics were from Rome, brought by the Abbot, who now, by his newly-won exemption from the jurisdiction of the see of London, was forced to make

¹ Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 75; Trivet, p. 280. (Pauli, i, 842.)

² Rishanger and Trivet, *ibid.*—The author of the *Opus Chronicorum* (p. 36) gives this as Henry's reply to a preaching friar, who was angry at the King's delay in coming to his sermon.

³ Four or five. (*Opus Chronicorum*, p. 35.)

⁴ Rishanger, *Chronica*, p. 75.

⁵ Wykes, p. 84. See Chapter V. 'Miræ pulchritudinis' is the phrase used of it in a document in the Archives of St. Paul's.

his journey to the imperial city for the sake of obtaining the Papal confirmation.¹ The pavement thus formed, and the twisted columns which stand round the Shrine, exactly resemble the like ornaments of the same date, in the Basilicas of St. John Lateran, St. Paul, St. Lorenzo, and St. Clement at Rome. Mosaics and enamel were combined throughout in a union found nowhere else in England. Many of the details of the tombs of Henry III. and Edward the Confessor are strictly classical. The architectural style of this portion of the building is French rather than English. The radiation of the polygonal chapels round the Choir is especially French.² The arrangement of the interior—to which the King was driven, perhaps, from the necessity of providing space for the new Shrine—is Spanish.³ Eleanor of Castille, his daughter-in-law, must have recognised in the Choir, brought far into the Nave, the likeness of the ‘Coro’ in the cathedrals of her native country.

In the prosecution of his work another less pleasing feature of the King’s character was brought into play. He was a Prince of almost proverbial extravagance. His motto was, ‘Qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat.’⁴ Recklessly did he act on this principle always, and never more so than in erecting the Abbey. Unlike most cathedrals, it was built entirely at the cost of the Crown. The Royal Abbey, as in the Confessor’s time so in Henry’s, is absolutely a royal gift. The sums, in our money amounting to half-a-million, were snatched here and there, from high quarters or from low, with desperate avidity. There was a special office for the receipts. The widow of a Jew furnished 2,590*l.*;⁵ the

His extra-
vagance.

¹ See Chapter V.; *Gleanings of Westminster Abbey*, p. 60; and Ferguson’s *Handbook*, ii. 18.

² See *Gleanings*, pp. 19–24; and Mr. Street, *On the Influence of Foreign Art in England*, p. 402.

³ Street’s *Gothic Architecture in*

Spain, p. 418.

⁴ Walpole’s *Anecdotes of Painting* (Wornum), p. 20; Hardy, Preface to the *Liberate Rolls of King John*, xii. note (1).

⁵ Akerman, i. 241.

vacancy of the Abbot's seat at Westminster 100 marks. A fair was established in Tothill Fields, with a monopoly, for this sole purpose. The King himself took out of other abbeys what he had spent on Westminster, by living on them to ease the expenses of his own maintenance,¹ and again took from the Abbey itself the jewels which he had given to it, and pawned them for his own necessities. The enormous exactions have left their lasting traces on the English Constitution, in no less a monument than the House of Commons, which rose into existence as a protest against the lavish expenditure on the mighty Abbey which it confronts.²

Demolition
of the Old
Church,
1245.

The rise of the whole institution thus forms a new epoch at once in English history and English architecture. With the usual disregard which each generation, in the Middle Ages far more than in our own, entertains towards the taste of those who have gone before, the massive venerable pile, consecrated by the recollections of the Confessor and the Conqueror, was torn down, as of no worth at all, 'nullius omnino valoris.'³

Ecclesiam stravit istam qui tunc renovavit,

The New
Church.

was the inscription once written on Henry's tomb, which described this mediæval vandalism. He rebuilt exactly as far as the Confessor had built. A fragment of the nave alone was left standing. But the central tower, the choir, the transepts, the cloisters, all disappeared;⁴ and in their place arose a building, which the first founder would as little have recognised, as the Norman style would have been recognised by Sebert, or the style of Wren by the Plantagenets.

It was a 'new minster,'⁵ of which St. Edward became the patron saint, almost to the exclusion of St. Peter.⁶ For him

¹ Fuller, book iii.; *Arch.* xiii. 36,
37.

² See Chapter V.

³ Wykes, p. 89.

⁴ Matthew Paris, p. 661.

⁵ Capgrave, p. 89.

⁶ Rodman's *Henry V.*, p. 69 ;
Smith's *Westminster*, p. 60.

the Shrine was prepared, as the centre of all this magnificence. It was erected, like all the shrines of great local saints, at the east of the altar, full of new and strange arrangements, as peculiar to the thirteenth century as the numerous theological doctrines which then first assumed consistency and shape. But, in order to leave standing the Lady Chapel, which the King had already built in his youth, the high altar was moved westward to its present central position. A mound¹ of earth, the last funeral ‘tumulus’ in England, was erected between this and the Lady chapel, and on its summit was raised the tomb in which the body of the Confessor was to be laid.² On each side of it were statues of the Confessor and St. John as the mysterious pilgrim. Round the Choir was hung arras, representing on one side the thief and Hugolin, on the other the royal coronations.³ The top of the Shrine was doubtless adorned with a splendid tabernacle, instead of the present woodwork; the gilding and colours as bright as they are now worn and faded. The original inscription, now detected only at intervals, ran completely round it. The arches underneath were ready for the patients, who came to ensconce themselves there for the sake of receiving from the sacred corpse within the deliverance from the ‘King’s Evil,’ which the living sovereign was believed to communicate by his touch.

The Shrine
of the Con-
fessor.

That corpse was now to be ‘translated’ from the coffin in which Henry II. had laid it, with a pomp which was probably suggested to the King by the recollection of the grandest ceremony of the kind that England had ever seen, at which

¹ ‘In media tumuli summitato Sti. Edvardi reliquie conduntur et circa ‘*tumulum regis.*’ (Fordun, ii. 442.)

² Originally the Shrine was probably visible all down the church. Not till the time of Henry VI. was raised the screen which now conceals it, and which contains the legendary life of

the Confessor. On the summit of the screen stood a vast crucifix, with the usual accompanying figures, and those of the two Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. See *Gleanings*, plates xx. & xxvii.

³ Weever, p. 45. This remained till 1644.

The second translation, Oct. 13, 1269.

he in his early boyhood had assisted—the translation of the remains of St. Thomas of Canterbury.¹ It was on the same day of the month that had witnessed the former removal on the occasion of Edward's canonisation. The King had lived to see the completion of the whole Choir and east end of the church. He was growing old. His family were all gathered round him, as round a Christmas hearth,² for the last time together—Richard his brother, Edward and Edmund, his two sons, Edward with Eleanor just starting for Palestine: 'As 'near a way to heaven,' she said, 'from Syria as from 'England or Spain.' They supported the coffin of the Confessor,³ and laid him in the spot where (with the exception of one short interval) he has remained ever since. The day was commemorated by its selection as the usual time when the King held his Courts and Parliaments.⁴

Relics, 1247.

Behind the Shrine, where now stands the Chantry of Henry V., were deposited the sacred relics, presented to the King twenty years before by his favourite Order the Templars, whom he had introduced into England.⁵ Amongst them may be noticed the tooth of St. Athanasius, the stone which was believed to show the footprint of the ascending Saviour,⁶ and (most highly prized of all) a phial containing some drops of the Holy Blood. This was carried in state by the King himself from St. Paul's to the Abbey; and it was on the occasion of its presentation, and of Prince Edward's knighthood, that Matthew Paris, the monk of St. Albans, was present (much as a modern photographer or artist attends

¹ *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 193.

² Ridgway, p. 82.

³ Wykes, p. 88.

⁴ Ridgway, p. 63.

⁵ One contemporary saint, Richard of Wendover, Bishop of Rochester, the King had already interred, it is not known where, within the Abbey

walls in 1250. (Weever, p. 338.) Hadenham, A.D. 1250. (*Angl. Sacr.* i. 350.)

⁶ M. Paris, p. 768; Widmore, p. 64.

One of these footprints is still shown in the Mosque or Church of the Ascension on Mount Olivet; another is in the Mosque of Omar.

Richard of Wendover.

a state ceremony at royal command), to give an exact account of what he saw, and to be rewarded afterwards by a dinner in the newly-finished refectory.¹

With the Templars, who gave these precious offerings, it had been the King's original intention to have been buried in the Temple Church. But his interest in the Abbey grew during the fifty years that he had seen it in progress, and his determination became fixed that it should be the sepulchre of himself and of the whole Plantagenet race. The short, stout, ungainly old man, with the blinking left eye,² and the curious craft with which he wound himself out of the many difficulties of his long and troublesome life, such as made his contemporaries regard him on both accounts as the lynx foretold by Merlin,³ was at last drawing to his end. 'Quiet King Henry III., our English Nestor (not for depth of brains but for length of life), who reigned fifty-six years, in which time he buried all his contemporary princes in Christendom twice over. All the months in a year may be in a manner carved out of an April day: hot, cold, dry, moist, fair, foul weather—just the character of this King's life—certain only in uncertainty; sorrowful, successful, in plenty, in penury, in wealth, in want, conquered, conqueror.'⁴

Death of
Henry III.
Nov. 16,
buried
Nov. 20,
1272.

Domestic calamities crowded upon him: the absence of his son Edward, the murder of his nephew Henry at Viterbo, the death of his brother Richard. He died at the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, on the festival of the recently canonised St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (Nov. 16), and was buried on the festival of St. Edmund the Anglo-Saxon martyr (Nov. 20), in the Abbey of Westminster, the Templars acknowledging their former connexion by supplying the

¹ M. Paris, pp. 735-9.

² Rishanger, *Chronica.*, p. 75; Tri-vet, p. 281.

³ Rishanger, *Chronica.*, p. 75.

⁴ Fuller, *Church History*, A.D. 1276.

funeral.¹ The body was laid, not where it now rests, but in the coffin, before the high altar, vacated by the removal of the Confessor's bones, and still, as Henry might suppose, sanctified by their odour.² As the corpse sank into the grave, the Earl of Gloucester, in obedience to the King's dying commands, put his bare hand upon it, and swore fealty to the heir-apparent, absent in Palestine. Edward, in his homeward journey, was not unmindful of his father's tomb. He had heard of the death of his son Henry,³ but his grief for him was swallowed up in his grief for Henry his father. 'God may give me more sons, but not another father.'⁴ From the East, or from France, he brought the precious marbles with which, ten years afterwards, the tomb was built up, as we now see it, on the north side of the Confessor's Shrine; and an Italian artist, Torel,⁵ carved the effigy which lies upon it.⁶ Ten years yet again, and into the finished tomb was removed finally the body of the King. Henry had in his earlier years, when at his ancestral burialplace in Anjou, promised that his heart should be deposited with the ashes of his kindred in the Abbey of Fontevrault. The Abbess,⁷ one of the grandest of her rank in France, usually of the blood-royal, with the singular privilege of ruling both a monastery of men and a nunnery of women, was in England at the time of the removal of Henry's body to the new tomb, and claimed the promise. It was on this occasion that, under warrant from the King, in the presence of his brother Edmund, and the two prelates specially connected with the Westminster coronations, the Bishops of Durham and of Bath and Wells, the heart was delivered in the Abbey into her

Building
of his
Tomb,
1281.

His Re-
interment,
and de-
livery of
his Heart
to the
Abbess of
Fontev-
rault,
1291.

¹ Dart, ii. 34.

² Wykes, p. 98.

³ He was buried in the Abbey by the Archbishop of Canterbury. (See Chapter V.)

⁴ Widmore, p. 76.

⁵ *Gleanings*, p. 150; *Arch.* xxix. 191.

⁶ See Westmacott in *Old London*, p. 187.

⁷ See the description of the convent in the *Memoirs of Mlle. de Montpensier*, i. 49-52. The Abbess in her time was called 'Madame de Fontevrault,' and was a natural daughter of Louis XIII.

hands—the last relic of the lingering Plantagenet affection for their foreign home.¹ Such was the beginning of the line of royal sepultures in the Abbey; and so completely was the whole work identified with Henry III., that when, in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry V., the Nave was completed, the earlier style—contrary to the almost universal custom of the mediæval builders—was continued, as if by a process of antiquarian restoration; and this tribute to Henry's memory is visible even in the armorial bearings of the benefactors of the Abbey. To mark the date, and to connect it with the European history of the time, the Eagle of Frederick II., the heretical Emperor of Germany, the Lilies of Louis IX., the sainted King of France, the Lion of Alexander III., the doomed King of Scotland,² had been fixed on the walls of the Choir, where they may still in part be seen; and these were followed up, along the Nave, by the shields of the nobles, not of the later age, but of the time contemporary with the building of Henry III., and whose shields would have been hung there had he lived to finish it.³

It would seem that, with the same domestic turn which appears in Louis Philippe's arrangement of the Orleans cemetery at Dreux, Henry at Westminster had provided for the burial of his whole family in all its branches round him.⁴ Twelve years before his own interment, he had already laid, in a small richly-carved tomb by the entrance of St. Edmund's Chapel, his little dumb daughter, of five years old, Catherine.⁵ Mass was said daily for her in the Hermitage

1257.
Princess
Catherine,
and other
children of
Henry III.

¹ *Archives*. See Appendix A.

² This disappeared in 1829.

³ Mr. Gilbert Scott has pointed this out to me, particularly in the case of Valence Earl of Pembroke, and Ferrers Earl of Derby. Even the details of Henry III.'s architecture, though modified in the Nave, were continued in the Cloisters. The shield of the Confessor is the earliest of the

kind, the martelets not having yet lost their legs. See the account of a MS. description of these shields in 1598, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Jan. 25, 1866.

⁴ *Gleanings*, p. 146; *Arch.* xxix. 188; *Annals*, A.D. 1283.

⁵ Matt. Paris, p. 949. In the Liberate Roll, 41 Hen. III., is a payment for her funeral on May 16.

of Charing. Beside her were interred his two other children who died young, and whose figures were painted above her tomb—Richard and John.¹ The heart of Henry, son of his brother Richard, who was killed in the cathedral at Viterbo by the sons of Simon de Montfort, was brought home and placed in a gold cup, by the Shrine of the Confessor. The widespread horror of the murder had procured, through this incident, the one single notice of the Abbey in the ‘Divina Commedia’ of Dante:—

Lo cor che 'n sul Tamigi ancor si cola.²

His half-brother, William de Valence, lies close by, within the Chapel of St. Edmund, dedicated to the second great Anglo-Saxon saint. This chapel seems to have been regarded as of the next degree of sanctity to the Royal Chapel of St. Edward. William was the son of Isabel, widow of John, by her second marriage with the Earl of Marche and Poitiers, and the favour shown to him and his wild Poitevin kinsmen by his brother was one cause of the King’s embroilment with the English Barons.³ His whole tomb is French; its enamels from Limoge; his birthplace, Valence on the Rhone, represented on his coat-of-arms. His son⁴ Aymer—so called from the father of Isabel, Aymer Count of Angoulême—built the tomb; and also secured for himself a still more splendid restingplace on the north side of the sacrarium, making one range of sepulchral monuments,⁵ with his uncle Edmund, and his aunt Aveline. Aveline, the greatest heiress in the kingdom, daughter of the Earl of Albemarle, had been

The heart
of Prince
Henry,
1271.

William de
Valence,
1256.

¹ The arch is said to have been constructed by Edward I., as a memorial to his four young children—John, Henry, Alfonso, [and Eleanor?] (See Crull, p. 28.)

² Dante’s *Inferno*, xii. 115; *Gleanings*, p. 138.—Benvenuto of Imola, commenting on this line, says: ‘In quodam monasterio monachorum vocato ibi *Guanister*.’ (Robertson’s *His-*

tory of the Church, iii. 463.)

³ *Gleanings*, pp. 155–157; Crull, p. 155.

⁴ His two other children, John and Margaret, occupy the richly-enamelled spaces at the foot of the Shrine. (Crull, p. 156.) The name of their father is still visible upon the grave.

⁵ See *Old London*, p. 194.

Aveline,
Countess
of Lan-
caster,
1273.
Edmund,
Earl of
Lancaster,
1296.

married to Edmund, in the Abbey, in 1269, shortly after the translation of the relics of the Confessor. She died two years after her brother-in-law the King; and was followed to the same illustrious grave by her husband, twenty-three years later.¹ He was the second son of Henry. It is possible that his epithet *Crouchback*, if not derived from his humped back, was a corruption of Crossback or Crusader. Whether it be so or not, he remains the chief monument of the Crusading period.² He and his brother Edward started together before their father's death, and the ten knights carved on his tomb have been supposed to represent the gallant English band who engaged in that last struggle to recover the Holy Land. If in this respect he represents the close of the first period of the Middle Ages, in two other respects he contains the germs of much of the future history of England. First Earl of Lancaster, he was the founder of that splendid house. Henry IV., with that curious tenacity of hereditary right which distinguished his usurpation, tried to maintain that Edmund was really the eldest son of his father, excluded from the throne only by his deformity.³ From Provins—where he resided on his return from the Holy Land, with his second wife, Blanche of Navarre, and which he converted almost into an English town—he brought back those famous Red roses, wrongly named 'of Provence,' planted there by the Crusaders from Palestine, which may be seen carved on his tomb, and which became in after-days the badge of the Lancastrian dynasty. His extravagance, with that of his father, combined to produce that reaction in the English people, which led to the foundation of the House of Commons. And the length of time which elapsed before his tomb was completed, arose

¹ Her tomb originally was raised upon the present basement. (See Dart, ii. 7, 10.)

² These tombs are architecturally

connected with those of Archbishop Peckham at Canterbury, and Bishop De Luda at Ely. (*Gleanings*, p. 62.)

³ Harding (Turner, ii. 273).

from his own dying anxiety not to be buried till all his debts were paid. He died in the same year as his half-brother William, but the tomb was evidently not erected till late in the reign of Edward II.

These are but the eddies of the royal history. The main stream flows through the Confessor's Chapel. Prince Edward and Eleanor have returned from the Crusades. Eleanor is the first to depart. The remembrance of their crusading kinsman, St. Louis, never leaves them; and when Eleanor died at Hardby, the crosses which were erected at all the halting-places of his remains, from Mont Cenis to St. Denys, seem to have furnished the model of the twelve memorial crosses which marked the passage of the 'Queen of good memory' from Lincoln to Charing—'Mulier pia, modesta, misericors, Anglicorum omnium amatrix.'¹ Her entrails were left at Lincoln; her heart was deposited in the Blackfriars' monastery in London; but her body was placed in the Abbey, at the foot of her father-in-law, just before the removal of his own corpse into his new tomb. A hundred wax-lights were for ever to burn around her tomb on St. Andrew's Eve, the anniversary of her death; and each Abbot of Westminster was bound by oath to keep up this service, before he entered on his office, and the charter requiring it was read aloud in the Chapter House. The Bishop of Lincoln buried her: a mortal feud between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Abbot of Westminster kept them from meeting at the funeral.²

Eleanor of
Castille,
died Nov.
29, 1291.

Her tomb.

Eighteen years passed away. Edward had married a second time. He had erected splendid tombs, of which we have previously spoken, to his father, his wife, and his uncle. He had continued the building of the Abbey westward into the Nave. The Chapel of the Confessor, where he had kept his vigils before his knighthood, he had filled with trophies of war,

¹ See *Memorials of Queen Eleanor*, and *Arch.* xxix. 170-4, 181.

² *Ibid.* pp. 175, 179; *Old London*, p. 187.

Alfonso,
Aug. 19,
1284.

most alien to the pacific reign of his father—the Stone of Fate from Scotland, and a fragment of the Cross from some remote sanctuary of Wales.¹ His little son Alfonso, called after his grandfather, Alfonso of Castille, hung up with his own hands before the shrine the golden crown of Llewellyn, the last Welsh Prince, slain amongst the broom at Builth; and was himself, almost immediately afterwards, buried between his brothers and sisters in the Abbey, whilst his heart was laid with his mother's in the Blackfriars' convent.²

Death of
Edward I.,
Friday,
July 7,
1307.

And now Edward himself is brought from the wild village of Burgh, on the Solway sands. For sixteen weeks he lay in Waltham Abbey, by the tomb of Harold; and then, four months after his death, was buried by Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, between his brother's and his father's tomb.³ The

His tomb.

monument was not always so rude as it now appears. There are still remains of gilding on its black Purbeck sides. A massive canopy of wood overshadowed it, which remained till it disappeared in a scene of uproar, which might have startled the sleeping King below into the belief that the Scots had invaded the sanctity of the Abbey, when, on the occasion of a midnight funeral, the terrified spectators defended themselves with its rafters against the mob.⁴

But, even in its earliest days, the plain tomb of the greatest of the Plantagenets, without mosaic, carving, or effigy, amongst the splendid monuments of his kindred, cries for explanation. Two reasons are given. The first connects it with the inscription, which runs along its side:—‘Edvardus Primus Scotorum malleus hic est, 1308. Pactum Serva.’⁵ Is the unfinished tomb a fulfilment of that famous ‘pact,’ which

Inscription
‘Pactum
Serva.’

¹ See Chapters II. and V.

² Matthew of Westminster, A.D. 1284; *Gleanings*, p. 151.

³ Rishanger, *Gesta Edwardi Primi*, A.D. 1307. (Pauli, ii. 178.)

⁴ See Chapter IV.

⁵ Lord Hailes (*Scotland*, i. 27) evi-

dently supposes this to allude to the dying compact. But there can be no doubt that the inscription is of far later date; and the motto ‘*Pactum serva*’ is, in all probability, a mere moral maxim, ‘*Keep your promise.*’ For—1. The inscription is of the same

the dying King required of his son, that his flesh should be boiled, his bones carried at the head of the English army till Scotland was subdued, and his heart sent to the Holy Land,¹ which he had vainly tried in his youth to redeem from the Saracens? It is true that with the death of the King all thought of the conquest of Scotland ceased. But it may possibly have been 'to keep the pact' that the tomb was left in this rude state, which would enable his successors at any moment to take out the corpse and carry off the heart;—and it may have been with a view to this that a singular provision was left and enforced. Once every two years the tomb was to be opened, and the wax of the King's cerecloth renewed. This renewal constantly took place as long as his dynasty lasted, perhaps with a lingering hope that the time would come when a victorious English army would once more sweep through Scotland with the conqueror's skeleton, or another crusade embark for Palestine with that true English heart. The hour never came, and when the dynasty changed with the fall of Richard II., the renewal of the cerement ceased, and the tomb remained, unfinished but undisturbed, till, in the middle of the last century, it was opened in the presence of the Society of

character as that which runs round the Shrine of the Confessor, which has obliterated the larger part of the older inscription; 2. That inscription is evidently of the time of Abbot Peckenham (see Chapter VI.); 3. The like inscription on Henry V.'s tomb is also of a later date, as appears from the allusion to Queen Catherine's coffin (see p. 151); 4. All these royal inscriptions are exactly similar in style, consisting of a Latin hexameter, a date (in the case of Henry III. and Edward I. a wrong date), and a moral maxim. Four inscriptions still remain, in whole or in part—that of Edward I., Henry III., Henry V., and the Confessor. (See also

Neale, ii. 69–109.) That of Edward I. has attracted more attention, both from its intrinsic interest and from its more conspicuous position.

¹ Walsingham, A.D. 1307. — Two thousand pounds in silver were laid up, and 140 knights named for the expedition. How deeply this expedition was impressed on popular feeling appears from the allusion in the Elegy in Percy's *Reliques* (ii. 9), with the Pope's lament—

'Jerusalem, thou last y-lore [lost],
The flower of all chivalry,
Now King Edward liveth no more.
Alas, that he should die!'

Opening of
the tomb
in 1771.

Antiquaries,¹ and the King was found in his royal robes, wrapped in a large waxed linen cloth. Then for the last time was seen that figure, lean and tall, and erect as a palm-tree,² whether running or riding. But the long shanks, which gave him his surname, were wrapped in the cloth of gold; the eyes, with the cast which he had inherited from his father, were no longer visible; nor the hair, which had been yellow³ or silver-bright in childhood, black in youth, and snow-white in age, on his high broad forehead. Pitch was poured in upon the corpse, and, as Walpole comically laments, in deploring the final disappearance of the crown, robes, and sceptre, 'They boast now of having enclosed him so effectually that his ashes cannot be violated again.'⁴

Wasteful-
ness of
Edward II.

There is yet another explanation, to which, even under any circumstances, we must in part resort, and which carries us on to the next reign. 'As *Malleus Scotorum*, "the hammer" "or crusher of the Scots," is written on the tomb of King Edward I. in Westminster, so *Incus Scotorum*, "the" "anvil of the Scots," might as properly be written on the monument (if he had any) of Edward II.'⁵ His monument is at Gloucester, as William Rufus's at Winchester, the nearest church to the scene of his dreadful death. But he is not without his memorial in the Abbey. That unfinished condition of the tomb of his father, is the continued witness of the wastefulness of the unworthy son, who spent on himself the money which his father had left for the carrying on of his great designs,⁶ if not for the completion of his monument.⁷

His tomb
at Glou-
cester,
1327.

His son, John of Eltham, however, who died at Perth at the early age of 19, was expressly ordered to be buried

¹ *Arch.* iii. 376, 398, 399; Neale, ii. 172; D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, iii. 81.—The corpse was six feet

two inches long.

² *Chron. Roff.* (Pauli, ii. 178.)

³ Rishanger, p. 76.

⁴ Walpole's *Letters*, iv. 197.

⁵ Fuller's *Church Hist.* A.D. 1314.

⁶ Walsingham, A.D. 1307.

⁷ In 1866, a slight memorial of some festival in his reign was found in fragments of paper-hangings, bearing his arms, affixed to the pillars near the altar.

‘entre les royaux,’¹ yet ‘so as to leave room for the King and ‘his successors.’ The injunction was fulfilled by his interment in the quasi-royal Chapel of St. Edmund, under a tomb which lost its beautiful canopy² in the general crash of the Chapel at the time of the Duchess of Northumberland’s funeral in the last century.

Tomb of
John of
Eltham,
1334.

The whole period of the two Edwards is well summed up in the tomb of Aymer de Valence, cousin of Edward I., planted, as we have seen, in the conspicuous spot between Edmund and Aveline of Lancaster,—the tall pale man, nicknamed by Gaveston ‘Joseph the Jew,’³—the ruthless destroyer of Nigel Bruce, of Piers Gaveston, and of Thomas of Lancaster. If the Scots could never forgive him for the death of Nigel, neither could the English for the death of the almost canonised Earl of Lancaster. ‘No Earl of Pembroke,’ it was believed, ‘ever saw his father afterwards;’ and his mysterious death in France was regarded as a judgment for ‘consenting to the death of St. Thomas.’⁴ Pembroke College at Cambridge was founded by his widow, to commemorate the terrible bereavement which, according to tradition, befell her on her wedding-day.

Aymer
de Valence,
Earl of
Pembroke,
1323.

The northern side of the Altar and of the Shrine—a position peculiarly honourable in connexion with the mediæval position of the priest at the Eucharist—was now filled. The southern side carried on and completed the direct line of the House of Anjou. In the tomb of Philippa a more historical spirit is beginning to supersede the ideal representations of early times. Her face is the earliest attempt at a portrait;⁵ and the surrounding figures are not merely religious emblems, but the thirty princely personages with

Queen
Philippa,
1369.

¹ Archives.

² For the canopy, see Crull, p. 46; Nichol's *Anecdotes* (1760 & 1777), iii. 745; Malcolm's *Lond.* p. 253.

³ Capgrave, p. 252.

⁴ Leland; Neale, ii. 273.—For the narrow escape of his tomb from de-

struction in the last century, see Chapter IV. Masses were said for his soul in the Chapel of St. John, close behind his tomb. (Lyson's *Envi-rons*, p. 349.)

⁵ *Gleanings*, p. 170.

whom, by birth, the Princess of Hainault was connected,¹ as the tomb is probably by an Hainault artist. But 'she built 'to herself,' says Speed, 'a monument of more glory and 'durability by founding a college, called of her the Queen's, 'in Oxford.'² On her deathbed she said to the King, 'I ask 'that you will not choose any other sepulchre than mine, 'and that you lie by my side in the Abbey of Westminster.'³

Death of
Edward
III., June
21, 1377.

'King Edward's fortunes seemed to fall into eclipse when 'she was hidden in her sepulchre.' His features are said to be represented, by a cast taken after death, as he lay on his deserted deathbed⁴:—

Mighty victor, mighty lord,
* Low on his funeral couch he lies!

His tomb. His long flowing hair and beard agree with the contemporary accounts. The godlike grace which shone in his countenance⁵ is perhaps hardly perceptible, but it yet bears a curious resemblance to an illustrious living poet who is said to be descended from him.

His
children.

His twelve children⁶—including those famous 'seven sons,' the springheads of all the troubles of the next hundred years—were graven round his tomb, of which now only remain the Black Prince, Joan de la Tour, Lionel Duke of Clarence, Edmund Duke of York, Henry of Brittany, and William of Hatfield. Two infant children, William of Windsor and Blanche de la Tour (so called from her birth in the Tower), have their small tomb in St. Edmund's Chapel.⁷

The monument of Edward III.⁸ is the first that has entered into our literature:—

The honourable tomb
That stands upon your royal grandsire's bones.⁹

¹ Neale, ii. 98; *Gleanings*, p. 61.

² Speed, p. 724.

³ Froissart.

⁴ *Gleanings*, p. 173.

⁵ Pauli, ii. 500.

⁶ Stow (p. 24) saw them all, as well as those on Queen Philippa's tomb.

⁷ Ibid. p. 173; Neale, ii. 301.

⁸ Feckenham's inscription on the tomb is the same as that under Edward III.'s statue at Trinity College, Cambridge.

⁹ Shakspeare's *Richard II.*

The sword¹ and shield that went before him in France formed part of the wonders of the Abbey as far back as the time of Queen Elizabeth.² Dryden describes—

His sword
and shield.

How some strong churl would brandishing advance
The monumental sword that conquer'd France.

Sir Roger de Coverley 'laid his hand on Edward III.'s sword, 'and, leaning on the pommel of it, gave us the whole history 'of the Black Prince, concluding that, in Sir Richard Baker's 'opinion, Edward III. was one of the greatest princes that 'ever sate on the English throne.' Other valued trophies of the French wars were the vestments of St. Peter, patron of the Abbey; and the head of St. Benedict, patron of its Order, and supposed to have strayed from Monte Casino to France.³

Relics
from
France.

The circle of the Confessor's Chapel was now all but filled. The only space left was occupied by a small tomb (now removed to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist) of the grandchildren of Edward I.—Hugh and Mary de Bohun, children of his daughter Elizabeth by Humphrey de Bohun. It may be from the absence of any further open space by the side of the Royal Saint, that Edward the Black Prince had already fixed his tomb under the shelter of the great ecclesiastical martyr of Canterbury Cathedral.⁴ But his son Richard was not so disposed to leave the Abbey. His affection for it seems to have equalled that of any of his predecessors. In it his coronation had been celebrated with unusual formality and splendour.⁵ In it his marriage, like that of Henry III., had been solemnised.⁶ Here he had consulted the Hermit on his way to confront the rebels.⁷ The great northern entrance, known as Solomon's Porch, was rebuilt in his time, and once

Tombs of
the Bohun
children.
[See
p. 143.]

Edward
the Black
Prince,
buried at
Canter-
bury 1376.

¹ A similar sword is in the Chapter House at Windsor.

² Rye's *England* (1592), pp. 10, 92. There was then a wolf upon it.

³ Walsingham, pp. 171, 178.

⁴ *Memorials of Canterbury*, c. 3.

⁵ See Chapter II. p. 68.

⁶ Walsingham, ii. 48; Sandford, 230; Neale, ii. 114.

⁷ See Chapter V.

Richard II.
His
affection
for the
Abbey.

contained his well-known badge of the White Hart¹ which still remains, in colossal proportions, on the fragile partition which shuts off the Muniment Room from the southern triforium of the Nave. He affected a peculiar veneration for the Confessor. He bore his arms, and when he went over to Ireland, which 'was very pleasing to the Irish,'² by a special grace granted them to his favourite, the Earl of Norfolk.³ 'By St. Edward!' was his favourite oath.⁴ He had a ring, which he confided to St. Edward's Shrine when he was not out of England.⁵ His portrait⁶ long remained in the Abbey, probably in the attitude and dress in which he appeared at the Feast of the Translation of St. Edward.⁷ It is the oldest contemporary representation of any English sovereign, a true and affecting likeness of the fatal and (as it was believed at the time) unparalleled beauty which turned Richard's feeble brain. The original picture had almost disappeared under successive attempts at restoration. But it was reserved for a distinguished artist of our own day to recover the pristine form and face: the curling masses of auburn hair, the large heavy eyes, the long thin nose, the short tufted hair under his beardless chin,⁸ the soft and melancholy

¹ The badge was first given at a tournament in 1396, taken from his mother, Joan of Kent. According to the legend, it was derived from the white stag caught at Besastino, near Bagshot, in Windsor Forest, with the collar round its neck, '*Nemo me tantum gat; Caesaris sum.*' From the popularity of Richard II., it was adopted by his followers with singular tenacity, and hence the difficulty which Henry IV. experienced in suppressing it. (*Archæologia*, xx. 106, 152; xxix. 38. 40.) Hence also its frequency as the sign of inns.

² Creton. (*Arch.* xx. 28.)

³ Hence the impeachment of the Earl of Surrey by Henry VIII.

⁴ Creton. (*Arch.* xx. 43.)

⁵ Inventory of Relics.

⁶ It hung above the Lord Chancellors' pew, on the south side of the Choir, till, injured by their wigs, it was removed, in 1775, to the Jerusalem Chamber. (See Chapter VI.) For the whole history of the portrait, and its successful restoration by Mr. Richmond, see the full account, by Mr. George Scharf, in the *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, February 1867.

⁷ Weever, p. 473.

⁸ Evesham, pp. 162, 169.—In a rage his colour fled, and he became deadly pale. (*Arch.* xx. 43; Shakspeare's *Richard II.*, act ii. sc. 1.)

expression, which recalls the lines of Gray, uniting his splendid coronation with his tragic end.¹

From all these indications, it is clear that Richard would desire, for himself and all for whom he cared, a burial as near to the Royal Saint of Westminster as was possible.² The grandchildren of Edward I. were removed from their place in the Confessor's Chapel to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, and on the vacant site thus secured was raised the tomb for his wife, Anne of Bohemia, the patroness of the Wycliffites, the link between Wycliffe and Huss. The King's extravagant grief for her loss, which caused him to raze to the ground the Palace at Sheen, in which she died, broke out also at her funeral.³ It was celebrated at an enormous cost. Hundred\$ of wax candles were brought from Flanders. On reaching the Abbey from St. Paul's, he was roused to a frenzy of rage, by finding that the Earl of Arundel not only had come too late for the procession, but asked to go away before the ceremony was over. He seized a cane from the hand of one of the attendants, and struck the Earl such a blow on the head, as to bring him to the ground at his feet. The sacred pavement was stained with blood, and the service was so long delayed, by the altercation and reconciliation, that night came on before it was completed.⁴ The King's affection for his wife was yet further to be shown by the arrangement of his own effigy by the side of hers, grasping her hand in his. The tomb was completed during his reign,⁵ and decorated with the ostrich-feathers and lions of Bohemia, the eagles of the Empire, the leopards of England, the peascods of the Plantagenets, and the sun rising through the black clouds of Crécy.⁶ The

Tomb of
Queen
Anne,
1394.

And of
Richard II.

¹ See Chapter II. p. 69. For the chair in which he sits, see Scharf, p. 36.

² Through his influence the retainers of the Court were first buried inside the church. (See Chapter IV.)

³ Weever, p. 477.

⁴ Tronkelowe, pp. 169, 424.

⁵ Neale, ii. 107-112.

⁶ For a full description of the armorial bearings, see *Arch.* xxix. 43, 47, 51. Some of them appear also on Langham's tomb (*ibid.* 53). — See Chapter V.; also *Memorials of Canterbury*, pp. 153, 154, 174-182.

rich gilding and ornaments can still be discerned through their thick coating of indurated dust.¹ The inscription round the tomb contains the first indication of the conflict with the rising Reformers—in the pride with which Richard records his beauty, his wisdom, and his orthodoxy:

Corpore procerus,² animo prudens ut Homerus,
Obruit hæreticos, et eorum stravit amicos.³

His Burial,
at Langley,
1399.
Removed
to West-
minster,
1413.

But whether the King himself really reposes in the sepulchre which he had so carefully constructed is open to grave doubt. A corpse was brought from Pomfret to London by Henry IV., with the face exposed, and thence conveyed to Langley;⁴ and long afterwards, partly as an expiation for Henry's sins, partly to show that Richard was really dead, it was carried back by Henry V. from Langley, and was buried in state in this tomb.⁵ The features were recognised by many, and were believed to resemble the unfortunate King; but there were still some who maintained that it was the body of his chaplain, Maudlin, whose likeness to the King was well known.⁶ In the last century the basement was accidentally opened, and bones and skulls were seen and handled. As the King was probably laid within the tomb itself,⁷ it is difficult to draw any conclusion from these relics; still if it be true, as asserted, that two copper-gilt crowns were found with the two skulls, it is not easy to avoid the inference that they were those of the King and Queen. The small cleft on the side of that supposed to be the King's skull was pronounced to be the opening of a suture, from length of time and decay;

¹ *Arch.* xxix. 57.

² This contradicts the Evesham chronicler, who says he was short (p. 169).

³ See the whole inscription in Neale, ii. 110.

⁴ See Pauli, iii. 60.

⁵ Turner, ii. 380.

⁶ Creton (*Arch.* xx. 220, 409). But Maudlin had been executed a month before. (Pauli, iii. 11.)

⁷ *Arch.* vi. 316; Neale, ii. 110. The hole was stopped by order of Dean Thomas. (*Londiniana*, i. 222.)

and, besides, was in such a part of the head that it must have been visible, had it been from the stroke of a battle-axe, when the visage was exposed after death. No other presumable mark of violence was seen. However this may be, in this tomb, thus closing the precinct of the Chapel, the direct line of the descendants of its founder, Henry III., was brought to an end; and with it closes a complete period of English history.¹

The Lancastrian House, which begins the new transitional epoch, reaching across the fifteenth century, had no place in this immediate circle. Henry IV., although he died almost within the walls of the Abbey, sought his last resting-place in Canterbury Cathedral; and it may be, that had his son succeeded only to the affection of the great ecclesiastical party, which the crafty and superstitious usurper had conciliated, Westminster would have been deserted for Canterbury. But Henry V. cherished a peculiar veneration for the Abbey, which had been the scene of that great transformation,² from a wild licentious youth to a steady determined man, to an austere champion of orthodoxy, to the greatest soldier of the age, ‘Hostium victor et sui.’ Not only did he bring back the dead Richard—not only did he give lands and fat stags to the Convent, but he added to the Church itself some of its most essential features. The Nave—which had remained stationary since the death of Edward I., except so far as it had been carried on by the private munifi-

THE
HOUSE OF
LANCAS-
TER.
Henry IV.

Henry V.

¹ Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III., murdered at the instigation of Richard II., was interred on the south side of the Confessor's Chapel, beneath the pavement, under a splendid brass (see Sandford, p. 230), of which nothing but the indentations can now be traced. His widow lies in the Chapel of St. Edmund, under a brass representing her in her conventual dress as a nun of Barking.

Philippa, widow of Edward Duke of York, afterwards wife of Sir Walter Fitzwalter, was the first to occupy the Chapel of St. Nicholas, built probably in the time of Edward I., to receive the relics of that saint, and next in dignity to those of St. Edward and St. Edmund. Her tomb (now removed to the side) was then in the middle of the Chapel. (Neale, ii. 170.)

Philippa,
Duchess
of York,
1433.

² See Chapter V.

Nov. 23,
1415.

cence of Abbot Langham,¹—was, by the orders of Henry V., prolonged nearly to its present extremity by the great architect of that age, remembered now for far other reasons—Whittington, Lord Mayor of London.² It was continued, as has been already remarked, in the same style as that which had prevailed when it was first begun, two centuries before. The first grand ceremonial which it witnessed was worthy of itself—the procession which assisted at the *Te Deum* for the victory of Agincourt.³

It was just before the expedition which terminated in that victory, that the King declared in his will his intention to be buried in the Abbey, with directions so precise, as to show that he must carefully have studied the difficulties and the capabilities of the locality.⁴

The fulfilment of his intention derives additional force from the circumstances of his death. Like his father, he had conceived the fixed purpose of another crusade. He had borrowed from the Countess of Westmoreland the ‘Chronicle of Jerusalem’ and the ‘Voyage of Godfrey de Bouillon;’ he had sent out a Palestine Exploration party under Chevalier Lannoy.⁵ Just at this juncture his mortal illness overtook him at Vincennes.⁶ When the Fifty-first Psalm was chanted to him, he paused at the words, ‘Build ‘Thou the walls of Jerusalem,’ and fervently repeated them. ‘As surely as I expect to die,’ he said, ‘I intended, after I ‘had established peace in France, to go and conquer Jerusalem, if it had been the good pleasure of my Creator to ‘have let me live my due time.’ A few minutes after, as if speaking to the evil spirit of his youth, he cried out, ‘Thou ‘liest—thou liest! my part is with my Lord Jesus Christ;’

¹ See Chapter V.

² Redman, pp. 70–72.

³ *Londiniana*, ii. 100.

⁴ Rymer, *Fœd.* ix. 289.

⁵ *Arch.* xxi. 312; Rymer, x. 307;

Pauli, iii. 178.

⁶ He was attacked by a violent dysentery, from the excessively hot summer,—the *mal di S. Fiacre*,—August 31, at midnight. (Pauli, iii. 173.)

and then, with the words strongly uttered, *In manus tuas, Domine, ipsum terminum redemisti!*—he expired.¹

So much had passed since the time when he wrote his will, in the third year of his reign, that it seemed open for France and England to contest the glory of retaining him. Paris and Rouen both offered, it is said, immense sums of money for that purpose.² But his known attachment to Westminster prevailed, and the most sumptuous arrangements were made for the funeral. The long procession from Paris to Calais, and from Dover to London, was headed by the King of Scots, James I., as chief mourner, followed by Henry's widow, Catherine of Valois. As it approached London it was met by all the clergy.³ The obsequies were performed in the presence of Parliament, first at St. Paul's, and then at the Abbey. No English king's funeral had ever been so grand. It is this scene alone which brings the interior of the Abbey on the stage of Shakspeare—

Funeral of
Henry V.
Nov. 7,
1422.

Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night! . . .
King Henry the Fifth, too famous to live long!
England ne'er lost a king of so much worth.

His three chargers were led up to the altar, behind the effigy, which lay on the splendid car, accompanied by torches and white-robed priests innumerable, and which was now for the first time seen in the royal funerals: previously the Kings themselves had been exhibited in their royal attire.⁴ To give a worthy place to the mighty dead a severe strain was put on the capacity of the Abbey. Room for his grave was created by a summary process, on which no previous King or Abbot had ventured. The extreme eastern end of the Confessor's Chapel, hitherto devoted to the sacred relics, was cleared out; and in their place was deposited the body of the most splendid King that England had down to that time

¹ Pauli, iii. 178.

² Walsingham, p. 407.

³ Ibid. p. 408.

⁴ Bloxham, p. 92.

produced;—second only as a warrior to the Black Prince—
 His tomb. second only as a sovereign to Edward I. His tomb, accordingly, was regarded almost as that of a saint in Paradise.¹ The passing cloud of 'Reforming zeal, which Chichele had feared, had been, as Chichele hoped, diverted by the French wars. From his conversion he affected and attained an austere piety unusual among his predecessors. Instead of their wild oaths, he had only two words,—'Impossible,' or 'It must be done.' In his army he forbade the luxury of feather beds. Had he conquered the whole of France, he would have destroyed all its vines, with a view of suppressing drunkenness.² He was the most determined enemy of Wycliffe and of all heretics that Europe contained.³ He had himself intended that the relics should be still retained in the same locality, though transferred to the chamber above his tomb.⁴ The recesses still existing in that chamber seem designed for this purpose. But the staunch support which the dead King had given to the religious world of that age, if not his brilliant achievements, seemed, in the eyes of the clergy, to justify a more extensive change. The Relics were altogether removed, and placed in a chest, between the tomb of Henry III. and the Shrine of the Confessor, and the chamber was exclusively devoted to the celebration of services for his soul on the most elaborate scale. He alone of the Kings, hitherto buried in the Abbey, had ordered a separate Chantry to be erected, where masses might be forever offered up.⁵ It was raised, as he had desired in his will,⁶ above his tomb, with an altar in honour of the Annunciation. It was to be high enough for the people far down in the Abbey to see the priests officiating there. The effect of this

¹ Montalembert, pp. 325, 326.

² Pauli, iii. 175.

³ Rymer, x. 291, 604; Pauli, iii. 177.

⁴ Rymer, ix. 289.

⁵ They were specified in his will,

and amounted to 20,000. (Rymer, ix. 290.) A similar Chantry was prepared by the side of his father's tomb at Canterbury.

⁶ Rymer, ix. 289.

was the erection of a new Chapel, growing out of that of St. Edward, and almost reaching the dignity of another Lady Chapel. It towers above the Plantagenet graves beneath, as his empire towered above their kingdom. As ruthlessly as any improvement of modern times, it devoured half the beautiful monuments of Eleanor and Philippa. Its structure is formed out of the first letter of his name—H. Its statues represent not only the glories of Westminster, in the persons of its two founders, but the glories of the two kingdoms which he had united—St. George, the patron of England; St. Denys, the patron of France. The sculptures round the Chapel break out into a vein altogether new in the Abbey. They describe the personal peculiarities of the man and his history—the scenes of his coronation, with all the grandees of his Court around him, and his battles in France. Amongst the heraldic emblems—the swans and antelopes derived from the De Bohuns¹—is the flaming beacon or cresset light which he took for his badge, ‘showing thereby that, although his ‘virtues and good parts had been formerly obscured, and lay ‘as a dead coal, waiting light to kindle it, by reason of tender ‘years and evil company, notwithstanding, he being now come ‘to his perfecter years and riper understanding, had shaken ‘off his evil counsellors, and being now on his high imperial ‘throne, that his virtues should now shine as the light of a ‘cresset, which is no ordinary light.’² Aloft were hung his large emblazoned shield, his saddle, and his helmet, after His saddle the example of the like personal accoutrements of the Black Prince at Canterbury. The shield is gone.³ The saddle is that on which he

Vaulted with such ease into his seat,
As if an angel dropp’d down from the clouds,
To witch the world with noble horsemanship.⁴

¹ See Roberts’s *Houses of York and Sepulchral Monuments*, ii. 69.

Lancaster, ii. 254, 255.

² It appears in Sandford, 280.

³ MS. history, quoted in Gough’s

⁴ Shakspeare’s *Henry V.*, act iv. sc. 1.

His
helmet.

The helmet—which, from its elevated position, has almost become a part of the architectural outline of the Abbey, and on which many a Westminster boy has wonderingly gazed from his place in the Choir—is in all probability ‘that very casque that did affright the air at Agincourt,’ which twice saved his life on that eventful day—still showing in its dints the marks of the ponderous sword of the Duke of Alençon—‘the bruised helmet’ which he refused to have borne in state before him on his triumphal entry into London, ‘for that he would have the praise chiefly given ‘to God :’¹

Being free from vainness and self-glorious pride,
Giving full trophy, signal, and ostent,
Quite from himself, to God.²

His statue.

Below, his effigy lay stretched out, cut from the solid heart of an English oak, plated with silver-gilt, with a head of solid silver. It has suffered more than any other monument in the Abbey. Two teeth of gold were plundered in Edward IV.’s reign.³ The whole of the silver was carried off by some robbers, who had ‘broken in the night-season into ‘the Church of Westminster,’ at the time of the Dissolution.⁴ But, even in its mutilated form, the tomb has always excited the keen interest of Englishmen. The robbery ‘of the image ‘of King Henry of Monmouth’ was immediately investigated by the Privy Council. Sir Philip Sidney felt, that ‘who goes ‘but to Westminster, in the church may see Harry the ‘Fifth ;’⁵ and Sir Roger de Coverley’s anger was roused at the sight of the lost head : ‘Some Whig, I’ll warrant you. ‘You ought to lock up your kings better ; they’ll carry off ‘the body too, if you don’t take care.’⁶

¹ Account of the Helmet by the Ironmongers’ Company, pp. 145, 146.

² Shakspeare’s *Henry V.*, act v., Chorus.

³ Inventory of Relics. (Archives.)

⁴ Jan. 30, 1546. *Archæol.* xviii. 27.

See Keepe, p. 155. The grates were added by Henry VII. (Sandford, 180.)

⁵ *Defence of the Earl of Leicester.* (P. Cunningham.)

⁶ *Spectator*, No. 329.

If the splendour of Henry V.'s tomb marks the culmination of the Lancastrian dynasty, the story of its fall is no less told in the singular traces left in the Abbey by the history of his widow and his son. They, no doubt, raised the sumptuous structure over the dead King's grave; and they also clung, though with far different fates, to the neighbourhood of the sepulchre for which they had done so much.

Queen Catherine, after her second marriage with Owen Tudor, sank into almost total oblivion. On her death her remains were placed in the Abbey,¹ but only in a rude coffin in the Lady Chapel beyond—in a 'badly apparelled'² state—the body open to view. There it lay for many years. It was, on the destruction of that Chapel by her grandson, placed on the right side of her royal husband;³ and so it 'continued to be 'seen, the bones being firmly united, and thinly clothed with 'flesh, like scrapings of fine leather.'⁴ Pepys, on his birthday visit to the Abbey, 'kissed a Queen.'⁵

Tomb of Catherine of Valois. Died June 3, buried Feb. 8, 1437.

This strange neglect was probably the result of the disfavour into which her memory had fallen from her ill-assorted marriage. But in the legends of the Abbey it was 'by her own appointment (as he that showeth the tombs 'will tell you by tradition), in regard of her disobedience 'to her husband, for being delivered of her son, Henry VI., 'at Windsor, the place which he forbade.'⁶

That unfortunate son was not willing, any more than his father, to abandon his hold on the Confessor's Shrine. In his time was probably erected the screen⁷ which, as in the contemporary instance at St. Albans, divides the Shrine from

¹ Strickland's *Queens*, iii. 183, 209.

² Archives. See Appendix.

³ As specified in Feckenham's inscription, added in the next generation.

⁴ Dart, ii. 39.—The position is seen in Sandford, 289. The body was afterwards interred in a vault under the Villiers monument, in the Chapel of St. Nicholas, at the time of the Duchess

of Northumberland's funeral, in 1776. (Neale, ii. 89.)

⁵ Pepys's *Diary* (Feb. 24, 1668), iv. 253.

⁶ Weever, p. 475; Fuller, book iv. art. xv. § 48.

⁷ See Chapter I. Some heraldic ornaments point to the reign of Edward IV.

Visits of
Henry VI.
1451-1460.

the High Altar, with the legendary scenes from the Confessor's life; and he, first of his house, revived the traditional name of *Edward* in the person of his firstborn son, who was born on St. Edward's Day.¹ A long recollection lived in the memory of the old vergers and workmen of the Abbey, how they had, in the disastrous period between the Battle of St. Albans and the Battle of Wakefield, seen the King visit the Abbey, at all hours of the day and night, to fix the place of his sepulture.² On one occasion, between 7 and 8 p.m., he came from the Palace, attended by his confessor, Thomas Manning, afterwards Dean of Windsor. The Abbot (Kirton) received him by torchlight at the postern, and they went round the Chapel of the Confessor together. It was proposed to him, with the reckless disregard of antiquity which marked those ages, to move the tomb of Eleanor. The King, with a better feeling, said, 'That might not be well in that place,' and that 'he could in nowise do it;' and, on being still pressed, fell into one of his silent fits, and gave them no answer. He then was led into the Lady Chapel, saw his mother's neglected coffin, and heard the proposal that it should be more 'honourably appparelled,' and that he should be laid between it and the altar of that Chapel. He was again mute. On another occasion he visited the Chapel of the Confessor with Flete, the Prior and historian of the Abbey. Henry asked him, with a strange ignorance, the names of the Kings amongst whose tombs he stood, till he came to his father's grave, where he made his prayer. He then went up into the Chantry, and remained for more than an hour surveying the whole Chapel. It was suggested to him that the tomb of Henry V. should be pushed a little on one side, and his own placed beside it. With more regal spirit than was usual in him, he replied, 'Nay, let him alone; he lieth like a noble prince. I would not trouble him.' Finally, the Abbot

¹ Ridgway, p. 178.

² Archives. See Appendix.

proposed that the great Reliquary should be moved from the position which it now occupied close beside the Shrine, so as thus to leave a vacant space for a new tomb. The devout King anxiously asked whether there was any spot where the Relics, thus a second time moved, could be deposited, and was told that they might stand 'at the back side of the altar.' He then 'marked with his foot seven feet,' and turned to the nobles who were with him. 'Lend me your staff,' he said to the Lord Cromwell; 'is it not fitting I should have a place here, where 'my father and my ancestors lie, near St. Edward?' And then, pointing with a white staff to the spot indicated, said, 'Here methinketh is a convenient place;' and again, still more emphatically, and with the peculiar asseveration which, in his pious and simple lips, took the place of the savage oaths of the Plantagenets, 'Forsooth, forsooth, here will we lie! 'Here is a good place for us.' The master-mason of the Abbey, Thirsk by name, took an iron instrument, and traced the circuit of the grave on the pavement. Within three days the Relics were removed, and the tomb was ordered. The 'marbler' (or, as we should now say, the statuary) and the coppersmith received forty groats for their instalment, and gave one groat to the workmen, who long remembered the conversation of their masters at supper by this token. But 'the great trouble' came on, and nothing was done. Henry perished in the Tower, and thence his corpse was taken first to the Abbey of Chertsey, and then (in consequence, it was said, of the miracles which attracted pilgrims to it) was removed by Richard III. to St. George's Chapel at Windsor—perhaps to lie near the scene of his birth, perhaps to be more closely under the vigilant eye of the new dynasty.

Death of
Henry
VI. May
21, 1472.

For now it was that the attachment which so many Princes had shown to Windsor became definitely fixed. Edward IV., though he died at Westminster, and though his obsequies were celebrated in St. Stephen's Chapel and in the Abbey,

With-
drawal of
the York
dynasty to
Windsor.

was buried in St. George's Chapel, by the side of his unfortunate rival. This severance of the York dynasty from the Confessor's Shrine marks the first beginning of the sentiment which has eventually caused the Royal Sepultures at Westminster to be superseded by Windsor. The obligations of Edward to the Sanctuary which had sheltered his wife and children, compelled him indeed to contribute towards the completion of the Abbey. Here, as at the Basilica of Bethlehem, fourscore oaks were granted by him for the repairs of the roof.¹ But, whilst Edward lay at Windsor, George at Tewkesbury, Richard at Leicester, Edward V. and his brother in the Tower, the younger George and his sister Mary at Windsor,² Cecilia at Quarre in the Isle of Wight, Anne at Thetford³ (now at Framlingham), Catherine at Tiverton, Bridget at Dartford,⁴ one small tomb alone—that of Margaret, a child of nine months old—found its way into the Abbey. It now stands by Richard II.'s monument, apparently moved from 'the altar end, afore St. Edward's Shrine.' Anne, the Queen of Richard III., and daughter of the Earl of Warwick, is believed to be buried on the south side of the altar.⁵ Anne, the betrothed wife of young Richard of York, in the Islip Chapel.⁶

Edward IV. Died April 9, 1473. Buried at Windsor April 17, 1493.

Margaret of York.

Dec. 11, 1472.

Anne of Warwick, 1485. Anne Mowbray of York.

Controversy concerning the tomb of Henry VI.

But the passion for the House of Lancaster still ran underground; and when the Civil Wars were closed, its revival caused the Abbey to leap again into new life. In every important church an image of the sainted Henry had been erected. Even in York Minster pilgrimages were made to his figure over the rood-screen, which it required the whole authority of the Northern Primate to suppress.⁷ This

¹ Neale, i. 92; Tobler's *Bethlehem*, p. 112. See Chapter V.

² Green's *Princesses*, iii. 402.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 436.—Her husband, Lord Wells, was buried in the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey. (*Ibid.* iii. 428.)

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 437; iv. 11, 12, 38, 47.

⁵ Crull, p. 23.—A leaden coffin was found there in 1866.

⁶ Keepe, 133.

⁷ Order of Archbishop Booth, October 27, 1479. See Appendix.

general sentiment could not be neglected by the Tudor King, who had from the first bound up his fortunes with those of Henry of Lancaster, amongst whose miracles was conspicuous the prediction that Henry Tudor would succeed him.¹ Accordingly, he determined to reconstruct at Windsor the Chapel at the east end of St. George's, originally founded by Henry III. and rebuilt by Edward III., in order to become the receptacle of the sacred remains, with which he intended that his own dust should mingle. Then it was that the two Abbeys of Chertsey and of Westminster put in their claims for the body—Chertsey on the ground that Richard III. had taken it thence by violence to Windsor; Westminster on the ground that the King, as we have seen, had in his lifetime determined there to be buried. Old vergers, servants, and workmen, who remembered the dates only by the imperfect sign that they were before or after 'the field of York,' or of 'St. Albans,' had yet a perfect recollection of the very words which Henry had used; and the Council, which was held at Greenwich, to adjudicate the triangular contest, decided in favour of Westminster.² Windsor made a stout resistance, and continued its endeavours to reverse the decree by legal processes. But the King and Council persevered in carrying out what were believed to have been Henry's intentions; and, accordingly, the unfinished chapel at Windsor was left to the singular fate which was to befall it in after-times—the sepulchre designed for Cardinal Wolsey, the Roman Catholic chapel of James II., the burialplace of the family of George III., and finally the splendid monument of the virtues of the Saxon Prince, whose funeral rites it in part witnessed. At Westminster every preparation was made to receive the saintly corpse. 500*l.* (equal to 5,000*l.* of our money) were spent on its transference.³ Pope Julius II.

Decision in
favour of
West-
minster.

¹ Pauli, iii. 634.

² Ibid.

³ Archives See Appendix.

Confirmed
by the
Pope,
1504.

granted the license for the removal, declaring that the obscurity in which the enemies of Henry had combined to envelope his miracles, first at Chertsey and then at Windsor, was at last to be dispersed;¹ and the King determined to found at Westminster a Chapel yet more magnificent than that which he had designed at Windsor, a greater than the Confessor's Shrine, in order 'right shortly to translate into 'the same the body and reliques of his uncle of blissful 'memory, King Henry VI.'²

Chapel of
Henry VI.

This was the last cry of 'the aspiring blood of Lancaster.' Suddenly, imperceptibly, it 'sank into the ground.' The language of the Westminster records certainly implies that the body was removed (according to a faint tradition, of which no distinct trace remains) to some 'place undistinguished' in the Abbey.³ But the language of the wills both of Henry VII.⁴ and of Henry VIII. no less clearly indicates that it remains, according to the Windsor tradition, in the south aisle of St. George's Chapel. Unquestionably, no solemn 'translation' ever took place. The 'canonisation,' which the Pope had promised, was never carried out. The Chapel at Westminster was still pushed forward, but it became the Chapel, not of Henry VI., but of Henry VII.⁵

Changed
into the
Chapel of
Henry
VII.

It may well be that this change of purpose represents the penurious spirit of the King, whose features, even in his monumental effigy, were thought to indicate 'stronger reluctance to quit the possessions of this world than could ever 'be expressed on the countenance of the most grasping 'mortal';⁶ and that the failure of canonisation was occasioned by the reluctance of Henry VII., parsimonious even beyond the rest of his race, to part with the sum requisite for so costly

¹ Rymer, xiii. 103, 104.

² Will of Henry VII. (Neale, i. pt. ii. p. 7).

³ Malcolm, pp. 218, 225; Speed, p. 869.

⁴ Neale (part ii.), i. 7. Will of

Henry VIII. (Fuller's *Church Hist.* A.D. 1546.)

⁵ His tomb was moved from Windsor to Westminster, January 23, 1503. (Pauli, iii. 644.)

⁶ Pennant, p. 29.

an undertaking. But it may be that, as he became more firmly seated on his throne, the remembrance of his succession to Henry of Lancaster was gradually merged in the proud thought that, as the founder of a new dynasty, he would lie 'in the common sepulchre of the kings of this realm' with 'his noble progenitors.'¹ The Chapel of Henry VII. is indeed well called by his name, for it breathes of himself, and no one but himself, through every part. It is the most signal example of the contrast between his closeness in life, and his 'magnificence in the structures he hath left to posterity'²—King's College Chapel, the Savoy, Westminster. Its very style was a reminiscence of his exile, being 'learned in 'France,' by himself and his companion Fox.³ His pride in its grandeur was commemorated by the ship, vast for those times, which he built, 'of equal cost with his Chapel,' 'which 'afterwards, in the reign of Mary, sank in the sea and 'vanished in a moment.'⁴

It was to be his chantry as well as his tomb, for he was determined not to be behind the Lancastrian princes in devotion; and this unusual anxiety for the sake of a soul not too heavenward in its affections, which in John's time had taken a coarser form, in his case expended itself in the immense apparatus of services, which required a stately edifice—almost a second Abbey—to contain the new establishment of monks, who were to sing in their stalls 'as long 'as the world shall endure.'⁵

The
Chantry.

To the Virgin Mary, to whom the Chapel was dedicated, he had a special devotion.⁶ Her 'in all his necessities he 'had made his continual refuge;' and her figure, accordingly, looks down upon his grave from the east end, between the apostolic patrons of the Abbey, Peter and Paul, with 'the

The
Saints.

¹ Will of Henry VII.

² Fuller's *Worthies*, iii. 555.

³ Speed, p. 757.

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies*, iii. 553.

⁵ Malcolm, pp. 226, 227. For the cost (30,000*l.* for purchasing lands for his Chapel), see Pauli, v. 644.

⁶ Will of Henry VII. (Neale, ii. 6, 7).

‘ holy company of heaven—that is to say, angels, archangels, ‘ patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confes- ‘ sors, and virgins,’ to ‘ whose singular mediation and prayers ‘ he also trusted,’ including the royal saints of Britain, St. Edward, St. Edmund, St. Oswald, St. Margaret of Scotland, who stand, as he directed, sculptured, tier above tier, on every side of the Chapel. Round his tomb stand his nine ‘ accustomed Avours or guardian saints,’ to whom ‘ he calls ‘ and cries’—‘ St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, St. John the ‘ Evangelist, St. George, St. Anthony, St. Edward, St. Vincent, ‘ St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Barbara,’¹ each with their peculiar emblems,—‘ so to aid, succour, and defend ‘ him, that the ancient and ghostly enemy, nor none other ‘ evil or damnable spirit, have no power to invade him, nor ‘ with their wickedness to annoy him, but with holy prayers ‘ to be intercessors for him to his Maker and Redeemer.’² These were the adjurations of the last mediæval King, as the Chapel was the climax of the latest mediæval architecture. In the very urgency of the King’s anxiety for the perpetuity of those funeral ceremonies, we seem to discern an unconscious presentiment of terror lest their days were numbered.

But, although in this sense the Chapel hangs on tenaciously to the skirts of the ancient Abbey and the ancient Church, yet that solemn architectural pause between the two—which arrests the most careless observer, and renders it a separate structure, a foundation ‘ adjoining the Abbey,’ rather than forming part of it³—corresponds with marvellous fidelity to the pause and break in English history of which Henry VII.’s reign is the expression. It is the close of the Middle Ages : the Apple of Granada, which appears on his tomb, is the token that the long struggle between Christians and Saracens had come to an end. It is the end of the Wars of the Roses.

The close
of the
Middle
Ages.

¹ For the enumeration of these see Neale, ii. 39.

² Will of Henry VII. (Neale, ii. 6, 7.)

³ Fuller; Neale, i. 18.

In it we see the union of Henry's right of conquest with his fragile claim of hereditary descent. On the one hand, it is the glorification of the victory of Bosworth. The angels, which sit at the four corners of the tomb, once held the likeness of the crown which he won for himself on that famous day. The stained-glass retains the emblem of the same crown hanging on the green bush in the fields of Leicestershire. On the other hand, like the Chapel of King's College at Cambridge, it asserts everywhere the memory of the 'holy 'Henry's shade;' the Red Rose of Lancaster appears in every pane of glass, and the Greyhound of Beaufort on every ornament of the screen: and in every corner is the Portcullis—the 'Altera securitas,'¹ as he termed it, with an allusion to its own meaning, and the double safeguard of his succession—which he derived through John of Gaunt from the Beaufort Castle in Anjou, inherited from Blanche of Navarre by Edmund Crouchback.²

The close
of the Civil
Wars.

It is also the revival of the ancient, Celtic, British element in the English monarchy, after centuries of eclipse. It is a strange and striking thought, as we mount the steps of Henry VII.'s Chapel, that we enter there a mausoleum of princes, whose boast it was to be descended, not from the Confessor or the Conqueror, but from Arthur and Llewellyn; and that round about the tomb, intertwined with the emblems of the House of Lancaster,³ is to be seen the Red Dragon⁴ of the last British king, Cadwallader—'the dragon of the great 'Pendragonship' of Wales, thrust forward by the Tudor king in every direction, to supplant the hated White Boar⁵ of his departed enemy—the fulfilment, in another sense than the

The revival
of the
Celtic
races.

¹ Neale (part ii.), i. 28; *Biog. Brit.* ii. 669; Roberts, ii. 257.

² Stow, p. 11.

³ Edward Tudor, the brother of Edmund, who was a monk in the Abbey, was buried in the Chapel of St. Blaize. (Crull, p. 233.)

⁴ Grafton, ii. 158.—The banner of the Red Dragon of Cadwallader, on white and green silk, was carried at Bosworth. Hence the Rouge Dragon Herald.

⁵ Roberts's *York and Lancaster*, ii. 461, 463.

old Welsh bards had dreamt, of their prediction that the progeny of Cadwallader should reign again:—

Visions of glory, spare my aching sight—
Ye unborn ages, crowd not on my soul—
No more our long-lost Arthur we bewail:
All hail, ye genuine kings, Britannia's issue hail!

The begin-
ning of
modern
England.

These noble lines well introduce us to the great Chapel which, as far as the Royal Tombs of the Abbey are concerned, contains within itself the whole future history of England. The Tudor sovereigns, uniting the quick understanding and fiery temper of their ancient Celtic lineage with the iron will of the Plantagenets, were the fit inaugurators of the new birth of England at that critical season—for guiding and stimulating the Church and nation to the performance of new duties, the fulfilment of new hopes, the apprehension of new truths.

Jan. 24,
1503.
Building
of the
Chapel.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, 'on the 24th day of 'January, at a quarter of an hour before three of the clock, at 'afternoon of the same day,'¹ the first stone of the new Chapel was laid by Abbot Islip, Sir Reginald Bray the architect, and others. In this work, as usual, the old generation was at once set aside. Not only the venerable White Rose Inn of Chaucer's garden, but the old Chapels of St. Mary and of St. Erasmus, were swept away as ruthlessly as the Norman church had been by Henry III. 'His granddame of right 'noble memory, Queen Catherine, wife to King Henry V., 'and daughter of Charles King of France' (for whose sake, amongst others, he had wished to be interred here), was thrust carelessly into the vacant space beneath her husband's Chantry. One last look was cast backwards to the Plantagenet sepulchres. His infant daughter Elizabeth, aged three years and two months, was buried, with great pomp, in the small tomb at the feet of Henry III.² The first grave in the new Chapel was that of his wife, Elizabeth of York. She

Tomb of
Princess
Elizabeth,
Sept. 1495.

¹ Neale, ii. 6; Holinshed, iii. 529. Stow's *Survey*, ii. 600; Sandford,

² Green's *Princesses*, iv. 507; p. 478.

died, immediately after its commencement, in giving birth to a child, who survived but a short time :

Adieu, sweetheart ! my little daughter late,
Thou shalt, sweet babe, such is thy destiny,
Thy mother never know ; for here I lie.

. . . . At Westminster, that costly work of yours,
Mine own dear lord, I now shall never see.¹

Elizabeth
of York,
died
Saturday,
Feb. 11,
buried
Feb. 25,
1503.

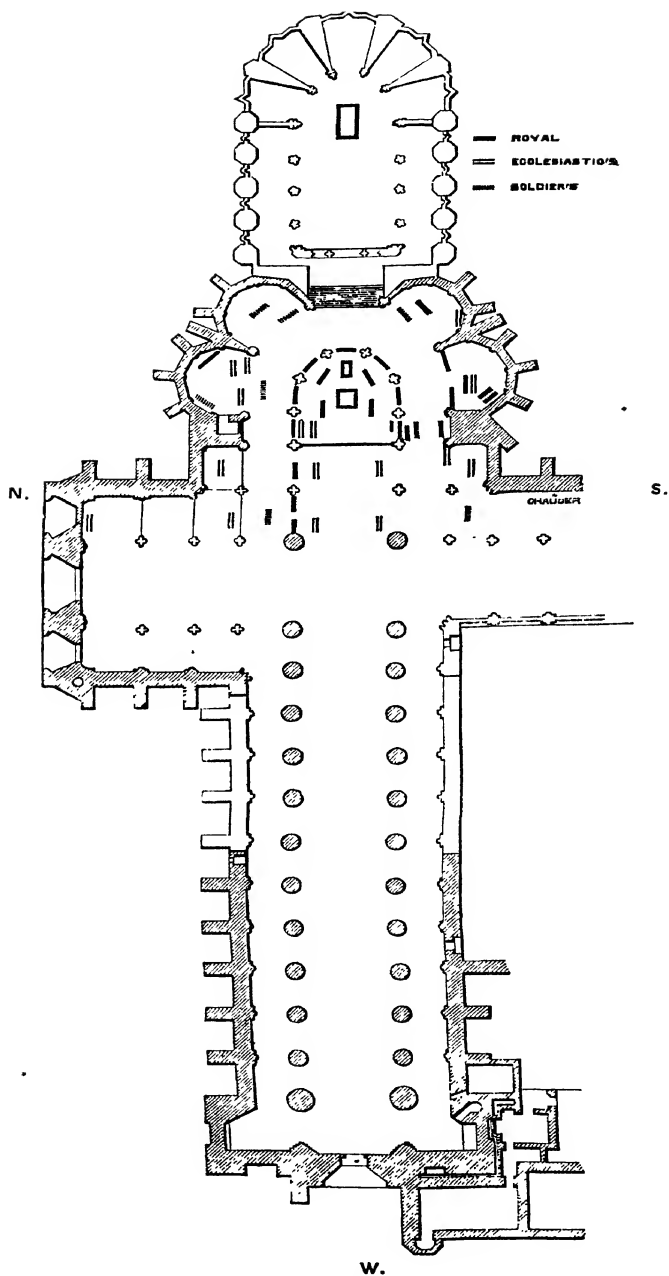
The sumptuousness of her obsequies, in spite of Henry's jealousy of the House of York, and of his parsimonious habits, was justly regarded as a proof of his affection.² At last the time came when he also joined her. Six years afterwards, he died at the splendid palace which he had called by his own name of Richmond, at the ancient Sheen. His vehement protestations of amendment—bestowing promotions, if he lived, only on virtuous, able, and learned men—executing justice indifferently to all men ; his expressions of penitence, passionately grasping the crucifix, and beating his breast, were in accordance with that dread of his last hour, out of which his sepulchre had arisen. The funeral corresponded to the grandeur of the mausoleum. From Richmond the procession came to St. Paul's, where elaborate obsequies were closed by a sermon from Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. At Westminster, after like obsequies, and a sermon from Fitzjames, Bishop of London, who had already preached on the death of the Queen and of Prince Arthur (on Job xix. 21), 'the black velvet coffin, marked by a white satin cross from 'end to end,' was deposited, not, as in the burials of previous Kings, in the raised tomb, but in the vault beneath, by the side of his Queen. The Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots stood round, and struck their croziers on the coffin, with the word *Absolvimus*. The Archbishop of Canterbury then cast in the earth. The vault was closed. The Heralds stripped off

Death of
Henry
VII.
Saturday,
April 21,
1509.

Burial of
Henry
VII., May
9, 1509.

¹ More's *Elegy on Elizabeth of York*. ford, pp. 469–471 ; Strickland, iv.

² *Antiq. Repository*, p. 654 ; Sand- 60–62.



THE TOMBS OF THE ABBEY AS THEY APPEARED IN 1509.

their tabards, and hung them on the rails of the hearse, exclaiming in French, 'The noble King Henry VII. is dead!' and then immediately put them on again, and cried 'Vive le noble Roy Henry VIII.!' ¹

So he 'lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces. I could wish,' adds his magnificent historian, 'that he did the like in this monument of his fame.' ²

His effigy.

His effigy represents him still to us, as he was known by tradition to the next generation, 'a comely personage, a little above just stature,³ well and straight-limbed, but 'slender,' with his scanty hair and keen grey eyes,⁴ 'his countenance reverend and a little like a churchman;' and 'as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed.'⁵ It was completed, within twenty years from his death, by the Florentine sculptor Torrigiano, the fierce rival of Michael Angelo, who 'broke the cartilage of his enemy's nose, as if it 'had been paste.' He lived for most of that time within the precincts of the Abbey, and there performed the feats of pugilism against the 'bears of Englishmen,' of which he afterwards boasted at Florence.

Tomb of Margaret of Richmond. Died June 29, 1509, aged 69.

Within three months another funeral followed. In the south aisle of the Chapel, graven by the same skilful hand, lies the most beautiful and venerable figure that the Abbey contains. It is Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII., who died, and was buried, in the midst of the rejoicings of her grandson's marriage and coronation; her chaplain (Fisher) preaching again,

¹ Leland, *Collect.* (part ii.) iv. 309.

heroica forma. (Epitaph.)

² Bacon's *Henry VII.*, iii. 417.

⁴ Grafton, ii. 232.

³ Frontis honos, facies augusta,

⁵ Bacon, p. 416.

with a far deeper earnestness, the funeral sermon, on the loss which, to him at least, could never be replaced. 'Every one that knew her,' he said, 'loved her, and everything that she said or did became her.'¹ . . . More noble and more refined than in any of her numerous portraits, her effigy well lies in that Chapel, for to her the King, her son, owed everything. For him she lived. To end the Civil Wars by his marriage with Elizabeth of York she counted as a holy duty.² On her tomb, as in her life, her second and third husbands have no place. It bears the heraldic emblems only of her first youthful love, the father of Henry VII. She was always 'Margaret Richmond.'

Her outward form of existence belonged to the mediæval past. She lived almost the life of an Abbess. Even her marriage with Edmund Tudor was the result of a vision of St. Nicholas. The last English sigh for the Crusades went up from those lips. She would often say, that if the Princes of Christendom would combine themselves, and march against the common enemy, the Turk, she would most willingly attend them, and be their laundress in the camp.³ The bread and meat doled out to the poor of Westminster in the College Hall is the lingering remnant of the old monastic charity which she founded in the Westminster Almonry.⁴

But in her monumental effigy is first seen, in a direct form, the indication of the coming changes, of which her son and his tomb are so tragically unconscious.

Effigy of
Margaret
of Rich-
mond.

Foremost, and bending from her golden cloud,
The venerable Margaret see!

So the Cambridge poet⁵ greets the Foundress of St. John's and Christ's Colleges, as of the two first Divinity Chairs in either University. She, who was the instructress-general of all the

¹ Grafton, ii. 237.

² Hallstead's *Margaret Countess of Richmond*, p. 225.

³ Camden's *Remains*, i. 357; Ful-

ler's *Worthies*, i. 167.

⁴ Stow, p. 476. See Chapter V.

⁵ Gray's *Installation Ode*.

Princes of the Royal House,¹ might naturally have given herself to those great educational endowments. But her charity, like that of her contemporary, Bishop Fox, the founder of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, was turned into academical channels by the warning which Fisher gave her of the approaching changes, in which any merely conventual foundations would perish, and any collegiate institutions would as certainly survive.² Caxton, as he worked at his printing-press, in the Almonry which she had founded, was under her special protection ;³ and 'the worst thing she ever did' was trying to draw Erasmus from his studies to train her unto-ward stepson, James Stanley, to be Bishop of Ely.⁴ Strikingly are the old and the new combined as, round the monument of that last mediæval Princess, we trace the letters of the inscription⁵ written by that first and most universal of the Reformers.

We feel, as we stand by her tomb, that we are approaching the great catastrophe. Yet in the Abbey, as in history, there is a momentary smoothness in the torrent ere it dashes below in the cataract of the Reformation. It was Prince Arthur's death—that silent prelude of the rupture with the See of Rome—which intercepted the magnificent window⁶ sent by the magistrates of Dort from Gouda as a present to Henry VII. for his Chapel, as a wedding-gift for Prince Arthur and Catherine of Arragon. The first of the series of losses which caused Henry VIII. to doubt the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine is marked by the grave of the infant Prince Henry, who lies at the entrance either of this Chapel, or that of the Confessor.⁷ He in that exulting youth, when all seemed so bright before him, had,

Death of
Prince
Arthur,
April 2,
1502.

• Marriage
window.

Death of
Prince
Henry,
Feb. 22.
1509.

¹ Jesse's *Richard III.*, p. 263.

² Hallstead, p. 226.

³ See Chapter V.

⁴ Coleridge's *Northern Worthies*, ii. 184.

⁵ Erasmus for this received twenty shillings.

⁶ Now in St. Margaret's Church. See its curious history, in Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*, pp. 103, 136.

⁷ Crull, p. 218.—If so, perhaps in a small leaden coffin found in 1866, before the High Altar.

it would seem, contemplated a yet further enlargement of the Abbey. Another Chapel was to rise for the tomb of himself and Catherinæ of Arragon. ‘Peter Torrisany, of the city of ‘Florence, graver,’ was still to prolong his stay to make their effigies. Their sepulchre was to be one-fourth more grand¹ than that of Henry VII. His father’s tomb was the subject of his own special care. The first draft of it was altered, because ‘misliked by him;’ and it forms the climax of Henry the Seventh’s virtues, as recorded in his epitaph, that to him and his Queen England owed a Henry the Eighth:

Intended
tomb of
Henry
VIII.

Henricum quibus Octavum, terra Anglia, debes.

To his determination that his father should be honoured almost as a canonised saint, was probably owing the change from the humble altar at the foot of the tomb, for which the vacant steps still remain, into the matchless altar (as it was thought)² erected at its head, as if attached to a shrine second only to that of the Confessor.

Nothing shows more clearly the force of the shock that followed, than the upheaving even of the solid rock of the Abbey as it came on. Nothing shows more clearly the hold which the Abbey had laid on the affections of the English people, than that it stood the shock as firmly as it did.

Not all the prestige of Royalty could save the treasures of the Confessor’s Chapel. Then, doubtless, disappeared not only the questionable relics of the elder faith, but also the coronet of Llewellyn, and the banners and statues round the Shrine. Then even the bones of the Royal Saint were moved out of their place, and buried apart, till Mary brought them back to the Shrine which so long had guarded them. Then broke in the robbers who carried off the brazen plates and silver head from the monument of Henry V.³ Then all thought of

The Re-
formation
in the
Abbey.

¹ *Archæologia*, xvi. 80.—A reminiscence of this may be found in the name of ‘the Chapel of Henry VIII.’ for St. Blaise’s Chapel. (Dart, i. 64.)

² Ryves’s *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155.

³ See Chapter VI.; also p. 150.

enlarging or adorning the Abbey was extinguished in the mind of Henry, who turned away, perhaps with aversion, from the spot connected in his mind with the hated marriage of his youth, and determined that his bones should be laid at Windsor, beside his best-loved wife, Jane Seymour.¹ Then, as the tide of change in the reign of his son rose higher and higher, the monastic buildings became, in great part, the property of private individuals; the Chapter House was turned into a Record Office;² and the Protector Somerset meditated the demolition of the church itself, to build his palace on the Strand.

The Abbey, however, still stands. It was saved, probably, in Henry's time by the Royal Tombs, especially by that of his father—just as Peterborough Cathedral was spared for the grave of his wife, Catherine of Arragon, and St. David's (according to the local tradition) for the tomb of his grandfather, Edmund Tudor. It was saved, it is said, under the more pitiless Edward, either by the rising of the inhabitants of Westminster in its behalf, or by the sacrifice of seventeen manors to satisfy the needs of the Protector. The Shrine too, although despoiled of its treasures within and without, alone of all the tombs in England which had held the remains of a canonised saint, was allowed to remain.³

It was natural that under Queen Mary so great a monument of the past should partake of the reaction of her reign. Not only was Westminster, almost alone of the monastic bodies, restored to something of its original splendour, but the link with Royalty was carefully renewed.⁴ Mary's first anxiety was for her brother's fitting interment. For a whole month he lay unburied, during the long negotiations between Mary and her ministers as to the mode of

EDWARD
VI., died
July 7,
buried
Aug. 6,
1553.

¹ A magnificent tomb was prepared for him in the Wolsey Chapel. (See Sandford, p. 494.)

² See Chapter V.

³ See Chapter VI.

⁴ Ibid.

the funeral rites.¹ But they ended in his burial, not, as he himself probably would have designed, beside his father and mother at Windsor, but in the Chapel of Henry VII. In that ground, teeming with mediæval sentiment, underneath the sumptuous ‘tombstone altar, all of one piece,’ with its ‘excellent workmanship of brass,’² at the head of his grandfather’s tomb, ‘the last male child of the Tudor line’ was laid. Mary herself was absent, at the requiem sung in the Tower under the auspices of Gardiner. But, by a hard-won concession, the funeral service was that of the Reformed Church of England, the first ever used over an English sovereign; and ‘the last and saddest function of his public ministry that ‘Archbishop Cranmer was destined to perform,’ was this interment of the Prince whom he had baptized and crowned.³

It is one of our many paradoxes, that the first Protestant prince should have thus received his burial from the bitterest enemy of the Protestant cause, and that the tomb under which he reposed should have been the altar built for the chanting of masses which he himself had been the chief means of abolishing. It is a still greater paradox, that ‘he, ‘who deserved the *best*, should have *no*, monument erected to ‘his memory,’⁴ and that the only royal memorial destroyed⁵ by the Puritans should have been that of the only Puritan prince who ever sate on the English throne.

The broken chain of royal sepulchres, which Mary thus pieced anew in her brother’s grave, was carried on. Anne of Cleves, a friend both to Mary and Elizabeth—whose strange vicissitudes had conducted her from her quiet Lutheran

Tomb of
Edward
VI.

Anne of
Cleves,
died July
16, buried
Aug. 4,
1557.

¹ Froude, vi. 38, 42, 49, 58.

² Ryves’s *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155; Fuller’s *Worthies*, ii. 37.—An engraving is to be seen in Sandford (p. 498). It resembled Elizabeth’s tomb in style. There was an altarpiece of the Resurrection, angels, in terra cotta, at the top holding the emblems of the Passion, and a dead Christ beneath.

³ Froude, vi. 58.—Day, Bishop of Chichester, preached the sermon, and Cranmer administered the Communion. (Strype’s *E. M.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 122.)

⁴ Fuller’s *Worthies*, ii. 37.

⁵ In 1643. (Ryves’s *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 155. See Chapter VI.) The name on the grave was first inscribed in 1866.

birthplace in the Castle of Cleves, to a quiet death, as a Roman Catholic convert, at Chelsea—was interred, by Bishop Bonner and Abbot Feckenham, under the long tomb on the south side of the Altar, which was left unfinished in Mary's life, and was only completed by Dean Neale in the reign of James I.¹

QUEEN
MARY,
died
Nov. 17,
buried
Dec. 13,
1558.

Obsequies
of Charles
V., Dec. 24,
1558.

The grave of Mary herself bears the marks of the change which followed on her death. With 'Calais on her heart' she was borne to the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, of which she thus became the first occupant. Her obsequies were, with one exception, the last funeral solemnity of the Roman Catholic Church celebrated in the Abbey: that exception was the dirge and requiem ordered by Elizabeth, a few days later, for the Emperor Charles V.²

The altars which Queen Mary had re-erected in the Abbey, or which had survived the devastation of her brother's reign, were destroyed by her sister. The fragments of the altars which stood in Henry VII.'s Chapel were removed, and carried to 'where Mary was buried, perhaps toward the 'making of her monument with those religious stones.'³ It was, however, forty-five years before the memory of her unhappy reign would allow a word to indicate her sepulchre. At last the hour of reconciliation came. Queen Elizabeth, the third foundress of the institution in its renewed condition, and who clung with peculiar affection to the place, had breathed her last on the cushioned floor in Richmond Palace. The body was brought by the Thames to Westminster:

QUEEN
ELIZABETH, died
March 24,
buried
April 28,
1603.

The Queen did come by water to Whitehall,
The oars at every stroke did tears let fall.⁴

With these and other like exaggerations, which however indicate the excess of the national mourning, she was laid in

¹ Neale, ii. 283.—The initials A. C. are still visible. It was apparently built on the site of an older tomb—probably of one of the Abbots.

² Stirling's *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, p. 251.

³ Strype's *Annals*, i. pt. i. p. 400.

⁴ Camden's *Remains*, p. 524.

the Abbey. 'The city of Westminster was surcharged with
' multitudes of all sorts of people, in their streets, houses,
' windows, leads, and gutters, that came to see the obsequy;
' and when they beheld her statue or picture lying upon the
' coffin, set forth in royal robes, having a crown upon the
' head thereof, and a ball and sceptre in either hand, there
' was such a general sighing, groaning, and weeping, as the
' like has not been seen or known in the memory of man;
' neither doth any history mention any people, time, or state,
' to make like lamentation for the death of their sovereign.'¹

In the twelve banners, which were carried before her, her descent from the House of York was carefully emblazoned, to the exclusion of the Lancastrian line,² on which her grandfather, Henry VII., had chiefly rested his claims. Dean Andrews preached the funeral sermon.

How vast an impulse was given in her reign to the other monumental structures of the Abbey will appear hereafter.³

Her own tomb is itself a landmark of English history. It was raised by her successor.⁴ Considering the little love between the two, its splendour is a tribute to the necessity which compelled the King to recognise the universal feeling of the nation. Disfigured as it is, it represents the great Queen as she was best known to her contemporaries; and of all the monuments in the Abbey, it was the one for many years the widest known throughout the whole kingdom. Far into the next century, Fuller could still speak of 'the lively draught of it, pictured in every London and in 'most country churches, every parish being proud of the 'shade of her tomb; and no wonder, when each loyal subject

Tomb of
Queen
Elizabeth.

¹ Stow, p. 815.

² Programme of the funeral, in the tract called *England's Mourning Garment*. It is also given in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii. plate 18, where there is also an engraving of a sketch of the funeral (now in the

British Museum) supposed to have been drawn by Camden.

³ See Chapter IV.

⁴ Erected by Maximilian Poutramat the cost of 965*l.*, 'besides stonework.' (MS. in possession of Baroness North.) For the wax effigy, see Chapter IV.

‘created a mournful monument for her in his heart.’¹ It is probable that this thought was suggested by one such copy, amongst many, at St. Saviour’s, Southwark, with the lines:—

St. Peter’s Church at Westminster,
Her sacred body doth inter;
Her glorious soul with angels sings,
Her deeds have patterns been for kings,
Her love in every heart hath room:
This only shadows forth her tomb.²

But the most pathetic record which survives, is to be read in the two lines at the head of the monument, inscribed by James I., with a deeper feeling than we should naturally have ascribed to him—‘*Regno consortes et urnâ, hîc obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria sorores, in spe resurrectionis.*’ The long war of the English Reformation is closed in those words. The sisters are at one: the daughter of Catherine of Arragon and the daughter of Anne Boleyn rest in peace at last.³

THE
STUARTS.

But, though the Tudor line was thus brought to an end in the Chapel, the Stuarts were not slow in vindicating their right to be considered as Kings of England, by regarding Westminster Abbey as their new Dunfermline or Holyrood. The Scottish dynasty lies side by side with the Welsh. First was laid in the western end of the South Aisle, of which the eastern end was occupied by Margaret Countess of Richmond, another Margaret, far less eminent in character, but claiming her place here as the link between the English and the Scottish thrones. Margaret Lennox, daughter of Margaret Tudor by her second husband, and wife of Stuart Earl of Lennox, after a series of family disasters, died in poverty at what was then the suburban village of Hackney; and was, in consideration of her kinship with no less than twelve sovereigns (as her

Margaret
Lennox,
1577.

¹ Fuller’s *Church History*, book x. § 12.

² See Washington Irving’s *Sketch Book*, p. 221.

³ *Londiniana*, i. 243.

epitaph records), buried here at the expense of Queen Elizabeth. The monument, doubtless, was erected by her grandson, James I. Round it kneel her children—Henry Darnley, marked, by the crown above his head, as the unfortunate King of Scotland;¹ and Charles Lennox, who married Arabella Stuart, and who is buried in the adjacent vault.²

Charles
Lennox.

Next to her — by a double proximity, as remarkable as that which has laid Mary Tudor with Elizabeth—is the tomb of Mary Stuart. We need not follow her obsequies from Fotheringay Castle to the neighbouring Cathedral of Peterborough. But the first Stuart king of England, who raised the monument to his predecessor, was not likely to overlook his mother. The letter is still extant, and now hangs above the site of her grave at Peterborough, in which James I. ordered the removal of her body to the spot where he had commanded a memorial of her to be made in the Church of Westminster, ‘in the place where the kings and ‘queens of this realm are commonly interred,’ that the ‘like ‘honour might be done to the body of his dearest mother, ‘and the like monument be extant of her, that had been ‘done to his dear sister, the late Queen Elizabeth.’³ The body⁴ was interred in the North Aisle, close to the vault of Elizabeth. The tomb was raised opposite, in the South Aisle, ‘like,’ but on a grander scale, as if to indicate the superiority of the mother to the predecessor, of the victim to the vanquisher. Her elaborate epitaph is closed by the words from St. Peter,⁵ recommending the Saviour’s example of patient suffering. Her tomb was revered by devout Scots as the shrine of a canonised saint. ‘I hear,’ says

Mary
Queen of
Scots :
executed
1587 ;
transferred
from Peter-
borough,
1606.

¹ ‘He is here entombed,’ says Crull (p. 95). But he probably remains at Holyrood.

² He and his mother are alone, in a small vault, apparently to the west of that which contains Arabella Stuart, on the north side of the Chapel. (Crull,

p. 119.) Through the leaden coffin the parched skin could be seen in 1711.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ In a leaden chest. (Keepe, p. 108.)

⁵ 1 Pet. i. 21, 22.

Demster, thirteen years after the removal of the remains from Peterborough, 'that her bones, lately translated to 'the burialplace of the Kings of England at Westminster, 'are resplendent with miracles.'¹ This probably is the latest instance of a miracle-working tomb in England, and it invests the question of Queen Mary's character with a theological as well as an historical interest.

End of the
Royal Mo-
numents.

In the tombs of the two rival Queens, the series of Royal Monuments is brought to an end. Elizabeth and Mary are the last sovereigns in whom the gratitude of a successor or the affection of a nation have combined to insist on so august a memorial. It may have been the result of the circumstances or the character of the succeeding sovereigns. Charles I. was indifferent to the memory of James I. Charles II. wasted on himself the money which Parliament granted to him for the monument to Charles I. James II., even if he had cared sufficiently, reigned too short a time to erect a monument to his brother. William III. and Mary were not likely to be honoured by Anne, nor Anne by George I., nor George I. by George II., nor George II. by George III. But, in fact, a deeper than any personal feeling was behind. Even in France the practice was dying out. At St. Denys the royal tombs ceased after that of Henri II. Princes were no longer, as they had been, the only rulers of the nation. With Elizabeth began the tombs of Poets' Corner; with Cromwell a new impetus was given to the tombs of warriors and statesmen; with William III. began the tombs of the leaders of Parliament.² Other figures than those of Kings began to occupy the public eye. Yet even as the monarchy, though shrunk, yet continued, so also the graves, though not the monuments, of sovereigns,—the tombs, if not

¹ Demster, *Hist. Eccl. Ant. Scot.*, ed. Bannatyne Club, 1829.—It was published at Bologna in 1627, but written before 1626, as the author died in

1625. Communicated by the late Joseph Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh.

² See Chapter IV:

of sovereigns, yet of royal personages—still keep up the shadow of the ancient practice.

Two infant children of James I., Mary and Sophia, lie in the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, in what may be called the Innocents' Corner, under the urn which, probably*from their neighbourhood, Charles II. erected to the memory of the two murdered York princes whose remains he brought from the Tower.¹ Of Mary—the first of his children born in England, and therefore the first 'Princess of Great Britain,'—James used 'pleasantly to say,' with his usual mixture of theology and misplaced wit, 'that he would not pray to the 'Virgin Mary, but would pray for the Virgin Mary.'² She was, according to her father, 'a most beautiful infant;' and her death, at the age of a year and a half, is described as peculiarly touching. The little creature kept repeating, 'I go, I go'—'Away I go;' and again a third time, 'I go, I go.'³ Sophia,⁴ *rosula regia præpropere fato decerpta*, lived but a day. The King 'took her death as a wise 'prince should, and wished her to be buried in Westminster 'Abbey, as cheaply as possible, without any solemnity or 'funeral';⁵ 'sleeping in her cradle [the cradle is itself the 'tomb], wherewith vulgar eyes, especially of the weaker sex, 'are more affected (as level to their cognisance, more capable 'of what is pretty than what is pompous) than with all the 'magnificent monuments in Westminster.'⁶

Princess
Mary,
1607.

Princess
Sophia,
1606.

Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, in whose grave were buried the hopes of the Puritan party, lies on the north side of the Chapel. His funeral was attended by 2,000 mourners.

Prince
Henry,
died Nov.
6, buried
Dec. 8
1612.

¹ The bones of the York Princes were placed in 'Monk's vault,' 1673. (Dart, i. 167.)

² Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 490.

³ Green's *Princesses*, ii. 91-95.—Margaret Lennox was chief mourner. (Sandford, p. 537.)

⁴ The first Sophia of English history, herself called after her grandmother,

Sophia of Denmark, and bequeathing her name to her niece, the Electress of Hanover. (Strickland's *Queens of Scotland*, viii. 286; *Life of Arabella Stuart*, ii. 89.)

⁵ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 129. It cost 140*l*. (Lodge's *Illustrations*, iii. 309.)

⁶ Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 490.

Arabella
Stuart,
buried
Sept. 12,
1616.

His friend, Archbishop Abbott, preached the sermon on Psalm lxxxii. 6, 7.¹ Side by side with him, 'under his grand-mother's monument,'² is Arabella Stuart, wife of Charles Lennox, and cousin of James I., whose body, after her troubled life, 'was brought at midnight by the dark river 'from the Tower,' and laid 'with no solemnity' under the coffin of Mary Stuart—her own coffin so frail, that through its shattered frame the skull and bones were seen by the last visitors who penetrated into that crowded chamber. 'To have had a great funeral for one dying out of the King's 'favour would have reflected on the King's honour.'³

Anne of
Denmark,
buried
March 2,
1619.

JAMES I.,
died Mar.
27, buried
May 5,
1625.

Prince
Charles,
buried
May 13,
1629.

Anne of Denmark next followed, brought in state from Somerset House, with a long procession of ladies in black—'a drawling dolorous sight—lagging, tired with the length of 'the way.' By her side,⁴ on the north of King Henry VII.'s monument,⁵ was laid King James I. His funeral sermon was preached by Dean Williams, in what was thought a masterpiece of ingenuity, comparing the dead King in every particular to Solomon. Charles, the first infant son of Charles I., over whose short life the Roman Catholic priests of his mother and the Anglican chaplains of his father fought for the privilege of baptising him,⁶ was interred on the south side of the Chapel.⁷

THE
COMMON-
WEALTH
AND PRO-
TECTORATE.

The hearse of Anne was still standing over her grave when her son's overthrow placed the Royal Abbey for twelve years in the hands of the Commonwealth and the Protector.⁸ How far more revolutionary the Reformation was than the Civil

¹ Birch's *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, pp. 363, 522.

² So the Burial Register (misprinted in Nichols's *Coll. Top.* vii. 356, *grand-father*). By 'monument' must be meant coffin. (See Keepe, pp. 105, 106.)

³ Register; Keepe, p. 105; *Life of Arabella Stuart*, ii. 246, 298. For the tomb of Lewis Stuart, Duke of Richmond, see Chapter IV.

⁴ In King Henry VII.'s vault. (Register.)

⁵ Register. Keepe, p. 103; Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 129.—The inscriptions on the coffins are given in Dart, i. 167. The urn containing Anne's heart is in Monk's vault (*ibid.*).

⁶ Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 490.

⁷ Register.

⁸ See Chapters IV. and VI.

Wars, may be judged from the fact that the Abbey, which so nearly perished in the first instance, was never threatened in the second. The Royal Monuments, which cruelly suffered under Henry VIII., remained, so far as we know, uninjured under Cromwell; and the Abbey, so far from losing its attractions, drew into it not only, as we shall see, the lesser magnates of the Commonwealth, but also the Protector himself. Nothing shows more completely how entirely he regarded himself as the founder of a royal dynasty, than his determination that he and his whole family should lie amongst the Kings of England. Already at the time of Essex's funeral, in 1643, the public mind was prepared for his burial there, 'with the immortal turf of Naseby under his head.'¹ Three members of his family were interred

Cromwell's family.

there before his death—his sister Jane,² who married General Disbrowe; his venerable mother, Elizabeth Steward, through whom his descent was traced to the brother of the founder of the Stuarts; and Elizabeth Claypole, his favourite daughter.³

Jane Disbrowe, died 1656.
Elizabeth Cromwell, died Nov. 18, 1654.
Elizabeth Claypole, died Aug. 6, buried Aug. 10, 1658.

The procession of the Protector's funeral from Somerset House was of royal magnificence,⁴ and the coffin was laid in a vault prepared at the east end of Henry VII.'s Chapel, which many years afterwards was still called 'Oliver's,' or 'Oliver Cromwell's vault.'⁵ It is said that the actual inter-

OLIVER CROMWELL, died Sept. 3, buried Sept. 26, 1658.

¹ Vines's *Sermon on Essex's Funeral*. See Chapter IV.

² Nichols's *Coll. Top.* viii. 153.

³ She died at Hampton Court, August 6, and was laid in state in the Painted Chamber, and thence was buried on August 10 in a vault made on purpose. Her aunt, the wife of Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, was chief mourner. (*Mercurius Politicus*.) She is the 'Betty' of Oliver's earlier letters, 'who belongs to the sect rather of seekers than of finders. Happy are they who find—most happy are they who seek!' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, i. 295.)

⁴ The expenses were paid by Parliament to Richard Cromwell. The Royalist interpretation was that it was designed to bring Richard in debt, and so ruin him, which in effect it did. The sum expended was 60,000*l.*, more by one-half than ever was used for royal funerals. (Heath's *Chron.*, p. 411; Winstanley's *Worthies*, p. 605; Noble's *Cromwell*, Appendix B.) The hearse was of the same form as, only more stately than, that of James I. (Heath's *Chron.*, p. 413.)

⁵ Register, May 25, 1691; August 29, 1701.

ment, from the state of the corpse, had taken place before;¹ and this mystery probably fostered the fables which, according to the fancies of the narrators, described the body as thrown into the Thames,² or laid in the field of Naseby,³ or in the coffin of Charles I. at Windsor,⁴ or 'carried away in the 'tempest the night before.'⁵

Disinterment of Cromwell's remains, Jan. 29, 1661.

The fact, however, of his interment at Westminster is proved beyond doubt by the savage ceremonial which followed the Restoration. Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were dug up, on the eve of the 30th of January 1661; and on the following day dragged to Tyburn, hanged (with their faces turned towards Whitehall),⁶ decapitated, and buried under the gallows.⁷ The plate found on the breast of the corpse, with the inscription, passed into the possession of the serjeant who took up the body, from whom it descended, through his daughter, Mrs. Giffard, into the hands of the Hobarts, and from them to the present Earl de Grey.⁸ The head was planted on the top of Westminster Hall, on one side, as Ireton's on the other side, of Bradshaw's, which was set up in the centre,⁹ as over the place in which he had passed judgment, 'to be the becoming 'spectacle of his treason, where, on that pinnacle and legal 'advancement, it is fit to leave this ambitious wretch.'¹⁰

Elizabeth Claypole's grave.

No stone or monument marks the spot where Oliver lay beneath the great east window. Elizabeth Claypole,¹¹ alone

¹ *Elenchus mortuorum*, pt. ii. p. 231.

² Oldmixon's *Stuarts*, i. 426.

³ Barkstead's *Complete History*, iii. 228; *Biog. Brit.* iii. 1573.

⁴ Pepys's *Diary*, Oct. 14, 1664.

⁵ Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 187.

⁶ Pepys's *Diary*, Jan. 30, 1661; Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 192.

⁷ *a. e.* near Connaught Square.

⁸ Barkstead, iii. 229; Noble's *Cromwell*; and *Gent. Mag.* May, 1867.

⁹ Pepys's *Diary*, Jan. 5, 1661.—

They were apparently then inside the Hall.

¹⁰ Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 192.—The fortunes of Cromwell's skull are too intricate to be here described.

¹¹ In the Register of 1728, I found, on a loose leaf, the following entry: 'Taken off a silver plate to a lead 'coffin, and fixed on again by order 'of Dr. Samuel Bradford, Bishop of 'Rochester and Dean of Westminster.' [Then follows the Inscription in English.]

of all those who then were buried amongst the Kings, still remains in her original sepulchre.¹

With the Restoration the burials of the legitimate Princes recommenced, but with a privacy and gloom singularly contrasting with the joyous solemnity of the first entrance. Charles I. himself, who had been buried at Windsor, was to have been transported to Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, and reinterred, under a splendid tomb, to be executed by Wren. 'And many good people thought this so necessary, 'that they were much troubled that it was not done.' The 'reasons given were not liked,'—the apprehension of a disturbance, the length of time that had passed, but chiefly the difficulty of finding the body. Since the discovery of the spot at Windsor, in 1813, exactly where it was said to have been interred, we know that this reason was fictitious, and we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the King had appropriated to himself the money granted for this purpose. The Abbey, no doubt, escaped the intrusion of what would have been, architecturally, the only thoroughly incongruous of all the regal monuments.² During the rejoicings of the Restoration, two of the children of Charles I. were laid in Henry VII.'s Chapel. First came Henry of Oatlands, Duke of Gloucester, the child who said that he would be torn in pieces before he should be made King in his elder brother's place. He died of the small-

THE RES-
TORATION.

Intended
tomb of
Charles I.

Henry,
Duke of
Gloucester,
Sept. 13,
1660.

'N.B.—The said body lays at the 'end of the step of the altar, on the 'north side, between the step and the 'stalls.'

In accordance with this indication, the name was inscribed on the stone in 1867. Since discovering this, by a reference of Colonel Chester to Noble's *Cromwell*, i. 140 (3rd. ed.) I find the same inscription in Latin, with the additional fact that in 1725, during alterations previous to the first installation of the Bath, the workmen discovered, forced off, and endeavoured to conceal the plate. The clerk of

the works, Mr. Fidoe, took it from them and delivered it to the Dean (commonly called Dr. Pearce), who said he should not take anything that had been deposited with the illustrious dead, and ordered it to be replaced. The authority was Noble's 'friend, Dr. Longmete, who had it 'from Mr. Fidoe himself.' See Appendix.

¹ See Chapter IV.

² Clarendon's *Life*, ii. 15; *History*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 393; Wood's *Ath. Ox.* ii. 703; Sir Henry Hallford's *Essays*, pp. 157–192.

Mary of
Orange,
Dec. 29,
1660.

Elizabeth
of Bo-
hemia,
Feb. 17,
1661.

Prince
Rupert,
Dec. 26,
1682.

pox,¹ at Whitehall, 'the mirth and entertainments of that time had 'raised his blood so high.'² Nothing ever affected his heartless royal brother so deeply.³ Next came Mary of Orange, mother of William III., laid, by her own desire, close to the Duke of Gloucester, 'honourably though privately buried in 'Henry VII.'s Chapel.'⁴ She had visited England, 'to congratulate the happiness of her brother's miraculous restoration.'⁵ And within the next year, Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia,⁶ eldest daughter of James I., and mother of the Electress Sophia, who died at Leicester House. Her son, Prince Rupert, was chief mourner. He followed her in 1682,⁷ and lies not far off.

Earl of
Doncaster.
Feb. 10,
1674.
Duke of
Cleveland,
Nov. 3,
1730.
Earl of
Plymouth,
1680.

Child after child of the illegitimate progeny of Charles II. find their way into these sacred vaults. Charles Earl of Doncaster,⁸ son of the Duke of Monmouth and of the heiress of the House of Buccleuch; Charles Fitzroy, 'Duke of Cleveland and Southampton; Charles Fitz-Charles, Earl of Plymouth⁹ (transported here from Tangiers), lie in the vault of Henry VII.'s Chapel from which Cromwell had been disinterred.¹⁰ Charles himself, after that last scene of his life, which none can repeat after Macaulay, was 'very obscurely buried at night, without 'any manner of pomp, and soon forgotten, after all his vanity,'¹¹ at the east end of the North Aisle. 'All the great officers 'broke their staves over the grave, according to form.' 'His 'late Majesty dying in, and his present Majesty professing, a 'different religion from that of his people, it had been a

CHARLES
II., died
Feb. 6,
buried
Feb. 14,
1685.

¹ Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 172, 292.

² Pepys's *Diary*, Sept. 5, 13, 15, 17, and 21 (1660).

³ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 204.

⁴ Ashmole apparently was present. (Green's *Princesses*, vi. 331.) The Princess was laid, according to Keepe (p. 105), by Henry Prince of Wales; but in the Register, 'on the south 'side of Henry VII.'s Chapel.'

⁵ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 117.

⁶ Green's *Princesses*, vi. 84.

⁷ Crull, p. 119. (Register.)

⁸ Register.

⁹ Of the other natural sons of Charles II., the Duke of St. Albans was buried in St. Andrew's Chapel, attracted thither by his wife, Diana de Vere (Register, 1726; see Chapter IV. p. 208); and the Duke of Richmond in the Lennox vault. (Ibid. p. 209.)

Duke
of St.
Albans.

¹⁰ Crull, p. 111.

¹¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, iii. 138; Register.

Duke of
Rich-
mond.

‘difficult matter to reconcile the greater ceremonies, which
 ‘must have been performed according to the rites of the
 ‘Church of England, with the obligation of not communicating
 ‘with it in spiritual things.’¹ Thus interred, reposes one of
 the most popular and the least deserving of monarchs, over
 whose unmarked grave² the words of Rochester rise to our
 minds:—

Here lies our sovereign lord the king,
 Whose word no man relies on ;
 Who never said a foolish thing,
 And never did a wise one.

In the same vault reposes one of the least popular but,
 by his public acts, one of the most deserving of monarchs,
 also buried privately at dead of night—William III., in a
 grave equally unmarked by any note of praise or blame.

WILLIAM
 III., died
 March 8,
 buried
 April 12,
 1702.

‘The remains of James II. had but a short time before been
 ‘escorted, in the dusk of the evening, by a slender retinue to
 ‘the Chapel of the English Benedictines at Paris, and de-
 ‘posited there in the vain hope that, at some future time,
 ‘they would be laid with kingly pomp at Westminster,
 ‘amongst the graves of the Plantagenets and Tudors.’³ The
 actual result was still less within the ken of the mourners,
 that over their ultimate restingplace, in the Church of St.
 Germain, a monument should be erected to his memory by
 a descendant of the dynasty that had taken his throne—

James II.,
 died Sept.
 16, 1701,
 buried at
 Paris, and
 removed to
 St. Ger-
 main.

‘*Regio Cineri Regia Pietas.*’⁴ His numerous children who

His
 family.

¹ *Life of James II.*, ii. 6.

² For his waxwork figure, see note at the end of the Chapter.

³ Macaulay, v. 295; Clarke’s *Life of James II.*, ii. 599–603.

⁴ In his reign the Confessor’s body was believed to have been seen for the last time. Shortly after his coronation, in removing the scaffold, the coffin in which it was enclosed ‘was found to be broke,’ and ‘Charles Taylor, Gent,’ ‘put his hand into the hole, and turning the bones, which

‘he felt there, drew from underneath ‘the shoulder-bones’ a crucifix and gold chain, which he showed to Sancio, Dugdale, and finally to the King, who took possession of it, and had the coffin closed. It was remarked as an omen that the relics were discovered on June 11, the day of Monmouth’s landing, and given to the King on July 6, the day of his victory at Sedgemoor. (Taylor’s *Narrative*, p. 16.) But the story is very doubtful. (See Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, ii. 7.)

Anne
Hyde,
Duchess of
York,
buried
April 5,
1676.
MARY II.,
died Dec.
28, 1694.

died in infancy, five sons and five daughters, all lie in the vault on the north side of the Chapel, with his first wife, Anne Hyde,¹ daughter of Lord Clarendon, and mother of the two last Stuart Queens.

These two sovereigns close the series of the unfortunate dynasty in the Southern Aisle, over which the figure of their ancestress presides with such tragical solemnity.

Her
funeral,
March 5,
1695.

The funeral of Mary was long remembered as the saddest and most august that Westminster had ever seen. While the Queen's remains lay in state at Whitehall, the neighbouring streets were filled every day, from sunrise to sunset, by crowds which made all traffic impossible. The two Houses with their maces followed the hearse—the Lords robed in scarlet and ermine, the Commons in long black mantles. No preceding Sovereign had ever been attended to the grave by a Parliament: for, till then, the Parliament had always expired with the Sovereign. . . . The whole Magistracy of the City swelled the procession. The banners of England and France, Scotland and Ireland, were carried by great nobles before the corpse. The pall was borne by the chiefs of the illustrious houses of Howard, Seymour, Grey, and Stanley. On the gorgeous coffin of purple and gold were laid the crown and sceptre of the realm. The day was well suited to such a ceremony. The sky was dark and troubled, and a few ghastly flakes of snow fell on the black plumes of the funeral car. Within the Abbey, nave, choir, and transept were in a blaze with innumerable waxlights. The body was deposited under a sumptuous canopy in the centre of the church while the Primate (Tenison) preached. The earlier part of his discourse was deformed by pedantic divisions and subdivisions: but towards the close he told what he had himself seen and heard with a simplicity and earnestness more affecting than the most skilful rhetoric. Through the whole ceremony the distant booming of cannon was heard every minute from the batteries of the Tower.²

A robin redbreast,³ which had taken refuge in the Abbey, was seen constantly on her hearse, and was looked upon with tender affection for its seeming love to the lamented Queen.

¹ Crull, pp. 112, 114—117; Keepe, pp. 106—110.

³ Sketch in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

² Macaulay, iv. 534. 535.

Anne's numerous progeny crowd the vacant vaults. Seven children, dying in infancy or stillborn, lie unmarked throughout the Chapel.¹ William Duke of Gloucester, the last hope of the race—thus withered, as it must have seemed, by the doom of Providence—was laid in the south side of the Chapel.² She herself was buried in the vault beside her sister Mary and her husband, Prince George of Denmark. Her unwieldy frame filled a coffin larger even than that of her gigantic spouse.³ An inquisitive antiquary went to see the vault before it was bricked up.⁴ It was full from side to side, and was then closed for ever, amidst the indignant lamentations of the adherents of the extinct dynasty :

QUEEN ANNE, died Aug. 1, buried Aug. 24, 1714. Duke of Gloucester, died July 30, buried Aug. 9, 1700. Prince George of Denmark, died Oct. 28, buried Nov. 13, 1708.

Where Anna rests, with kindred ashes laid,
What funeral honours grace her injur'd shade ?
A few faint tapers glimmer'd through the night,
And scanty sable shock'd the loyal sight.
Though millions wail'd her, none compos'd her train,—
Compell'd to grieve, forbidden to complain.⁵

was not to be expected that George I., as much a foreigner in England as had been the first Norman Princes who lie at Caen and Fontevrault, should be buried elsewhere than amongst his ancestors at Hanover. But George II. and his Queen Caroline are again genuine personages of English History and of the English Abbey. In the centre of the Chapel of Henry VII., under his auspices and those of his great minister, animated with a new life by the banners of the remodelled Order of the Bath,⁶ were deposited the royal pair. Queen Caroline, the most discriminating patroness of learning, and philosophy that down to that time had ever graced the throne of England—endeared

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER. George I., died June 11, 1727, buried at Hanover.

Queen Caroline, of Anspach, died Nov. 20, buried Dec. 17, 1737.

¹ Crull, p. 119.

² Register.

³ Strickland, xii. 459.

⁴ Thoresby's *Diary*, ii. 252.—The five coffins are described in the Register for August 24, 1714. The names

on the five Royal graves were first inscribed in 1866.

⁵ Samuel Wesley, in *Atterbury's Letters*, ii. 426.

⁶ See Chapter II.

to every reader of the master-works of historical fiction by her appearance in the 'Heart of Midlothian'—was buried in that newly-opened vault,¹ with the sublime music, then first composed, of Handel's Anthem—'When the ear heard her, 'then it blessed her; and when the eye saw her, it gave 'witness to her. How are the mighty fallen! She that was 'great among the nations, and Princess among the provinces.'² Her husband, as a last proof of his attachment, gave directions that his remains and those of his wife should be mingled together. Accordingly, the two coffins were ordered to be placed in a large stone sarcophagus, and one side of each of the two wooden coffins withdrawn. So it was; and the last time the royal vault was opened, the two planks were seen standing against the wall.³

GEORGE
II., died
Oct. 25,
1760.

More than twenty years passed before the King followed. It is probably the last direct royal reminiscence of Edward the Confessor that, in the extravagant eulogies published on George II.'s death, his devotion was compared to that of St. Edward.⁴ His funeral must be left to Horace Walpole to describe—

His
funeral,
Nov. 11,
1760.

Do you know, I had the curiosity to go to the burying t'other night; I had never seen a royal funeral; nay, I walked as a rag of quality, which I found would be, and so it was, the easiest way of seeing it. It is absolutely a noble sight. The Prince's Chamber, hung with purple, and a quantity of silver lamps, the coffin under a canopy of purple velvet, and six vast chandeliers of silver on high stands, had a very good effect. The Ambassador from Tripoli and his son were carried to see that chamber. The procession, through a line of foot-guards, every seventh man bearing a torch, the horse-

¹ There was much confusion at the funeral. (Chapter Book, 1737.) The Psalms were not sung, and the Lesson was omitted. (Precentor's Book, 1737.)

² *Gent. Mag.* 1737, pp. 763-767.

³ Note of Dean Milman in *Lord Hervey's Memoirs* (ii. 541), who, as Prebendary of Westminster, saw the vault in 1837, when opened for the removal of a child of the King of Hanover.

⁴ Smollett, vi. 372.—For the details see *Gent. Mag.* (1760), p. 539. The heart had been previously deposited in the vault (on Sunday, October 9) by the Lord Chamberlain. The procession entered by the north door. The service was read by the Dean of Westminster (Bishop Pearce), though the two Archbishops were present.

guards lining the outside, their officers with drawn sabres and crape sashes on horseback, the drums muffled, the fifes, bells tolling, and minute-guns—all this was very solemn. But the charm was the entrance of the Abbey, where we were received by the Dean and Chapter in rich robes, the choir and almsmen bearing torches; the whole Abbey so illuminated, that one saw it to greater advantage than by day; the tombs, long aisles, and fretted roof, all appearing distinctly, and with the happiest *chiaroscuro*. There wanted nothing but incense, and little chapels here and there, with priests saying mass for the repose of the defunct; yet one could not complain of its not being Catholic enough. I had been in dread of being coupled with some boy of ten years old; but the heralds were not very accurate, and I walked with George Grenville, taller and older, to keep me in countenance. When we came to the Chapel of Henry VII., all solemnity and decorum ceased; no order was observed, people sat or stood where they could or would; the yeomen of the guard were crying out for help, oppressed by the immense weight of the coffin; the Bishop read sadly, and blundered in the prayers; the fine chapter, ‘Man that is born of a woman,’ was chaunted, not read; and the anthem, besides being immeasurably tedious, would have served as well for a nuptial. The real serious part was the figure of the Duke of Cumberland, heightened by a thousand melancholy circumstances. He had a dark-brown adonis, and a cloak of black cloth, with a train of five yards. Attending the funeral of a father could not be pleasant: his leg extremely bad, yet forced to stand upon it near two hours; his face bloated and distorted with his late paralytic stroke, which has affected too one of his eyes, and placed over the mouth of the vault, in which, in all probability, he must himself so soon descend; think how unpleasant a situation! He bore it all with a firm and unaffected countenance. This grave scene was fully contrasted by the burlesque Duke of Newcastle. He fell into a fit of crying the moment he came into the chapel, and flung himself back in a stall, the Archbishop hovering over him with a smelling-bottle; but in two minutes his curiosity got the better of his hypocrisy, and he ran about the chapel with his glass to spy who was or was not there—spying with one hand, and mopping his eyes with the other. Then returned the fear of catching cold; and the Duke of Cumberland, who was sinking with heat, felt himself weighed down, and turning round, found it was the Duke of Newcastle standing upon his train, to avoid the chill of the marble. It was very theatric to look down into the vault, where the coffin lay, attended by mourners with lights.

Clavering, the groom of the bedchamber, refused to sit up with the body, and was dismissed by the King's order.¹

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, died Oct. 31, buried Nov. 10, 1765. Family of George II. Duke of York, died Sept. 17, buried Nov. 3, 1767. Duke of Cumberland, died Sept. 18, buried Sept. 28, 1790.

George III.'s vault at Windsor.

Into that vault, as Walpole anticipated, soon descended the sad figure of the Duke of Cumberland, the last apparition of the Prince who, as a little child of four years old, had received in that same chapel his knightly sword,² and who grew up to be the ablest and the fiercest of the family. Frederick Prince of Wales was already there. His wife Augusta followed, after seeing her son, George III., mount the throne. His sisters, Caroline and Amelia,³ and his younger children, are all in the same vault; ending with Edward Augustus Duke of York and (last of the family) Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, the subject of so much real scandal and fictitious romance. He was transported hither from Monaco, where he died.

It was the close of George III.'s reign that witnessed the final separation of the royal interments from Westminster Abbey. His two youngest children, Alfred and Octavius, had been laid on each side of George II. and Queen Caroline. But their remains were removed to the vault constructed by their father under the Wolsey Chapel at Windsor, where he and his numerous progeny were all interred; thus, by a singular rebound of feeling, restoring to that Chapel the honour of royal sepulture, which had been originally intended for it by its founder, Henry VII., and been then for nearly three centuries intercepted by its more august rival at Westminster. It is an exact copy of his grandfather's vault—he himself and Queen Charlotte reposing at the east end, and the Princes and Princesses in chambers on each side, leaving the central aisle for sovereigns. The last removal from the Abbey was that of a stillborn child of the King of Hanover, buried in

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, ii. 205–207.

² See Chapter II.

³ A touching account of her funeral

is given by Carter. (*Gent. Mag.* lxi. pt. ii. p. 942.)

1817, and transported to St. George's Chapel on the night of William IV.'s funeral, in 1837. And, though another mausoleum has arisen within the bounds of the royal domain of Windsor, the renewed splendour of the Chapel which contains the last remains of the House of Hanover well continues the transition to the coming House of Saxe-Coburg.

This is the close of the history of the Abbey in its connexion with the tombs of the Kings and Queens of England. One more royal tomb, however, has been added, which, though not of English lineage, combines so much of European interest, so much of the generosity of the English Church and nation, so much of the best characteristics of the Abbey, as fitly to terminate the whole series.

In the side-chapel on the south of Henry VII.'s tomb is the only modern monument of the Abbey which follows the mediæval style of architecture, and which thus marks the revival of the Gothic taste. It is the recumbent effigy of Antony, Duke of Montpensier, younger brother of Louis Philippe, King of the French. His end took place during his exile in England, at Salthill. Dying as he did in the Church of his fathers, and attended in his obsequies by the solemn funeral rites of that Church, he was received from the Roman Catholic chapel¹ into Westminster Abbey, and laid there, 'at half-past four in the evening,'—first in a vault by the side of a member of the Rochefoucault family, the Marquis de Montandre, who with his wife, the daughter of Ezekiel Spanheim,² was buried beneath the entrance of Henry VII.'s Chapel; and then removed to a new vault, opened for the purpose, on the south-east corner of the Chapel, where the tomb was afterwards erected by Westmacott. The Latin inscription was

ROYAL.
EXILES.

Antony,
Duke of
Mont-
pensier,
died Jan.
18, buried
May 26,
1807.

The in-
scription.

¹ From the French Chapel, King Street, Portman Square. The body lay there in state. High mass was performed in the presence of the Duke of Bourbon, and a requiem sung

there afterwards. (*Gent. Mag.* 1807, pt. i. p. 584.) The account, which is in some detail, has mistaken the day, making it June 6, at half-past three.

² Appendix to Crull, p. 39.

written by the old Revolutionary general, Dumouriez,¹ who was then living in exile in England, with a grace and accuracy of diction worthy of the scholarship for which the exiled chief (who had been educated at La Bastie) was renowned; and it records how, after his many vicissitudes, the amiable Prince at last had found his repose 'in this asylum of Kings'—'*hoc demum in Regum asylo requiescit.*'²

He remains apart from that most pathetic of royal cemeteries, the burialplace of the House of Orleans, beside the ancient tower of Dreux. But the Princes of that illustrious race will not grudge to Westminster Abbey this one link, uniting the glories of the insular Protestant sanctuary of England to the continental Catholic glories of France, by that invisible chain of hospitality and charity which stretches across the widest gulf of race, and time, and creed, and country; uniting those whom all the efforts of all the kings and all the ecclesiastics who lie in Westminster or St. Denys have not been able to part asunder.³

¹ This information I owe to the kindness of H.R.H. the Duke of Aumale.

² In the correspondence on the subject between Dean Vincent and the Government, preserved in the Receiver's Office, the Dean proposes some alterations, 'unless the inscription is sacred; that is, so approved by the Duke of Orleans that it may 'not be touched.' It does not appear whether his suggestions were accepted. In the same correspondence, Louis Philippe, then Duke of Orleans (through his secretary, M. de Brovel) communicates his gratitude to 'the Most Reverend the Dean' and the Receiver, for their 'very 'safe and humane care,' and to 'the 'venerable prelate' his full approbation of the spot chosen. A difficulty was raised as to whether anyone not belonging to the Royal Family could be laid there. The correspondence on this point is doubly curious—first, as showing how rigidly the limitation of

the title of 'Royal' to the elder branch of the Bourbons was observed by the English Court; secondly, how little was known of the many non-regal interments in Henry VII.'s Chapel. Even the Dean seems to have been ignorant of any person of inferior rank, except the Duchess of Richmond and the two Dukes of Buckingham. There are, in fact, not less than seventy.

³ In the same vault as the Duke of Montpensier, was interred (with the burialplace marked), Louise de Savoy, the Queen of Louis XVIII. (Register), who died at Hartwell. Her remains were removed to St. Denys in 1813 (*Beauties of England and Wales*, book x. pt. iii. p. 76); and at the same time the coffins of two Spanish ambassadors—one which had lain unburied in the Lennox Chapel since the time of William III. (Crull, p. 107), the other which had been deposited in the Ormond vault March 2, 1811—were sent back to Spain.

Queen
Louise
de Sa-
voy,
Nov. 27
1810.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MONUMENTS.

Oft let me range the gloomy aisles alone,
Sad luxury! to vulgar minds unknown,
Along the walls where speaking marbles show
What worthies form the hallow'd mould below;
Proud names, who once the reins of empire held;
In arms who triumph'd; or in arts excell'd;
Chiefs, grac'd with scars, and prodigal of blood;
Stern patriots, who for sacred freedom stood;
Just men, by whom impartial laws were given;
And saints who taught, and led, the way to heaven.

Tickell's *Lines on the Death of Addison*. (See p. 282.)

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

Besides the ample details in Keepe, Crull, Dart, and Neale, there are for the ensuing Chapter the following authorities:—

- I. The earlier Burial Register¹ of the Abbey, contained in one volume folio, from 1606 to 1706.²
- II. The later Burial Registers, from 1706 to the present day, are contained—(1) in another folio volume, and (2) (from 1711) more fully in six volumes octavo.

¹ The first part of this is a compilation of Philip Tynchare, the Precentor, who was buried 'near the door of Lord Norris's monument, May 12, 1673.'

² These, as far as the year 1705, are published, with notes, in Nichols's *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. vii. 355–377, viii. 1–13, to which are added, in vol. vii. 163–174, the Marriages from 1655 to 1705, and in vol. vii. 243–248, the Baptisms from 1605 to 1655, and 1661 to 1702, from the same source. But these transcripts have been found to be so full of errors, that a new and corrected version has been undertaken, and will shortly be published, with the sanction of the Dean and Chapter, by a learned and laborious antiquarian—Colonel Chester, of the United States—in a volume carrying them down at least to 1754.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MONUMENTS.

OF all the characteristics of Westminster Abbey, that which most endears it to the nation, and gives most force to its name—which has, more than anything else, made it the home of the people of England, and the most venerated fabric of the English Church—is not so much its glory as the seat of the coronations, or as the sepulchre of the kings, not so much its school, or its monastery, or its chapter, or its sanctuary, as the fact that it is the restingplace of famous Englishmen, from every rank and creed, and every form of mind and genius. It is not only Rheims Cathedral and St. Denys both in one; but it is also what the Pantheon was intended to be to France—what the Valhalla is to Germany—what Santa Croce is to Italy. It is this aspect which, more than any other, won for it the delightful visits of Addison in the ‘Spectator,’ of Steele in the ‘Tatler,’ of Goldsmith in ‘The Citizen of the World,’ of Charles Lamb in ‘Elia,’ of Washington Irving in ‘The Sketch Book.’ It is this which inspired the saying of Nelson, ‘A Peerage or ‘Westminster Abbey!’ and which has intertwined it with so many eloquent passages of Macaulay. It is this which gives point to the allusions of recent statesmen least inclined to draw illustrations from ecclesiastical buildings. It is this which gives most promise of vitality to the whole institution. Kings are no longer buried within its walls; even the

Peculi-
arity of
the Tombs
at West-
minster.

splendour of pageants has ceased to attract; but the desire to be interred in Westminster Abbey is still as strong as ever.

And yet it is this which has exposed the Abbey to the severest criticism. 'To clear away the monuments' has become the ardent wish of not a few of its most ardent admirers. The incongruity of their construction, the caprice of their erection, the false taste or false feeling of their inscriptions and their sculptures, has provoked the attacks of each succeeding generation. It will be the object of this Chapter to unravel this conflict of sentiments, to find the clue through this labyrinth of monumental stumblingblocks and stones of offence. Although this branch of the Abbey be a parasitical growth, it has struck its fibres so deep that, if rudely torn out, both perchance will come down together. If sooner or later it must be pruned, we must first well consider the relation of the engrafted mistletoe to the parent tree.

This peculiarity of Westminster Abbey is of comparatively recent origin. No theory of the kind existed when the Confessor procured its first privileges, nor yet when Henry III. planned the burialplace of the Plantagenets. No cemetery in the world had as yet been based on this principle. The great men of Rome were indeed buried along the side of the Appian Way, but they had no exclusive right to it; it was by virtue rather of their family connexions than of their individual merit. The destination of the Church of St. Genevieve at Paris, under the name of the Pantheon, to the ashes of celebrated Frenchmen, was almost confined to the times of the Revolution and to the tombs of Voltaire and Rousseau. The adaptation of the Pantheon at Rome to the reception of the busts of famous Italians dates from the same epoch, and it ceased to be so employed after the restoration of Pius VII. The nearest approach to Westminster Abbey in this aspect is the Church of Santa Croce at Florence. There, as here, the present destination of the building was no part of the original

Comparison
son to
Santa
Croce at
Florence.

design, but was the result of various converging causes. As the church of one of the two great preaching orders, it had a nave large beyond all proportion to its choir. That order being the Franciscan, bound by vows of poverty, the simplicity of the worship preserved the whole space clear from any adventitious ornaments. The popularity of the Franciscans, especially in a convent hallowed by a visit from St. Francis himself, drew to it not only the chief civic festivals, but also the numerous families who gave alms to the friars, and whose connexion with their church was, for this reason, in turn encouraged by them. In those graves, piled with the standards and achievements of the noble families of Florence, were successively interred—not because of their eminence, but as members or friends of those families—some of the most illustrious personages of the fifteenth century. Thus it came to pass, as if by accident, that in the vault of the Buonarotti was laid Michael Angelo; in the vault of the Viviani the preceptor of one of their house, Galileo. From those two burials the church gradually became the recognised shrine of Italian genius.¹

The growth of our English Santa Croce, though different, was analogous. It sprang, in the first instance, as a natural offshoot from the coronations and interments of the Kings. Had they been buried far away, in some conventual or secluded spot, or had the English nation stood aloof from the English monarchy, it might have been otherwise. The sepulchral chapels built by Henry III. and Henry VII. might have stood alone in their glory: no meaner dust need ever have mingled with the dust of the Plantagenets, Tudors, Stuarts, and Guelphs. The Kings of France rest almost alone at St. Denys. The Kings of Spain, the Emperors of Austria, the Czars of Russia, rest absolutely alone in the vaults of

Result of
the Royal
Tombs.

¹ I owe this account of Santa Croce to the kindness of Signor Bonaini, Keeper of the Archives at Florence.

See also Trollope's novel of *Malatesta*, vol. iii.

the Escorial, of Vienna, of Moscow, and St. Petersburg. But it has been the peculiar privilege of the Kings of England, that neither in life nor in death have they been parted from their people. As the Council of the nation and the Courts of Law have pressed into the Palace of Westminster, and engirdled the very Throne itself, so the ashes of the great citizens of England have pressed into the sepulchre of the Kings, and surrounded them, as with a guard of honour, after their death. On the tomb designed for Maximilian at Innspruck, the Emperor's effigy lies encircled by the mailed figures of ancient chivalry—of Arthur and Clovis, of Rudolph and Cunegunda, of Ferdinand and Isabella. A like thought, but yet nobler, is that which is in fact realised in the very structure of Westminster Abbey, as it is in the very structure of the English Constitution. Let those who are inclined bitterly to contrast the placid dignity of our recumbent Kings, with Chatham gesticulating from the Northern Transept, or Pitt from the western door, or Shakspeare leaning on his column in Poets' Corner, or Wolfe expiring by the Chapel of St. John, look upon them as in their different ways keeping guard over the shrine of our monarchy and our laws—and that which seems at first incongruous will become a symbol of the harmonious diversity in unity which pervades our whole commonwealth.

Had the Abbey of St. Denys admitted within its walls the poets and warriors and statesmen of France, the kings might yet have remained inviolate in their graves. Had the monarchy of France connected itself with the great institutions of Church and State, assuredly it would not have fallen as it did in its imperial isolation. Let us accept the omen for the Abbey of Westminster—let us accept it also for the Throne and State of England.

I. We have now to trace the slow gradual formation of this side of the story of Westminster—a counterpart of the

irregular uncertain course of the history of England itself. Reserving for future consideration the graves of those connected with the Convent,¹ it was natural that, in the first instance, the Cloisters, which contained the little monastic cemetery, should also admit the immediate families and retainers of the Court. It was the burialplace of the adjacent Palace of Westminster, just as now the precincts of St. George's Chapel contains the burialplace of the immediate dependents of the Castle of Windsor. The earliest of these humbler intruders—who heads, as it were, the long series of private monuments—was Hugolin, the chamberlain of the Confessor, buried (with a fitness, perhaps, hardly appreciated at the time) within or hard by the Royal Treasury, which he had kept so well.² Not far off (we know not where) was Geoffrey of Mandeville, with his wife Adelaide, who followed the Conqueror to Hastings, and who, in return for his burial here, gave to the Abbey the manor of Eye, then a waste morass, which gave its name to the Eye Brook, and under the names of Hyde, Eye-bury (or Ebury), and Neate, contained Hyde Park, Belgravia, and Chelsea.³

Hugolin.

Geoffrey of
Mandeville.

But the first distinct impulse given to the tombs of famous citizens was from Richard II. It was the result of his passionate attachment to Westminster, combined with his unbounded favouritism. His courtiers and officers were the first magnates not of royal blood who reached the interior of the Abbey. John of Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Master of the Rolls, was, by the King's order, buried not only in the church, but in the Chapel of the Confessor, amongst the Kings.⁴ It was not without a general murmur of indignation⁵ that this intrusion was effected; and the disturbance

COURTIER
OF RICH-
ARD II.John of
Waltham,
1395.¹ See Chapter V.⁴ Godwin, p. 359.² See Chapters I. and V.⁵ Inter reges, multis murmurantibus. (Walsingham, ii. 218.)³ Widmore, p. 21; *Arch.* xxvi. 234.

of the mosaic pavement by the brass effigy marks the unusual honour, the pledge of the ever-increasing magnitude of the succession of English statesmen, whose statues from the adjoining transept may claim John of Waltham as their venerable precursor. Other favourites of the same sovereign lie in graves only less distinguished. Sir John Golofre, who was his ambassador in France, was, by the King's express command, transferred from the Grey Friars' Church at Wallingford, where he himself had desired to be buried, and was laid close beneath his master's tomb.¹ The father-in-law of Golofre,² Sir Bernard Brocas, who was chamberlain to Richard's Queen, and was beheaded on Tower Hill, in consequence of having joined in a conspiracy to reinstate him, lies in the almost regal Chapel of St. Edmund.³ He was famous for his ancient descent, his Spanish connexion (as was supposed) with Brozas near Alcantara, above all his wars with the Moors, where he won the crest, on which his helmet rests, of the crowned head of a Moor, and which was either the result or the cause of the 'account,' to which Sir Roger de Coverley was so 'very attentive,' of 'the lord who 'cut off the King of Morocco's head.'⁴ Close to him rests Robert Waldeby, the accomplished companion of the Black Prince, then the tutor of Richard himself, and through his influence raised to the sees successively of Man, Dublin, Chichester, and York, who, renowned as at once physician and divine, is in the Abbey the first representative of literature, as Waltham is of statesmanship.

Golofre,
1396.

Brocas,
1399.

Waldeby,
1397.

COURTIERS
OF HENRY
V.

Courtney,
died Sept.
15, 1415.

Next come the chiefs of the court and camp of Henry V. One, like John of Waltham, lies in the Confessor's Chapel⁵—Richard Courtney, Bishop of Norwich, who during his illness at Harfleur was tenderly nursed by the King himself, and

¹ Dart, ii. 21.

² Crull, App. p. 20.

³ See Chapter III.

⁴ *Spectator*, No. 329. An inscription was composed by the family in

1838. See Neale, ii. 156, and Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, 1399.

⁵ On the north side of the Shrine—*'in ipsius ostii ingressu.'* (Godwin, p. 438.)

died immediately before the Battle of Agincourt.¹ Lewis Robsart, who from his exploits on that great day was made the King's standard-bearer, was a few years afterwards interred in St. Paul's Chapel; and on the same side in the northern aisle, at the entrance of the Chapels of the two St. Johns, lay under brass effigies, which can still be faintly traced, Sir John Windsor and Sir John Harpedon.

Robsart,
1431.

Windsor,
1414.
Harpedon,
1457.

The fashion slowly grew. Though Edward IV. himself, with his best-beloved companion in arms, lies at Windsor, four of his nobles were brought to Westminster. Humphrey Bourchier, who died at the field of Barnet, was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel. In St. Nicholas's Chapel lie Lord Craven, who died in the same year; and Dudley—who, being the first Dean of Edward's new Chapel of Windsor, was elevated to the see of Durham—uncle of Henry VII.'s notorious financier, and founder of the great house which bore his name. The first layman in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist is Sir Thomas Vaughan, treasurer to Edward IV. and chamberlain to Edward V.

COURTIERS
OF ED-
WARD IV.
Bourchier,
1470.
Lord
Craven
1470.
Dudley,
1482.

Vaughan.

The renewed affection for the Abbey in the person of Henry VII.² reflects itself in the tombs of three of his courtiers. In the Chapel of St. Nicholas is interred Sir Humphrey Stanley, who with his relatives had in the Battle of Bosworth fought on the victorious side.³ In the Chapel of St. Paul is the King's chamberlain and cousin, Sir Giles Daubeny, Lord-Lieutenant of Calais; and in that of St. John the Baptist his favourite secretary Ruthell,⁴ Bishop of Durham, victim of his own fatal mistake in sending to his second master, Henry VIII., the inventory of his private wealth, instead of a state-paper on the affairs of the nation.

COURTIERS
OF HENRY
VII.

Stanley,
1505.

Daubeny,
1507.
Ruthell,
1523.

¹ Tyler's *Henry V.*, ii. 148.

² A curious record of Henry VII.'s adventures in crossing by the Channel Islands is preserved on Sir Thomas Hardy's monument in the Nave, erected in 1732.

³ Hence the burial of other members of the Derby family in this chapel. (Register, 1603, 1620, 1631.)

⁴ Godwin, p. 755.—He died at Durham Place, in the Strand; hence, perhaps, his burial at Westminster.

LADIES
OF THE
TUDOR
COURT.

Frances
Grey,
Duchess of
Suffolk,
1559.

Her tomb.

It is characteristic of the middle of the sixteenth century, when the destinies of Europe were woven by the hands of the extraordinary Queens who ruled the fortunes of France, England, and Scotland, and when the royal tombs in the Abbey are occupied by Elizabeth, the two Marys, and the two Margarets,¹ that the more private history of the time should also be traced, more than at any other period, by the sepulchres of illustrious ladies. Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk, granddaughter of Henry VII., by Charles Brandon and Mary Queen of France, and mother of Lady Jane Grey, reposes in the Chapel of St. Edmund, under a stately monument erected by her second husband, Adrian Stokes,² *Esquire*. She had thrown herself headlong into the Protestant cause. She had dressed up a cat in a rochet to irritate the bishops; and had insulted Gardiner, as she passed by the Tower: 'It is well for the lambs when the wolves are shut up.' Naturally, in her own turn she had to fly, after her husband's and her daughter's bloody death; and lived just long enough to see the betrothal of her daughter, Catherine Grey, to the Earl of Hertford,³ and to enjoy the turn of fortune which restored her to the favour of Elizabeth, and allowed her sepulture beside her royal ancestors.⁴ The service was probably the first celebrated in English in the Abbey since Elizabeth's accession; and it was followed by the Communion Service,⁵ in which the Dean (Dr. Bill) officiated, and Jewel preached the sermon. Could her Puritanical spirit have known the site of her tomb, she would have rejoiced in the thought that it was the first to displace one of the venerated altars of the old Catholic saints.⁶

The same lot befell the altar of St. Nicholas, which sank

¹ See Chapter III.

² *Nupta Duci priori, uxor post Armigeri Stokes. (Epitaph.)*

³ Cooper's *Life of Arabella Stuart*, i. 172.

⁴ Compare Edward VI.'s funeral,

Chapter III.

⁵ Strype's *Annals*, i. 292.—The monument was not erected till 1563.

⁶ It may be observed that the same fate is to befall all the side-altars in Santa Croce in Florence.

under the still more splendid pile of a still grander patroness of the Reformation — Anne Seymour, descended by the Stanhopes and Bouchiers from Anne, sole heir of Thomas of Woodstock, herself widow of the Protector Somerset, and aunt of Queen Jane Seymour — ‘a mannish or rather a devilish woman, for any imperfectibilities intolerable, but for pride monstrous, exceeding subtle, and violent.’¹ She lived far into the reign of Elizabeth, and died, at the age of 90, on Easter Day, leaving behind a noble race, which in later days was to transfer the chapel where she lies to another family not less noble, and make it the joint burialplace of the Seymours and the Percys.²

Anne Seymour,
Duchess of Somerset,
1587.

To these we must add one, who, though she herself belongs to the next generation, yet by her title and lineage is connected directly with the earlier period. Not in the royal chapels, but first of any secular grandee in the ecclesiastical Chapel of St. Benedict, is the monument of Frances Howard, sister of the Lord High Admiral who repulsed the Armada, but, by her marriage with the Earl of Hertford, daughter-in-law of the Duchess of Somerset, from whom we have just parted. Like those other two ladies, she in her tomb destroyed the vestiges of the ancient altar of the chapel, as if the spirit of the Seymours still lived again in each succeeding generation. Both monuments were erected by the Earl of Hertford, son to the one and husband to the other.

Frances Howard,
Countess of Hertford, 1598.

Frances Sidney occupies the place of the altar in the Chapel of St. Paul. She claims remembrance as the aunt of Sir Philip Sidney, and the wife of Ratcliffe Earl of Sussex, known to all readers of ‘Kenilworth’ as the rival of Leicester.

Frances Sidney,
Countess of Sussex,
1589.

¹ Sir J. Hayward. See *Life of Arabella Stuart*, i. 170.

² The marriage of Algernon Seymour (1726), the ‘proud Duke’ of Somerset, to Elizabeth Percy, caused her interment and monument in St. Nicholas’s Chapel: hence the interment

of the Percy family in the same place for the last three generations. Lady Jane Clifford, whose grave and monument are also here (1629), was a great-granddaughter of the Protector Somerset.

Lady Jane Clifford,
1629.

Her more splendid monument is the college in Cambridge, called after her double name, Sidney Sussex, which, with her descendants of the Houses of Pembroke, Carnarvon, and Sidney, has undertaken the restoration of her tomb.

ELIZA-
BETHAN
MAG-
NATES.

But the reign of Elizabeth also brings with it the first distinct recognition of the Abbey as a Temple of Fame. It was the natural consequence of the fact that amongst her favourites so many were heroes and heroines. Their tombs literally verify Gray's description of her court :

Girt with many a baron bold,
Sublime their starry fronts they rear;
And gorgeous dames, and statesmen old
In bearded majesty, appear.
What strings symphonious tremble in the air,
What strains of vocal transport round her play !

Not only does Poets' Corner now first leap into new life, but the counsellors and warriors, who in the long preceding reigns had dropped in here and there, according to the uncertain light of court-favour, suddenly close round upon us, and the vacant chapels are thronged, as if with the first burst of national life and independence. Now also that life and independence are seen in forms peculiar to the age, when the old traditions of Christendom gave way before that epoch of revolution. The royal monuments, though changed in architectural decoration, still preserved the antique attitude and position, and hardly interfered with the outline of the sacred edifice. But the taste of private individuals at once claimed its new liberty, and opened the way to that extravagant latitude of monumental innovation which prevailed throughout Europe, and in our own day has roused a reaction against the very building itself.

The 'gorgeous dames' are for the most part recumbent. But, as we have seen, they have trampled on the ancient altars in their respective chapels. The Duchess of Suffolk

still faces the east; but the Duchess of Somerset and the Countess of Hertford, dying thirty and forty years later, lie north and south. Two mural tablets, first of their kind, commemorate in the Chapel of St. Edmund the cousin of Edward VI., Jane Seymour,¹ daughter of the Protector Somerset (erected by her brother, the same Earl of Hertford whom we have twice met already); and the cousin of Elizabeth, Catherine Knollys, sister of Lord Hunsdon, who had attended her aunt, Anne Boleyn, to the scaffold. Then follow, in the same chapel, Sir R. Pecksall, with his two wives, drawn hither by the attraction of the contiguous grave of Sir Bernard Brocas, from whom, through his mother,² he inherited the post of Master of the Buckhounds to the Queen, and through whom the Brocas family were continued. They have risen from their couches, and are on their knees.

Lady Jane
Seymour,
1561.

Lady
Catherine
Knollys,
1568.
Sir R.
Pecksall,
died Oct.
10, 1571.

The Russell family, already great with the spoils of monasteries, are hard by. John Baron Russell, second son of the second earl,³ after a long tour abroad, died at Highgate,⁴ and lies here recumbent, but with his face turned towards the spectator; whilst his daughter, first of all the sepulchral effigies, is seated erect, ‘not dead but sleeping,’⁵ in her osier-chair—the prototype of those easy postures, which have so grievously scandalised our more reverential age. The monument to the father⁶ is erected by his widow, the accomplished daughter of Sir Antony Cook, who has commemorated her husband’s virtues in Latin, Greek, and English—an ostentation of learning characteristic of the age of Lady Jane Grey, but provoking the censure of the simpler taste of Addison.⁷

John Lord
Russell,
1584.

His monu-
ment.

¹ Intended as the wife of Edward VI.,—afterwards friend of Catherine Grey, daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk. (Cooper’s *Life of Arabella Stuart*, i. 185.)

² See p. 196; Neale, ii. 156.—His funeral fees went to buy hangings for the reredos. (Chapter Book, 1571.)

³ Wiffin’s *House of Russell*, i. 493, 503.

⁴ Lord Russell had a house within the Precincts. (Chapter Book, 1581.)

⁵ *Dormit, non mortua est* (Epitaph).

⁶ Restored by the Duke of Bedford in 1867.

⁷ *Spectator*, No. 329.

Elizabeth
Russell.

The monument to their daughter Elizabeth is erected by her sister Anne. She is a complete child of Westminster. Her mother, in consequence of the plague, was allowed by the Dean (Goodman) to await her delivery in a house within the

Her christening,
1575.

Precincts.¹ The infant was christened in the Abbey. The procession started from the Deanery. The Queen, from whom she derived her name, was godmother, but acted by her 'deputy,' the Countess of Warwick, who appeared accordingly in royal state—Lady Burleigh, the child's aunt, carrying the train. The other godmother was Frances Countess of Sussex. These distinguished sponsors drew to the ceremony two of the most notable statesmen of the time, the Earl of Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney, who emerged from the Confessor's Chapel, after the conclusion of the service, with towels and basons. The procession returned, through the Cloisters, to a stately, costly, and delicate banquet within the Precincts. Thus ushered into the Abbey by such a host of worthies, four of whom are themselves interred in it, Elizabeth Russell became maid of honour to her royal godmother,

Her death,
1601.

and finally was herself buried within its walls. She died of consumption, a few days after the marriage of her sister Anne at Blackfriars, at which the Queen attended, as represented in the celebrated Sherborne Castle picture.² Such

Her monument.

was her real end. But the form of her monument has bred one of 'the vulgar errors' of Westminster mythology. Her finger pointing to the skull, the emblem of mortality at her feet, had already,³ by the close of the next century, led to the legend that she had 'bled to death by the prick of a needle,'⁴ sometimes magnified into a judgment on her for

¹ Lord Russell's letter to the Queen announcing the birth is dated at Westminster College, October 22, 1575. (Wiffin's *House of Russell*, i. 502.)

² See 'The Visit of Queen Elizabeth 'to Blackfriars, in 1600,' by George

Scharf, in *Art Journal*, xxiii. 131. The picture contains also the portraits of John Lord Russell (p. 199) and of Lady Catherine Knollys (ibid.).

³ Keepe, i. 1680.

⁴ *Spectator*, No. 329. — Compare

working on Sunday. Sir Roger de Coverley was conducted to 'that martyr to good housewifery.' Upon the interpreter telling him that she was maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth, the knight was very inquisitive into her name and family; and after having regarded her finger for some time, 'I wonder,' says he, 'that Sir Richard Baker has said nothing of her in his chronicle.'

The several Chapels of St. Nicholas on the south, and of St. Paul and St. John on the north, take up the train of Elizabethan notabilities. Winifred Brydges, Marchioness of Winchester, was, by her first husband, Sir R. Sackville, cousin of Anne Boleyn, and mother of Thomas Lord Buckhurst, the poet, and of Lady Dacre, foundress of Emmanuel Hospital, close by the Abbey. Her second husband was the Marquis of Winchester, who boasted that he had prospered through Elizabeth's reign, by having 'the pliancy of the willow rather than the stubbornness of the oak.'

Winifred
Brydges,
Marchioness of
Winchester,
1586.

Sir Thomas Bromley (in the Chapel of St. Paul) succeeded Sir Nicholas Bacon as Lord Chancellor, and in that capacity presided at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, and died immediately afterwards. Sir John Puckering (in the Chapel of St. Nicholas) prosecuted both Mary and the unfortunate Secretary Davison, and succeeded Sir Christopher Hatton as Lord Keeper—his 'lawyer-like and ungentle' appearance presenting so forcible a contrast to his predecessor, that the Queen could with difficulty overcome her repugnance to his appointment. It was he who defined to Speaker Coke the liberty allowed to the Commons: 'Liberty of speech is granted you; but you must know what privilege you have, not to speak every one what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter; but your privilege is Aye or No.'¹ To Sir

Sir
Thomas
Bromley,
1587.

Sir John
Puckering,
1596.

Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*:
'He told, without blushing, a hundred lies. He talked of a lady who

'died by pricking her finger.'

¹ Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, ii. 175.

Thomas
Owen,
1598.

His tomb.

Thomas Owen of Cundover, Justice of the Common Pleas friend of Sir Nicholas Bacon, a fine effigy, resembling the portrait of him still preserved at Cundover, was erected by his son Roger, in the south aisle of the Choir. The tomb bears the motto, given to him by the Queen, in allusion to his humble origin, '*Memorare novissima*;' and his own quaint epitaph, '*Spes, vermis, et ego*.'

Lord
Hunsdon,
1596.

His monu-
ment.

But the most conspicuous tombs of this era are those of Lord Hunsdon and of the Cecils. Henry Cary, Baron Hunsdon, the rough honest chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, brother of Lady Catherine Knollys, has a place and monument worthy of his confidential relations with the Queen, who was his first-cousin. Like his two princely kinswomen in the Chapels of St. Edmund and St. Nicholas, his interment was signalised by displacing the altar of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. The monument was remarkable, even in the next century, as 'most magnificent,'¹ and is, in fact, the loftiest in the Abbey. It would almost seem as if his son,² who erected it, laboured to make up to the old statesman for the long-expected honours of the earldom—three times granted, and three times revoked. The Queen at last came to see him, and laid the patent and the robes on his bed. 'Madam,' he answered, 'seeing you counted me not worthy of this honour whilst I was living, I count myself unworthy of it now I am dying.'³ He, like Sir R. Sackville, 'belonged,' as Leicester said, 'to the tribe of Dan, and was *Noli me tangere*.'⁴ 'I doubt much, my Harry,' wrote Elizabeth to him after his suppression of the Northern Rebellion, 'whether that the victory given me more joyed me, or that you were by God appointed the instrument of my glory.'⁵ And with the bitterness of a true patriot, as

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 433.

² Fuller's *Worthies*, i. 433.

³ Lady Hunsdon was buried with him (1606), also the widow of his son (1617). (Burial Register.)

⁴ Aikin's *Elizabeth*, i. 243.

⁵ Ibid.

well as a true kinsman, he was at times so affected as to be 'almost senseless, considering the time, the necessity Her Majesty hath of assured friends, the needfulness of good and sound counsel, and the small care it seems she hath of either. Either she is bewitched,' or doomed to destruction.¹

Lord Burleigh was attached to Westminster by many ties. He was the intimate friend of the Dean, Gabriel Goodman; and this, combined with his High Stewardship, led to his being called, in play, 'the Dean of Westminster,'² and he had in his earlier days lived in the Precincts.³ Although he was buried at Stamford, his funeral was celebrated in the Abbey, over the graves of his wife⁴ and daughter, where already stood the towering monument,⁵ erected to them before his death, in the Chapel of St. Nicholas. It expresses the great grief of his life, which, but for the earnest entreaties of the Queen, would have driven him from his public duties altogether. 'If anyone ask,' says his epitaph, 'who is that aged man, on bended knees, venerable from his hoary hairs, in his robes of state, and with the order of the Garter?'—the answer is, that we see the great minister of Elizabeth, 'his eyes dim with tears for the loss of those who were dearer to him beyond the whole race of womankind.'⁶ It shows the degree of superhuman majesty which he had attained in English History, that 'Sir Roger de Coverley was very well pleased to see 'the statesman Cecil on his knees.' The collar of St. George marks the special favour by which, to him alone of humble birth, Elizabeth granted the Garter. 'If any ask, who are those noble women, splendidly attired, and who are they at their head and feet?'—the answer is that the one is Mildred, his second wife, daughter of Sir Antony Cook,

The Cecils.
Lord
Burleigh.
1598.

His funeral.

Mildred
Cecil, Lady
Burleigh,
1589.

¹ Froude, ix. 557.

² Strype's *Memorials of Parker*.

³ Chapter Book, 1551.

⁴ She too had made Dean Goodman one of her chief advisers. (Strype's *Annals*, iii. 2, 127.)

⁵ The monument has been recently restored by Lord Cranborne, who is directly descended from this marriage.

⁶ The inscription is very differently given in Winstanley's *Worthies*, p. 204.

Anne Vere,
Countess
of Oxford,
1588.

and sister of the learned lady who wrote the epitaphs of Lord Russell in the adjacent chapel, 'partner of her husband's fortunes, through good and evil, during the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth'—'versed in all sacred literature, especially Basil, Chrysostom, and Gregory 'Nazianzen;' the other 'Anne, his daughter, wedded to the 'Earl of Oxford;' at her feet, his second son, Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, and at her head her three daughters, Elizabeth, Bridget, and Susan Vere. But 'neither they,' nor his elder son Thomas, nor 'all his grandsons and granddaughters,' will efface the grief 'with which the old man 'clings to the sad monument of his lost wife and daughter.'

Elizabeth
Cecil,
Countess
of Salisbury, 1591.
Elizabeth
Countess
of Exeter,
May, 1591.
Thomas
Cecil, Earl
of Exeter,
1622,
aged 80.
Dorothy
Neville,
1608.
Frances
Brydges,
1662,
aged 83.

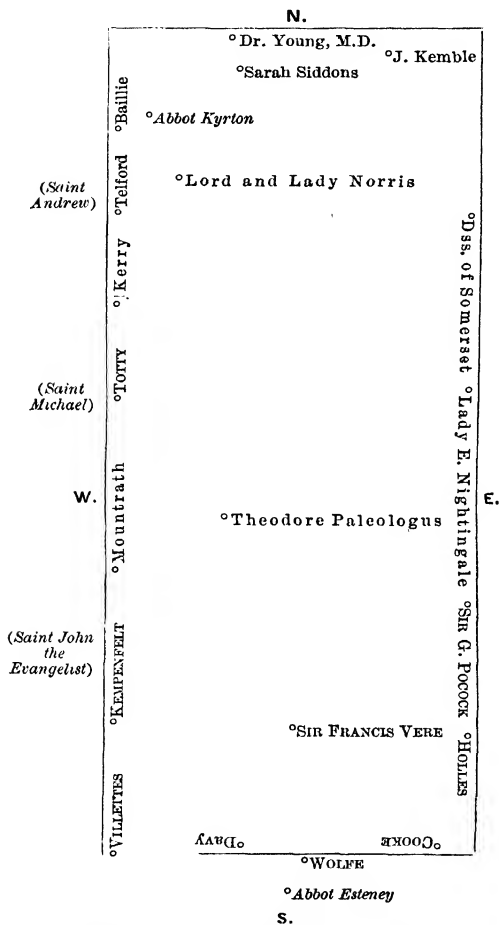
Robert, on whom his father invokes a long life, lies at Hatfield; but his wife Elizabeth has a tomb in this chapel, and also (removed from its original position, where now is the monument of the Duchess of Northumberland) his niece Elizabeth, wife of the second Earl of Exeter. The first Earl, Thomas, his eldest son by an earlier marriage, after a life full of years and honours, lies on the other side of the Abbey, in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, with his 'two most dear wives,'—Dorothy Neville and afterwards Frances Brydges, who, living till the Restoration, proudly refused to let her effigy fill the vacancy on the left side, and is buried at Windsor.

The tombs by this time had occupied all the chief positions in the chapels round the Confessor's Shrine. There remained a group of smaller chapels, abutting on the North Transept, hitherto only occupied by the Abbots:¹ Islip, who built the small chapel in which he lies, and which bears his name; Esteney, who lies in St. John's, and Kirton, in St. Andrew's, Chapel. But this comparative solitude was now invaded by the sudden demand of the Flemish wars.²

¹ See Chapter V.

² This part of the Abbey, during the two next centuries, was known

as 'The Tombs.' (Register; and see Fuller's *Church History*, 1621.)



Sir Francis
Vere,
1609.

His tomb.

The Veres
and Beau-
clerks,
1702.

Sir George
Hollis.
1626.

The one unforgotten hero of those now forgotten battles, Sir Philip Sidney, lies under the pavement of St. Paul's Cathedral, the precursor, by a long interval, of Nelson and Wellington. But to Sir Francis Vere, who commanded the forces in the Netherlands, his widow erected a tomb, which she must have copied from the scene of his exploits—in a direct imitation of the tomb of Engelbert¹ Count of Nassau, in the church at Breda, where, as here, four kneeling knights support the arms of the dead man who lies underneath. This retention of an older taste has always drawn a tender feeling towards this tomb.² 'Hush! hush! he vill speak presently,' softly whispered Roubiliac to a question thrice repeated by one who found him standing with folded arms and eyes rivetted on the fourth knight, whose lips seem just opening to address the bystander.³ By a natural affinity, the tomb of Sir Francis Vere drew after it, two centuries later, the last of his descendants into the same vault—Aubrey de Vere, the last Earl of Oxford, and afterwards the Beauclerk family, through the marriage of the Duke of St. Albans with his daughter and heiress, Diana de Vere.⁴ Close beside is Sir George Hollis, his kinsman and comrade in arms—on a monument as far removed from mediæval times as that of Sir Francis Vere draws near to them. The tall statue stands, not, like that of Vere, modestly apart from the wall, but on the site of the altar once dedicated to the Confessor's favourite saint—the first in the Abbey that stands erect; the first that wears, not the costume of the time, but that of a Roman general; the first monument which, in its sculpture, reproduces the events in which the hero was engaged—the Battle of Nieupont. He, like Vere, attracted to the spot his later descendants; and for the sake

¹ Compare the arrangement of the tomb of the Emperor Lewis at Munich.

² The tomb was injured by the workmen engaged on Wolfe's monument. (*Gent. Mag.*)

³ Carrington's *Handbook*, p. 42. This same story is told of the figure on the N. W. corner of the Norris tomb. (*Life of Nollekens*, ii. p. 86.)

⁴ See Chapter III. p. 180.

of the neighbourhood of his own and his wife's ancestors, a hundred years later, rose the gigantic monument of John Holles Duke of Newcastle,¹ who lies at the feet of his illustrious namesake.² Deeper yet into these chapels the Flemish trophies penetrate. Against the wall, which must have held the altar of the Chapel of St. Andrew, is the mural tablet of John de Burgh, who fell in boarding a Spanish ship; and in front of it rises a monument, if less beautiful than that of Vere, yet of more stirring interest, and equally connected with the wars in that old 'cockpit of Europe.' We have seen that on the other side of the Abbey was interred Catherine Knollys, the faithful attendant of Anne Boleyn. We now come to a continuation of the same mark of respect on the part of Elizabeth—not often shown, it is said—for those who had been steadfast to her mother's cause, and, curiously enough, to a house with which the family of Knollys was in constant strife. Sir Francis Knollys, the husband of Catherine Carey, Treasurer of the Queen's Household,³ perhaps from their neighbourhood in Oxfordshire, was a deadly rival to Henry Norris. 'Queen Elizabeth loved the Knollys' for themselves; 'the Norrises for themselves and herself. The Norrises got 'more honour abroad; the Knollys' more profit at home, continuing constantly at court; and no wonder, if they were the 'warmest who sate next the fire.'⁴ Henry Norris was the son of that unhappy man who, alone of all those who perished on the scaffold with Anne Boleyn, denied or was silent as to her guilt. Elizabeth, it is believed, remembered the

De Burgh
1594.

The Norris
family.

¹ Dart, ii. 2; see p. 233.

Francis
Hollis,
1622.

² Another Francis Hollis, son of the Earl of Clare, who died at the age of 18, on his return from the Flemish war a few years later, sits, like his namesake, in Roman costume in St. Edmund's Chapel, on a pedestal, copied from that on which, in a similar attitude, close by, sits Elizabeth Russell (see p. 202). The like sentiment

of a premature death probably caused this twin-like companionship.

Man's life is measured by his work,
not days,

No aged sloth, but active youth,
hath praise,

is the close of his epitaph.

³ *Biog. Brit.*

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies*, iii. 16, 17.

Henry
Lord
Norris,
1601.

John
Norris,
1597.

Edward
Norris,
1604.

chivalry of the father by her favour to the son. He was further endeared to her by the affection she had for his wife, Margaret Thame, whom, from her swarthy complexion, the Queen called 'her own crow.' By his marriage with Margaret, Henry Norris inherited Rycote in Oxfordshire, where, according to his expressed intention, the local tradition maintains that he is buried.¹ The monument in the Abbey, however, is a tribute, 'by their kindred, not only to him—self, but to the noble acts, the valour, and high worth of that right valiant and warlike progeny of his—a brood of martial-spirited men, as the Netherlands, Portugal, Little Bretagne, and Ireland can testify.'² William, John, Thomas, Henry, Maximilian, and Edward are all represented on the tomb, probably actual likenesses. All, except John and Edward, fell in battle. John died of vexation at losing the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland; and the Queen, to whose hardness he owed his neglect, repaired the wrong too late, by one of those stately letters, which she only could write, consoling 'my own crow' for the loss of her son.³ 'Though nothing more consolatory and pathological could be written from a Prince, yet the death of the son went so near the heart of the Earl, his ancient father, that he died soon after.' Edward alone survived his father and family; and, accordingly, he alone is represented, not, as the others, in an attitude of prayer, but looking cheerfully upwards. 'They were men of haughty courage, and of great experience in the conduct of military affairs; and, to speak in the character of their merit, they were persons of such renown and worth, as future time must, out of duty, owe them the debt of honourable memory.'⁴ That honourable memory has long ago perished from the minds of

¹ Darb ii. 7.—Neale (ii. 198) says that he was interred here. His daughter and sole heiress, Elizabeth, is buried in St. Nicholas's Chapel. (Register, November 28, 1645.)

² Camden, in Neale, ii. 195.

³ Fuller's *Worthies*, iii. 8, who gives the letter.

⁴ Camden, in Neale, ii. 199.

men; but still, as preserved in this monument,¹ it well closes the glories of the Elizabethan court and camp in the Abbey.²

One other monument of the wars of those times, though of a comparatively unknown warrior, and located in what must then have been an obscure and solitary place in the South Aisle of the Choir, carries us to a wider field. 'To the glory of the Lord of Hosts,³ here resteth Sir Richard Bingham, 'Knight,' who fought not only in Scotland and Ireland, but 'in the Isle of Candey under the Venetians, at Cabo Chrio, 'and the famous Battaile of Lepanto against the Turks; in 'the civil wars of France; in the Netherlands, and at Smerwich, where the Romanes and Irish were vanquished.'

Sir
Richard
Bingham,
1598,
aged 70.

Not far off is the monument of William Thynne, coeval with the rise of the great house of which his brother was the founder; and by his long life covering the whole Tudor dynasty, from the reign of Henry VII., when he travelled over the yet united Europe, through the wars of Henry VIII., when he fought against the Scots at Musselburgh, to the close of Elizabeth's reign, when he 'gently fell asleep in the Lord.'

William
Thynne,
died March
13, 1584.

The descent from the Court of Elizabeth to that of James I. is well indicated by the change of interest in the monuments. They are not deficient in a certain grandeur, but it is derived rather from the fame of the families than of the individuals. Such are the monuments of Lady Catherine St. John (once in St. Michael's, now in St. Nicholas's Chapel), of

COURT
OF JAMES
I.

Lady
Catherine
St. John.

¹ From this monument the Chapel was called, in the next century (see Register, Aug. 16, 1722; Aug. 8, Oct. 24, 1725), 'Norris's Chapel;' as now, for a like reason, the 'Nightingale Chapel.'

² Here also lie Sir John Burrough, Governor of the Netherlands under Lord Essex; and Henry Noel (1596), gentleman pensioner to the Queen,

and buried here by her particular directions, for 'his gentile address and skill in music.' (Dart, ii. 7.)

³ Is it accidental coincidence, or an indication of Macaulay's exact knowledge, that the Lay of the contemporary 'Battle of Ivry' commences with the like strain? Vere's motto is also *Deo exercitum*.

Fanes,
1618;
Talbots,
1617;
Hattons,
1619;
Carleton,
1631.

the Fanes, of the Talbots, and of the Hattons, in the Chapels of St. Nicholas, St. Edmund, and St. Erasmus; of Dudley Carleton, the ambassador, who gave to James the celebrated advice on his mode of hunting,¹ in St. Paul's Chapel. The two greatest men who passed away in James I.'s reign rest far off,—Bacon in his own Verulam, Shakspeare in his own Stratford. One inferior to these, yet the last relic of the age of Elizabethan adventure, has left his traces close by. The Gatehouse of Westminster was the prison, St. Margaret's Churchyard the last restingplace, of Sir Walter Raleigh.² A companion of his daring expedition to Fayal rests, without a memorial, in St. Edmund's Chapel—Lord Hervey, who had greatly distinguished himself at the time of the Spanish Armada, and afterwards in Ireland.³

Lord
Hervey,
1642.
Lewis
Stuart,
Duke of
Richmond,
died Feb.
16, 1623;
buried
April 19,
1624.

One stately monument of this epoch is remarkable from its position. In the southern side of the central aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel was buried Lewis Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, cousin to James I. (who had been his one confidential companion in the expedition to Gowrie House), Lord Chamberlain, and Lord High Admiral of Scotland.⁴ His widow, who raised the monument, and all the Lennox family were laid beside him, under the last memorial of any member of the English royal race, including the natural son of Charles II., to whom his father transferred the name and titles of the great family then just extinct. The heart of Eric, its last lineal descendant, was placed in

Duchess of
Richmond,
1632.
Charles
Lennox,
son of the
Duchess of
Portsmouth,
May 27,
1723.
Eric
Lennox,
1661.

¹ Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 12.

² See Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster*, p. 277.

³ Register. The facts from Camden and Dugdale are communicated by the kindness of Lord Arthur Hervey.

⁴ Epitaph, 2 Sam. iii. 38.

Chronog*. an IgnoratIs: qVIa prInCeps et VIr MagnVs obIt hodIe.

The elongated letters are all the Roman numerals. If they are extracted, and placed according to their value, they give (as pointed out to me by Mr. Poole, the master-mason of the Abbey) the date of the year:—

M. DC. VVV. IIIIIII., i.e. 1000 + 600 + 15 + 8 = 1623.

an urn at the feet of his ancestors, after the Restoration; and in the vault lies the beautiful Duchess of Richmond of Charles II.'s time, widow of the last of the race, ancestress of the Stuarts of Blantyre, whose effigy was, by her own special request, placed close by after her death, 'as well done 'in wax as could be,' 'under crown-glass and none other,'¹ in the robes she wore at the coronation of Queen Anne, and with a parrot which had 'lived with her Grace for forty 'years, and survived her only a few days.' The parrot confirms the allusion of Pope to 'the famous Duchess, who—

Duchess
of Rich-
mond,
1712.

'Died, and endowed a college or a cat.'²

But however tame the time of James I., the darkening shades and stormy lights of the reign of Charles I. rest heavily on the tombs of the next generation. They may be classified in two groups. The earlier one gathers round the great favourite of the two first Stuart reigns—George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, 'Steenie.' 'Never any man in any age, nor, I 'believe, in any country or nation, rose in so short a time to 'so much greatness of honour, fame, and fortune, upon no 'other advantage or recommendation than the beauty and 'gracefulness of his person.'³ This preeminent greatness, and also the tragical suddenness of his fall, we trace both in the tombs of his parents and of himself. In the Chapel of St. Nicholas lies the Leicestershire squire, Sir George Villiers, with his second wife Mary Beaumont, to whom, at his own early death, he left the handsome boy, and by whose 'singular care and affection the youth was trained in those 'accomplishments which befitted his natural grace.'⁴ Each of the two stately figures who lie on that tomb, carved by the hand of the famous sculptor, Nicholas Stone,⁵ live in the

COURT OF
CHARLES I.

The
Villiers
family.

Sir George
Villiers,
1605.

¹ See Note at the end of the Chapter.

² Pope's *Moral Essays*, Epistle iii. 96, with his own note and Warton's comment (vol. iii. p. 245).

³ Clarendon, i. 16.

⁴ Ibid. i. 7.

⁵ Walpole's *Anecdotes*, p. 530.

pages of Clarendon, as he follows the fortunes of their son. That stiff burly knight, in his plated armour and trunk breeches, is 'the man, of a very venerable aspect,' who (more than twenty years after his death) drew the bed-curtains of the officer of the King's wardrobe, at midnight, 'and, fixing 'his eyes upon him, asked him if he knew him;' and when 'the poor man, half dead with fear and apprehension,' having at last 'called to his memory the presence of Sir George 'Villiers, and the very clothes he used to wear, in which at 'that time he seemed to be habited,' answered 'that he 'thought him to be that person'—then ensued the warning, thrice repeated, and conveyed with difficulty, to the Duke his son, whose colour changed as he heard it; and he swore that that knowledge could come 'only by the Devil, for that 'those particulars were known only to himself and to one 'person more, who he was sure would never speak of it.'¹ And that lady, with broad full face and flowing ermine mantle, created Countess of Buckingham in her own right, and professing to be 'descended from five of the most powerful Kings 'of Europe by so many direct descents,'² is the mother towards whom the Duke 'had ever a most profound reverence,'—in whose behalf, when he thought that she had suffered a neglect from Henrietta Maria, he came into the Queen's 'chamber in much passion,' and told her 'she should repent 'of it,' 'and that there had been Queens in England who had 'lost their heads.'³ She it was who warned the Lord-Keeper (Williams) 'that St. David's (Laud) was the man that did un- 'dermine him with her son, and would undermine any man, 'that himself might rise.'⁴ She too it was with whom, after the Duke had received the fatal warning, he 'was shut up 'for the space of two or three hours, the noise of their dis- 'course frequently reaching the ears of those who attended

Countess
of Buck-
ingham,
buried
April 21,
1632.

¹ Clarendon, i. 74, 78.

² Epitaph.

³ Clarendon, i. 69.

⁴ Bacon's *Life*, xvi. 368.

‘in the next rooms: and when the Duke left her, his countenance appeared full of trouble, with a mixture of anger, never before observed in him, in any conversation with her;’ and she, ‘at the Duke’s leaving her, was found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony imaginable.’¹

Within six months she received the news of the Duke’s murder, and ‘seemed not in the least degree surprised;’ but heard it as if she had foreseen it, ‘nor did afterwards express such a degree of sorrow, as was expected from such a mother for the loss of such a son.’² But the thrill of that fall, at least in the royal circle, ‘the lively regret, such as never Prince had expressed for the loss of a servant,’ after his first cold reception of the news had passed away, are well represented in the elaborate tomb³ in the north side of the central aisle of Henry VII.’s Chapel—the first intrusion of any person not of royal lineage into that mausoleum of

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, died Aug. 23, buried Sept. 18, 1628.

His tomb.

¹ Clarendon, i. 78, 79.—In her grave were interred two granddaughters and two great-grandsons of the Feilding family. William Earl of Denbigh had married her daughter. (Burial Regis-

ter, 1638, 1640. 1641.) On opening the vault in 1719 (Burial Register, I. No. 174), there was found on the plate of her coffin the following inscription:—



I. H. S.

REPOSTOR QUISQUIS ES,
LAMINA [?] HUIC LOCUO INFIXA QUAM HOSPITEM
LIGNUM [?] HABEAT PAUCIS TE EDOCTUM VOLO.

[Then follows a description of her, resembling her epitaph.]

NATA ERAT . . . CALENDIS MAIIS, SED DIES ILLI MAGIS PROPRIE NATALIS ERAT IDEM QUI SANCTIS DEI, DIE SCILICET IN QUO HAS TERRENAS SUPERINDUVIAS FELICITER [?] POSUIT, ANNO ÆT. SUE LXXII.—XIX. APRIL.—FERIÂ QUINTÂ A.D. MDCXXXII.

HOC ANNO . . . [EDOCTUS?] AM INSTRUCTOR ET AVE MARIA DICTES UNUM.

It seems to imply the Roman Catholic belief either of the Countess or her survivors, and is curious in connexion with Laud.

² Clarendon, i. 79.

³ He had already designed the place for his family. His son Charles Marquis Buckingham, Earl of Coventry, was buried March 17, 1626, ‘in a little chapel on the north side of

‘King Henry VII.’s monument.’ In the same chapel Philip Feilding, the third son to William Earl of Denbigh, was buried June 19, 1627; in 1638, his niece, the Marchioness of Hamilton; and, in 1648, his youngest son Francis.

His monu-
ment.

Princes. No higher place could be given than that which was thus occupied ; and though the popular distrust was so strong, as to curtail the funeral itself within the smallest possible dimensions,¹ yet the public sensation is attested by the monument erected by his widow, and completed in 1633, with its fantastic ornaments (‘Fame even bursting herself, ‘and trumpets to tell the news of his so sudden fall’) and its pompous inscriptions, calling each State in Europe severally to attest the several virtues of this ‘Enigma of the World.’ It corresponds to the blasphemous comparison in which the grave Sir Edward Coke likened him to Our Saviour, and to Clarendon’s more measured verdict on that ‘ascent so quick, ‘that it seemed rather a flight than a growth ;’ ‘such a darling of fortune, that he was at the top before he was well ‘seen at the bottom ; his ambition rather found at last than ‘brought there, as if a garment necessary for that air ; no ‘more in his power to be without promotion, and titles, and ‘wealth, than for a healthy man to sit in the sun in the ‘brightest dogdays, and remain without any warmth.’²

There is a lesser interest attaching to the tomb, as indicating the most refined ecclesiastical tastes and sentiments of that age. He, the friend of Laud, the pillar of the High Church party, nevertheless from his tomb asserts and reasserts his claim to the name—in our own time by their followers so vehemently repudiated—of ‘Protestant ;’ and the allegorical figures—not without a certain reminiscence of the Medicean tombs at Florence—are the first wanton intruders into the imagery (now so dear to the school of Laud) which adorns that ancient Chapel.

Two other magnates of that age rest in the Abbey, who must have regarded the fall of Buckingham with feelings somewhat different from those of Charles and Laud. In the Chapel of

¹ Keepe, p. 101.

² Clarendon, i. 61, 62.

St. Benedict, second of the secular monuments which fill its narrow space, and similar to that of Buckingham's family, is the tomb of Lord Middlesex, erected to him by his wife, who rests by his side, in 'the calm haven which he has reached 'after the stormy voyage of his long life.'¹ Lionel Cranfeild, 'though extracted from a gentleman's family, had been bred 'in the City, and, being a man of great wit and understanding 'in all the mysteries of trade, had found means to work himself into the favour of the Duke of Buckingham ;'² and was accordingly, 'with wonderful expedition,' through various lesser offices, raised to the highest financial post of Lord High Treasurer. As by his businesslike habits he rose to power, so by them he was led to thwart his patron's extravagance ; and hence the celebrated impeachment, by which he fell, and which called forth the prophetic remonstrance of King James, in a scene which must have suggested many a page in the 'Fortunes of Nigel :'

Cranfeild,
Earl of
Middlesex,
1645.

'By God, Stenny' [the King said to the Duke in much choler], 'you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that, in 'this fit of popularity, you are making a rod, with which you will 'be scourged yourself!' And turning in some anger to the Prince, told him, 'That he would live to have his belly full of Parliament 'impeachments: and when I shall be dead, you will have too 'much cause to remember, how much you have contributed to the 'weakening of the crown.'³

On the other side of the Abbey, in St. Paul's Chapel, is Sir Francis (afterwards Lord) Cottington.⁴ Look at his face, as he lifts himself up on his elbow ; and read Clarendon's description of his interviews with Buckingham, with James I., with Laud, and with Charles II., and think of the quaint caustic humour which he must have diffused through those

Lord
Cottington,
1652.

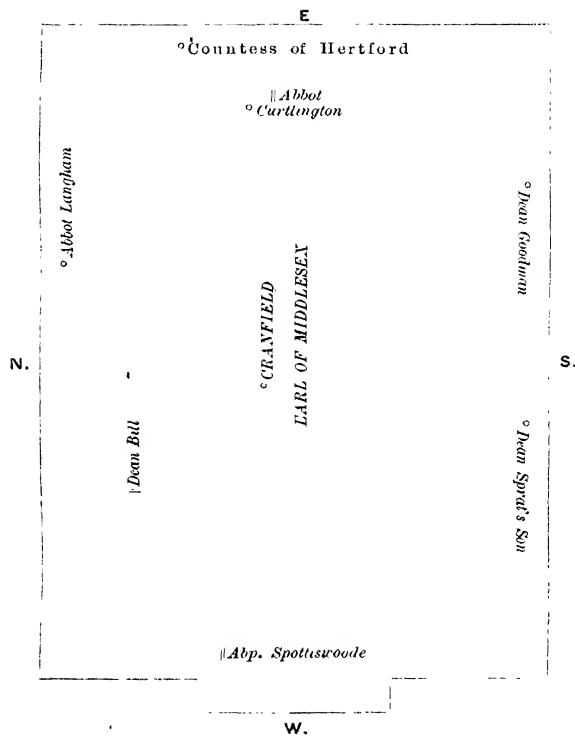
¹ Epitaph.

² Clarendon, i. 39.—He was owner of Knole, where his portrait still exists.

³ Ibid. i. 41.

⁴ The upper part of the tomb was

erected, during his lifetime, to the memory of his wife (1633), whose bust is the work of Hubert le Sueur. The lower part is by 'the one-eyed Italian 'Fanelli.'—Calendars of State Papers (Domestic), 1634, Preface, p. xlii.



CHAPEL OF ST. BENEDICT.

three strange English reigns, and of the Spanish Court, in which he spent his early youth and his extreme age:—

A very wise man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any transport of anger, or any other passion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way: for he was very steady in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a courage not to be frightened with any opposition. . . . He was of an excellent humour, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, covered the most of mirth, and caused more, than any man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used anybody ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender affections, nor bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserved compassion: he was heartily weary of the world, and no man was more willing to die; which is an argument that he had peace of conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his parts than love to his person.¹

When Charles I. wished to employ torture after the death of Buckingham, the answer that it was unlawful was conveyed to him by Sir Thomas Richardson, who was known as the ‘jeering Lord Chief Justice.’ When, on one occasion, he came out from being reprimanded by Laud, he declared that ‘the lawn-sleeves had almost choked him.’ When, on another occasion, he condemned Prynne, he said, ‘Let him ‘have the Book of Martyrs to amuse him.’² He is buried in the north aisle of the Choir, under his monument.

Sir Thos.
Richard-
son, 1635.

The dragon’s teeth which had been sown in the lives of the statesmen on whose graves we have just trodden, bore their natural harvest in the lives of those whose graves we

¹ Clarendon, vi. 465, 467.—His body was brought from Valladolid, and, though he died a Roman Catholic, was interred in the Abbey. The epitaph by his son is twice in-

accurate. It was not under Charles, but James, that his career began in Spain; and he died, not at the age of 74, but at 77.

² See Foss’s *Judges*, vi. 359–362.

Thomas
Cary,
1649.

THE
MAGNATES
OF THE
COMMON-
WEALTH.

Pym,
died Dec.
8, buried
Dec. 15,
1643.

His
funeral.

have to tread immediately afterwards. Close by the tomb of his ancestor, Lord Hunsdon, in the Chapel of St. John, is the tablet to Thomas Cary—the one memorial in the Abbey which speaks of the death of Charles I., whose attendant he was, and who died of a broken heart, in the year in which the execution of his master took place. Then comes the period, which, more than any other, indicates the strong hold which the Abbey had laid on the mind of the whole nation; when not even the excess of Puritan zeal, or the sternness of Republican principles, could extinguish in the statesmen of the Commonwealth the longing to be buried in the Royal Monastery.¹

Pym, the chief of the Parliamentary leaders, was the first. He died at Derby House, close by in Canon Row, an official residence of members of Parliament. Whilst at Oxford there was a ‘great feast, and great preparations made for bonfires ‘that night, for that they heard that Master Pym was dead,’ the House of Commons, by a respect hitherto without precedent, ordered that his body should be ‘interred in Westminster Abbey, without any charge for breaking open the ground ‘there, and a monument be prepared for him at the charge ‘of the Commonwealth.’ The funeral of ‘King Pym,’ as he was called, was celebrated, worthily of such a name, with ‘wonderful pomp and magnificence, in that place where ‘the bones of our English kings and princes are committed ‘to their rest.’² The body, followed by his two sons, was carried from Derby House on the shoulders of the ten chief gentlemen of the House of Commons, and was accompanied by both Houses of Parliament, and by the Assembly of Divines, then sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber.³ He was laid at the entrance of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist,

¹ Here, as elsewhere, the men of letters are reserved for the consideration of Poets’ Corner.

² Clarendon, iv. 436.

³ See Chapter VI.

under the gravestone of John Windsor. The funeral sermon was preached by Stephen Marshall, on the words (Micah vii. 1, 2), 'Woe is me! for the good man is perished out of the earth.' The grand stickler for Parliamentary usage was buried in a grand Parliamentary fashion:

None can completely Pym lament,
But something like a Parliament,
The public sorrow of a State
Is but a grief commensurate;
We must enacted passions have,
And laws for weeping at his grave.¹

Pym's grave became the point of attraction for the next few years. Close beside him was laid Sir William Strode, with him one of the 'Five members,' and 'from his fury' known as 'the Parliament driver.' Within the chapel lies Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary general. The critical moment of his death, and his position as a possible mediator between the contending parties, gave a peculiar importance to his funeral. It was made by the Independents 'a golden bridge for a departing enemy.' The dead heroes of the Abbey were called to greet his approach:

Sir
William
Strode.

Robert
Devereux
Earl of
Essex,
buried
Oct. 22,
1648.

How the ghosts throng to see their great new guest—
Talbot, Vere, Norris, Williams, and the rest!

The sermon was preached by the Presbyterian minister, Dr. Vines, who compared him to Abner. Its title was taken from 'the hearse,' which was unusually splendid, and was placed 'where the Communion Table stood.' But in the night, by some 'rude vindictive fellows'—suspected to be Cavaliers who got into the church—the head of the effigy was broken, the buff coat which he had worn at Edgehill was slit, the scarlet breeches were cut, the white boots slashed, and the sword taken away. The same rough hands, in passing, defaced the

¹ *Mercurius Britannicus*, quoted in Forster's *Statesmen*, ii. 299, from which the above details are taken.

monument of Camden. In consequence the hearse was removed, and, as the peculiar feeling of the moment passed,¹ there was no fulfilment of the intention of moving the body to a grander situation, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, where (said the preacher) there 'should be such a squadron-monument, as will 'have no brother in England, till the time do come (and I wish 'it may be long first) that the renowned and most excellent 'champion that now governs the sword of England, shall lay 'his bones by him.'²

This wish, thus early expressed for Cromwell, was, as we have seen, realised; and to that royal burialplace, as if in preparation, the Parliamentary funerals henceforth converged. In St. John's Chapel,³ indeed, with Strode and Essex, was laid the fierce Independent, Edward Popham, distinguished both by sea and land. But in Henry VII.'s Chapel, by Elizabeth's tomb, was magnificently buried the learned Isaac Dorislaus, advocate at the King's trial. Under the Commonwealth he was ambassador at the Hague, where he was assassinated 'one 'evening, by certain highflying Royalist cutthroats, Scotch 'most of them: a man of heavy, deep-wrinkled, elephantine 'countenance, pressed down with the labours of life and law. 'The good ugly man here found his quietus.'⁴

In the same vault which contained the Protector and his family, was deposited Ireton, his son-in-law, with an honour the more remarkable, from the circumstance that his death

Popham,
buried
Nov. 13,
1650.

Isaac
Dorislaus,
buried
June 14,
1649.

¹ His grave was in St. John's Chapel, by the right side of the Earl of Exeter's monument (Register), in a vault occupied by an Abbot, whose crozier was still perfect. (*Perfect Relation of Essex's Funeral*.) This, no doubt, is the stone coffin (still containing some remains), now rudely placed above the monument of Abbot Fascet, in the same chapel, and probably belonging to Abbot Milling, whose monument formerly stood in the middle of the chapel. (Camden.) This

disposes of the various conjectures in Neale, ii. 185. (See Chapter V. p. 327.)

² These particulars are taken from the *Funeral Sermon*, the *Elegy*, the *Programme of the Funeral*, the *Perfect Relation*, and the *Life of Essex*, all published at the time.—See also Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 125, who mistakes the position of the hearse.

³ Dart, ii. 145; Kennett, p. 537.

⁴ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, i. 311; Kennett's *Register*, p. 536.

took place at a distance. His body was brought from Limerick, where he had died of the plague in the camp, and lay in state at Somerset House,¹ with the hatchment bearing the motto, *Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori*, which the Cavaliers interpreted, 'It is good for his country that he should die.'² His obsequies were honoured by a sermon from the celebrated Puritan Dean of Christchurch, John Owen, on the 'Labouring Saint's Dismission to Rest.'³ He must have been no common man to have evoked so grave and pathetic an eulogy: 'The name of God was as land in every storm, in the discovery whereof he had as happy an eye, at the greatest seeming distance, when the clouds were blackest and the waves were highest, as any.'⁴

Ireton,
died
Nov. 26,
1651;
buried
Feb. 6,
1652.

Here too, 'in a vault built for the purpose,'⁵ was laid the first of our naval heroes, whose name has been thought worthy, in the most stirring of our maritime war-songs,⁶ to be placed by the side of Nelson.

Blake,
died
Aug. 17,
1657.

Blake [says a great but unwilling witness⁷] was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon

¹ Noble, i. 63.—A magniloquent epitaph, printed at the expense of Hugh Peters, was found amongst the papers of a descendant of Ireton's, in which his victories are described as so wonderful, 'ut dixisses Deum pro Iretono militasse, Iretonum pro Deo.' (Crull, Appendix, p. 28.)

² Dart, ii. 143.

³ Owen's *Works*, xv. 452.

⁴ *Ibid.* xv. 458.

⁵ Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, p. 128. [fell,

⁶ Where Blake and mighty Nelson
Your manly hearts shall glow.

⁷ Clarendon, vii. 213, 215–217.

water : and, though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.

It was after his last action with the Spaniards—‘ which, with
‘ all its circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be
‘ forgotten in Spain and the Canaries ’—that Blake on his
return ‘ sickened, and in the very entrance of the fleet into
‘ the Sound of Plymouth, expired.’

Blake's
funeral.

He wanted no pomp of funeral when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be brought up by land to London in all the state that could be; and to encourage his officers to venture their lives, that they might be pompously buried, he was, with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the Seventh's Chapel, among the monuments of the Kings.¹

This is the first distinct claim of a burial in Westminster Abbey as an incentive to heroic achievements, and it came well through the ruler from whose reign ‘ the maritime glory
‘ of the Empire may first be traced in a track of continuous
‘ light.’²

Deane,
June 21,
1655.
Constable,
Dec. 26,
1654.
Macheath,
Aug. 30,
1658.

In Henry VII.'s Chapel were also interred Colonel Deane, the companion of Popham and Blake; Sir William Constable, one of the regicides; and Colonel Macheath, one of Cromwell's Council: probably also Dennis Bond,³ of the Council, who died four days before Cromwell, in the beginning of that terrific storm which caused the report that the Devil was coming, and that Cromwell, not being prepared, had given *bond* for his appearance.⁴

¹ Clarendon, vii. 215. — His dear friend, General Lambert, rode in the procession from Westminster Bridge. (Campbell's *Admirals*, ii. 126.)

² Hallam's *Const. Hist.* ii. 356.

³ To these may be added from the Register, and from the warrant in Nichols's *Collect.* viii. 153—(under the Choristers' seats in the Choir) Colonel Boseawen and Colonel Carter (1645); close to Lord Norris's tomb, Colonel Meldrum (1644); on the

north side of the Confessor's Chapel, Humphrey Salwey (December 20, 1652); on its south side, Sir Thomas Haselrig (October 30, 1651); in the South Transept, Ann Fleetwood, probably the infant daughter of the General, and niece of Cromwell (September 1, 1658); the poet May, and the preachers Twiss, Strong, and Marshall (1645-54). See Chapter III.

⁴ Kennet's *Register*, p. 536.

Last of all came Bradshaw, who died in the short interval of Richard Cromwell's Protectorate, and was interred from the Deanery, which had been assigned to him as Lord-President of the High Court of Justice.¹ Some 'small chamber,'² in the south-west tower, was long shown as his habitation. 'This melancholy wretch, it is said, ended his days in the blackest desperation; but that a church-roof was the nest of such an unclean bird, I have not before heard. Certain it is that he ended his days near this church, but that he spent them in it we have no authority but tradition. Yet it is not improbable that, in some of his fits, he might retire to a place very well suited to such a temper.'³ The more authentic accounts of his death do not exhibit any such remorse. 'Had it to be done over again,' were amongst his last words, speaking of the King's execution, 'I would do it.' He was doubtless laid in the same vault as his wife,⁴ 'in a superb tomb amongst the kings.'⁵

All these were disinterred at the Restoration. The fate of Cromwell's remains, which was shared equally by Bradshaw's and Ireton's, we have already seen.⁶ For the rest the King sent a warrant to the Dean of Westminster, to take up the bodies of all such persons as had been unwarrantably buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel or the Abbey, since the year 1641, and to bury them in some place in the churchyard adjacent.⁷ The order was carried out two days afterwards. All who were thus designated—in number twenty-one—were exhumed, and reinterred in a pit dug at the back-door of one of the two prebendal houses⁸ in St. Margaret's Churchyard,

Bradshaw,
Nov. 1659.

Disinterment of the magnates of the Commonwealth, Sept. 12. 1661.

¹ Heath, p. 430. See Chapter VI.

² The chamber, with a fireplace of this age, still remains. It communicates with the Deanery through a private staircase.

³ Dart, i. 65.—A recess called 'Cromwell's Seat,' probably from some confusion with Bradshaw's, exists in

the vaults under the College Hall.

⁴ See Nichols's *Collect.* viii. 153.

⁵ Evelyn, January 30, 1660-1.

⁶ See Chapter III.

⁷ The warrant is given *verbatim* in Nichols's *Collect.* viii. 153.

⁸ Kennett's *Register*, p. 534:—The houses stood till February 17, 1738(39)

which then blocked up the north side of the Abbey, between the North Transept and the west end. Isaac Dorislaus—perhaps from a compunction at the manner of his death—was laid in a grave somewhat apart.

Five exceptions.

Popham's monument.

Five only of those who had been laid in the Abbey by the rulers of the Commonwealth escaped what Dr. Johnson calls this 'mean revenge.' Popham was indeed removed, but his body was conveyed to some family burialplace; and his monument, by the intercession of his wife's friends (who had interest at Court), was left in St. John's Chapel, on condition either of erasing the inscription, or turning it inwards.¹

Arch-
bishop
Ussher,
died March
21, buried
April 17,
1657.

Archbishop Ussher had been buried in state, at Cromwell's express desire, and at the cost of 200*l.*, paid by him.² When the corpse approached London, it was met by the carriages of all the persons of rank then in town. The clergy of London and its vicinity attended the hearse from Somerset House to the Abbey, where the concourse of people was so great that a guard of soldiers was rendered necessary. This funeral was the only occasion on which the Liturgical Service was heard within the Abbey during the Commonwealth. The sermon was preached by Dr. Nicolas Bernard (formerly his chaplain, and then preacher at Gray's Inn), on the appropriate text, 'And Samuel died, and all Israel were gathered together;'³ and the body was then deposited in St. Paul's Chapel, next to the monument of Sir James Fullerton,⁴ his early instructor, whose quaint epitaph still attracts attention. The toleration of Cromwell in this instance was the more remarkable, because, in consequence of the Royalist plots, he had just issued

(Chapter Book; see Chap. VI.), and are to be seen in an old plan of the Precincts, and in Sandford's plan of the Procession at the Coronation of James II. The backyard was in what is now the green between the churchyard and the Abbey.

¹ Crull, p. 140.—The inscription

was erased.

² Winstanley's *Worthies*, p. 476.—He erroneously states that Ussher was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel.

³ Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, p. 279.

⁴ Sir James Fullerton was buried near the steps ascending to King Henry VII.'s Chapel, Jan. 3, 1630. (Register.)

a severe ordinance against all Episcopal ministers. The statesmen of Charles II. allowed the Archbishop to rest by his friend, but erected no memorial to mark the spot.

Elizabeth Claypole escaped the general warrant, probably, from her husband's favour with the court;¹ the Earl of Essex, perhaps, from his rank; Grace Scot,² wife of the regicide Colonel Scot, perhaps from her obscurity.

Elizabeth
Claypole.
Earl of
Essex.
Grace
Scot,
1645.

With this violent extirpation of the illustrious dead the period of the Restoration forces its way into the Abbey. But its traces are not merely destructive.

The funerals of the great chiefs of the Restoration—George Monk, Duke of Albemarle; Charles Montague, Earl of Sandwich;³ James Butler, Duke of Ormond—followed the precedent set by the interment of the Duke of Buckingham in the reign of Charles I., and of the Parliamentary leaders under the Commonwealth. They were all buried amongst the Kings in the Chapel of Henry VII. At the head of Queen Elizabeth's tomb, in a small vault containing their two leaden coffins, Monk, the Wellington of that age, was laid in the same vault with Montague, who, but for Blake, might well have been called its Nelson, 'it being thought reasonable that those two great personages should not be separated after death.'⁴ Monk, who died at his lodgings in Whitehall, lay in state at Somerset House, and then, 'by the King's orders, with all respect imaginable, was brought in a long procession to the Abbey.' The last person named in the 'Gazette' as attending was 'Ensign Churchill,' who, after a

THE
CHIEFS OF
THE RES-
TORTATION.

Monk, Duke of Albemarle, died Jan. 3, buried April 29, 1670. Montague, Earl of Sandwich, Feb. 3, 1672.

¹ See Chapter III.

² Her touching monument is in the North Transept, 1645. Her husband was executed in 1660. She lies close by in the vault of her own family, the Mauleverers. (See Register 1652, 1672, 1687, 1688.)

³ The Earl of Sandwich, in Pepys's *Diary*, as his chief, is always 'My

lord.' For the programme of his funeral, see Pepys's *Correspondence*, v. 484.

⁴ Crull, p. 107.—In the interval between Monk's death and funeral his wife died, and was buried in the same vault, February 28, 1670. The vault was opened again for the murdered York Princes in 1678. (Dart, i. 167.)

THE
ORMOND
VAULT.

Earl of
Ossory.
Feb. 30,
1680.

Duchess of
Ormond,
July 24,
1684,
James
Butler,
Duke of
Ormond,
Aug. 4,
1688.

yet more glorious career, was to be laid there himself.¹ Dolben (as Dean) officiated. Bishop Ward preached.² Ormond, with his whole race, was deposited in the more august burialplace at the feet of Henry VII., which had but a few years before held Oliver Cromwell, which then received the offspring of Charles II.'s unlawful passions, and which henceforth became the general receptacle of most of the great nobles who died in London, and who lie there unmarked by any outward memorial. The first who was so interred was Ormond's own son, the Earl of Ossory,³ over whom he made the famous lament: 'Nothing else in the world 'could affect me so much; but since I could bear the death 'of my great and good master, King Charles I., I can bear 'anything; and though I am very sensible of the loss of 'such a son as Ossory was, yet I thank God my case is not 'quite so deplorable as he who condole with me, for I 'had much rather have my dead son than his living one.' There his wife was buried, on a yet sadder day; and there his own 'body, by long sickness utterly wasted and decayed,'⁴ was laid quite privately, just before the fall of the House of Stuart, which he had so long upheld in vain.

It is highly characteristic of Charles II., who took to himself the grant given him for his father's monument,⁵ that not one of these illustrious persons was honoured by any public memorial.⁶ Sandwich and Ormond still remain undistinguished. Monk, for fifty years, was only commemorated in the Abbey by his effigy in armour (the same that was carried on his hearse) in the south aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel—a standing testimony of the popular favour and of

¹ Campbell's *Admirals*, ii. 272.

² See the whole account in Sandford's *Funeral of Monk*. The Dean and Prebendaries wore copes. Offerings were made at the altar.

³ Keepe, p. 109. — His body was afterwards removed to the family vault in Kilkenny Castle. (*Carte's Life of*

Ormond, ii. 499.)

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 506, 550.

⁵ See Chapter III.

⁶ The banners, pennons, and guidons of Monk and Sandwich, and other insignia of honour, were hanging over their graves in 1711. (Crull, p. 110.) The names were inscribed in 1867.

the regal weight of the general and statesman on whom, during the calamities of the Great Civil War, of the Great Plague, and the Great Fire, the King and nation had leaned for counsel and support. His ducal cap, till almost within our own time, was the favourite receptacle of the fees for the showmen of the tombs, as well as the constant butt of cynical visitors.¹ At length, in pursuance of the will of his son Christopher, who lies by his side, the present monument was erected by the family, still without the slightest indication of the hero in whose honour it is raised. Charles II. used to say of him, that 'the Duke of Albemarle never overvalued the services of George Monk ;'² the King himself did not overvalue the services of the Duke of Albemarle.

Monument
of Monk,
1720.

Much the same fortune has attended the memorials of the inferior luminaries of the Restoration who rest in the Abbey. Clarendon, its great historian, was brought from his exile at Rouen, and laid in his family vault, but without a stone or name to mark the spot, at the foot of the steps to Henry VII.'s Chapel.³ In St. Edmund's Chapel lies Nicholas Monk, 'the 'honest clergyman' who undertook the journey to Scotland to broach the first design of the Restoration to his brother the General, for whom he had always had 'a brotherly affection,' but who was sent back with such 'infinite reproaches and many oaths, that the poor man was glad when he was 'gone, and never had the courage after to undertake the 'like employment.'⁴ His services, however, were not forgotten, and he was raised to the see of Hereford, and dying immediately afterwards was buried in the Abbey. But he also was left for sixty years to wait for a monument, which ultimately was erected by his last descendant, Christopher Robinson, in

Earl of
Clarendon,
Jan. 4,
1673(4).

Bishop
Nicholas
Monk,
Dec. 20,
1661.

¹ *Ingoldshy Legends*; Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*. See Note on the Waxworks.

² Campbell's *Admirals*, ii. 273.

³ The name was added in 1867. Here were laid his mother (1661), and

his third son (1674), and afterwards his eldest son, Lord Cornbury (1723), (who 'represented' Queen Anne, as Governor of New York, by appearing at a levée in woman's robes).

⁴ Clarendon, vii. 383, 384.

Bishop
Ferne,
March 25,
1662.

Bishop
Duppa,
April 21,
1662.

His monu-
ment.

REIGN OF
CHARLES
II.

Earl of
Marl-
borough,
June 14;
Lord Mus-
kerry,
June 19;
Lord
Falmouth,
June 22,
Brough-
ton,
June 26,
1665.
Berkeley,
Aug.
1666.

1723. Two other prelates, like him, died immediately after the Restoration. Close to Nicholas Monk, under a simple slab, lies Ferne Bishop of Chester, and Master of Trinity,¹ who had attended Charles I., during his imprisonments, almost to the last, and ‘whose only fault it was ‘that he could not be angry.’ Brian D’Uphaugh, or Duppa, Bishop of Winchester,²—who had also been with Charles I. at the same period, and had been tutor to Charles II. and James II.³—lies in the Ambulatory on the north side of the Confessor’s Chapel, with a small monument, which recalls some of the chief points of interest in his chequered life:—how he had learned Hebrew, when at Westminster, from Lancelot Andrews, then Dean; how affectionately he had clung to Richmond, the spot where his education of Charles II. had been carried on; how, after the Restoration,⁴ he had there built the hospital, which he had vowed during his pupil’s exile; how there he died, almost in the arms of that same pupil, who came to see him a few hours before his death, and received his final blessing—one hand on the King’s head, the other raised to heaven.⁵

In the wake of the mighty chiefs who lie in Henry VII.’s Chapel, are monuments to some of the lesser soldiers of that time. In the North Transept and its neighbourhood are five victims of the Dutch war of 1665—viz., William Earl of Marlborough, Viscount Muskerry, Fitzhardinge Lord Falmouth, Sir Edward Broughton, and Sir William Berkeley. Of these, all fell in battle except Broughton, who ‘received his death-wound at sea, and died here at ‘home.’ Berkeley, brother of Lord Falmouth, was ‘em-
‘balm’d by the Hollanders, who had taken the ship when he

¹ Register.

² Ibid.

³ By his will. (Kennett, p. 650.)

⁴ Pepys’s *Diary*, July 29, 1660.—

‘To Whitehall Chapel. Heard a cold

‘sermon of the Bishop of Salisbury
‘(Duppa), and the Communion did not
‘please me; they do so overdo that.’

⁵ The monument originally was
where that of Lord Ligonier now is.

‘ was slain,’ and ‘ there in Holland he lay dead in a sugar-chest for everybody to see, with his flag standing up by him.’ He was then ‘ sent over by them, at the request and charge of his relations.’¹ From the Dutch War of 1672 were brought, to the same North Aisle, Colonel Hamlington, Captain Le Neve,² and Sir Edward Spragge,³ the naval favourite of James II., and the rival of Van Tromp,⁴ whose untimely loss his enemy mourned with a chivalrous regret—‘ the love and delight of all men, as well for his noble courage as for the gentle sweetness of his temper.’ In the Nave, beside Le Neve’s tablet, is the joint monument to Sir Charles Harbord and Clement Cotterill, ‘ to preserve and unite the memory of two faithful friends, who lost their lives at sea together, in the terrible fight off the Suffolk coast,’⁵ in which their Admiral (Lord Sandwich) also perished. Not far off is the monument of Sir Palmes Fairborne,⁶ who fell as Governor of Tangiers, October 24, 1680—remarkable partly as a trace of that outpost of the British Empire, first cradle of our standing army—partly from the inscription written by Dryden, containing, amongst specimens of his worst taste, some worthy of his best moods, describing the mysterious harmony which often pervades a remarkable career:—

Hamlington, Jan. 7:
Le Neve, Aug. 29,
Spragge, Sept. 23,
1673.

Harbord and Cotterill,
1672.

Fairborne,
1680.

His youth and age, his life and death combine
As in some great and regular design,
All of a piece throughout, and all divine:
Still nearer heav’n his virtues shone more bright,
Like rising flames, expanding in their height.

Others are curious, as showing the sense of instability which, in that inglorious reign, beset the mind of the nation, even in the heart of the metropolis:—

¹ Register; Pepys’s *Diary*, June 16, 1666.

² Buried under the organ-loft. (Register.)

³ Campbell’s *Admirals*, ii. 338.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 349, 350.

⁵ Epitaph.

⁶ His wife was buried here, 1694; an infant son had also been buried in the Cloisters, 1679. (Register.)

Ye sacred reliques ! which your marble keep,
 Here, undisturb'd by wars, in quiet sleep ;
 Discharge the trust which (when it was below)
 Fairborne's undaunted soul did undergo,
And be the town's Balladium from the foe.
Alive and dead these walls he will defend :
 Great actions great examples must attend.

Thomas
 Thynne,
 1681.

Three memorials remain of the calamitous vices of the period. Thomas Thynne, 'Tom of Ten thousand,'¹ lies not far from his ancestor William, of happier fame. His monument, like the nearly contemporary one of Archbishop Sharpe at St. Andrews, represents his murder, in his coach in the Haymarket, by the three ruffians of Count Konigsmark.² The coachman is that Welshman of whom his son, the Welsh farmer, boasted that his father's monument was thus to be seen in Westminster Abbey. The absence of the long inscription which was intended to have recorded the event³ is part of the same political feeling which protected the murderer from his just due. It was erected (such was the London gossip) by his wife, 'in order to get her a second husband, 'the comforts of a second marriage being the surest to a 'widow for the loss of a first husband.'

Sir E. B.
 Godfrey,
 1678,
 1695.

In the Cloisters is the tablet to Sir Edmond⁴ Berry Godfrey, the supposed victim of the Popish Plot, restored by his brother Benjamin in 1695, with an epitaph remarkable for the singular moderation with which he refers to History for the solution of the mystery of Sir Edmond's death.

T. Chif-
 finch,
 April 10,
 1666.

In the centre of the South Transept lies 'Tom Chiffinch,'⁵ 'the King's closet-keeper. He was as well last night as ever, 'playing at tables in the house, and not being ill this morning 'at six o'clock, yet dead before seven. . . . It works fearfully

¹ Tom Brown, iii. 127.

² See an account by Horneck and Burnet of the last confession of two of the assassins (1682).

³ It is given in Crull (Appendix, p. 26).

⁴ So it is spelt on his monument. He is buried at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. (*Londiniana*, iii. 199.)

⁵ He was the brother of the more notorious William Chiffinch.

‘among people nowadays, the plague, as we hear, increasing everywhere again.’¹

We pass to a monument of this epoch, erected not by public gratitude, but by private affection, which commemorates a husband and wife, both remarkable in the whole of the period which they cover. In the solitude of the North Transept, hitherto almost entirely free from monuments, the romantic William Cavendish, ‘the loyal ‘Duke of Newcastle,’ built his own tomb.

William
Cavendish,
Duke of
Newcastle,
Jan. 22,
1676.

He was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage; and most accomplished in those arts of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the Church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the Crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both; without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace.²

With him is buried his second wife, herself as remarkable as her husband—the most prolific of female writers, as is indicated by her book and inkstand on the tomb. She was surrounded night and day with young ladies, who were to wake up at a moment’s notice ‘to take down her Grace’s conceptions;’ authoress of thirteen folios, written each without correction, lest her coming fancies should be disturbed by them; of whom her husband said, in answer to a compliment on her wisdom, ‘Sir, a very wise woman is a very foolish thing;’ but of whom, in her epitaph, with more unmixed admiration, he wrote that ‘she was a very wise, witty, and learned lady, ‘as her many books do testify;’ and, in words with which Addison was ‘very much pleased’—‘Her name was Margaret ‘Lucas, youngest daughter to Lord Lucas, Earl of Colchester—a noble family, for all the brothers were valiant, and

Margaret
Lucas,
Duchess of
Newcastle,
Jan. 7,
1673.

¹ Pepys’s *Diary*, April 4, 1666.

² Clarendon, iv. 517.

‘all the sisters virtuous.’¹ ‘Of all the riders on Pegasus, there have not been a more fantastic couple than his Grace and his faithful Duchess, who was never off her pillion.’² ‘There is as much expectation of her coming,’ says Pepys, ‘as if it were the Queen of Sweden.’ He describes her appearance at the Royal Society: ‘She hath been a good and seemly woman, but her dress so antick, and her deportment so ordinary, that I do not like her at all; nor did I hear her say anything that was worth hearing, but that she was full of admiration, all admiration!’³ In reply to her question to Bishop Wilkins, author of the work on the possibility of a passage to the Moon—‘Doctor, where am I to find a place for waiting in the way up to that planet?’—Wilkins answered, ‘Madam, of all other people in the world, I never expected that question from you, who have built so many castles in the air, that you may be every night at one of your own!’

By a slight anticipation of the chronological order, we may here notice the monument which stands next to this in the Transept, and which with it long guarded the open space. It was attracted to its position by a triple affinity to this particular spot. John Holles was descendant both of George Holles and Sir Francis Vere, who lie immediately behind; and by his wife, the granddaughter of William Cavendish, who lies immediately by his side, inherited the dukedom of Newcastle.⁴ By all these united titles he became ‘the richest subject that had been in the kingdom for some ages;’⁵ and his monument is proportionably magnificent, according to the style which then prevailed. On it the sculptor Gibbs staked his immortality; and by the

John
Holles,
Duke of
Newcastle,
Aug. 9.
1711.

His monu-
ment.
1723.

¹ *Spectator*, No. 99.

² Walpole (*Londiniana*, i. 127).

³ Pepys's *Diary*, April and May,
1667.

⁴ See p. 208.

⁵ Burnet's *Own Time*, vi. 62 (or
ii. 580); and see his epitaph.

figures of 'Prudence' and 'Sincerity,'¹ which stand on either side, set the example of the allegorical figures which, from that time, begin to fill up the space equally precious to the living and the dead.²

The statesmen and warriors of the Revolution have but slight record in the history of the Abbey. Bentinck, the first Duke of Portland, favourite and friend of William III., lies in the Ormond vault, just 'under the great east window.'³ The brother, son, and daughter of Marshal Schomberg are there also. In the vault of the Duke of Richmond,⁴ with whose family he was connected by marriage,⁵ is Sir Joseph Williamson, the English plenipotentiary at Ryswick. In the north aisle of the Nave lies, by the side of his daughter Diana and wife Dorothy (former love of Henry Cromwell), Sir William Temple,⁶ beneath a monument which combines their names with that of his favourite sister Lady Gifford, who long survived him.

One monument alone represents the political aspect of this era—that of George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, who, with his wife and daughter, lies in the vault of Monk close by. But its position marks his importance. It is the first visible memorial of any subject that has gained a place in the aisle which holds the tomb of Queen Elizabeth. Its classical style, with its medallion portrait, marks the entrance into the eighteenth century, which with its Augustan age of literature, and its not unworthy line of ministers and warriors,

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

Bentinck, Duke of Portland, 1709.

The Duke of Schomberg, Aug. 4, 1719, aged 29.

Sir Joseph Williamson, Oct. 3, 1701.

Diana Temple, March 27, 1673.

Lady Temple, 1694.

Sir W. Temple, Feb. 1, 1698.

George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, April 11, 1695.

¹ 'Sincerity' lost her left hand in the scaffolding of George IV.'s coronation.

² The Chapel behind was, from his vault, formerly called the 'Holles Chapel;' and in it a new vault was, in 1766, made for Lord and Lady Mountrath, who before that had been buried in the Argyll vault. (Register.)

³ Register.

⁴ Register. — This seems hardly compatible with the statement in Crull (p. 120), that he was buried in the same small vault that contained Elizabeth Claypole, which is on the other side of the Chapel.

⁵ Nichols's *Collect.* viii. 12.

⁶ Register. See Macaulay's *Essay on Sir W. Temple.*

compensates by magnificence of historic fame for its increasing degradation of art and taste.

REIGN OF
QUEEN
ANNE.
Charles
Montague,
Earl of
Halifax,
May 26,
1715.

Close beside George Saville is the monument of the second Halifax, who lies with him¹ in General Monk's vault—Charles Montague, his successor in the foremost ranks of the state, his more than successor as a patron of letters:—

When sixteen barren centuries had past,
This second great Mæcenas came at last.²

He had an additional connexion with Westminster from his education in the School, and in his will he 'desired to be 'buried privately in Westminster Abbey, and to have a hand-'some plain monument.'³ The yet more famous ashes of his friend Addison were attracted, as we shall see, to that spot, by the contiguity of him who 'from a poet had become the chief 'patron of poets.' On Addison's coffin rests the coffin of James Craggs, Secretary of State, and, in spite of their divergent politics, the friend both of Addison and Pope. The narrow aisle, where he was buried, could not afford space for more monuments; and in the erection of his memorial, at the western extremity of the church, we have at once the earliest example of a complete dissociation of the grave and tomb, and also the first monument of imposing appearance erected in the hitherto almost vacant Nave.⁴ His premature end at the age of 35, by the smallpox, then making its first great ravages in England, no doubt added to the sympathy excited by his death.⁵ The statue was much thought of at the time. 'It will make the finest figure, I think, in the 'place; and it is the least part of the honour due to the 'memory of a man who made the best of his station.'⁶ So

James
Craggs,
died Feb.
16, buried
March 2,
1720(1).

His monu-
ment.

¹ He lies on Lady Stanhope's coffin (Register), i.e. the daughter of George Saville.

² Dr. Sewall to Addison. (*British Poets*.)

³ *Biog. Brit.* v. 306.

⁴ It stood originally at the east end of the Baptistry.

⁵ Johnson's *Poets*, ii. 63.

⁶ See Pope's Works, iii. 368; vi. 374.

Pope wrote, and the interest which he expressed in the work during its execution never flagged: 'the marble on which the Italian is now at work;' 'the cautions about the forehead, the hair, and the feet;' the visits to the Abbey, where he 'saw the statue up,' though 'the statue was down' with illness; the inscription on the urn, which he saw 'scored over in the Abbey.' The epitaph remains. 'The Latin inscription,' he says, 'I have made as full and yet as short as I possibly could. It vexes me to reflect how little I must say, and how far short all I can say is of what I believe and feel on that subject: like true lovers' expressions, that vex the heart from whence they come, to find how cold and faint they must seem to others, in comparison of what inspires them invariably in themselves. The heart glows while the tongue falters.'¹ It exhibits the conflict in public opinion between Latin and English in the writing of epitaphs. It also furnishes the first materials for Dr. Johnson's criticism:—

His
epitaph.

Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honour clear!
Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,
Who gain'd no title, and who lost no friend;
Ennobled by himself, by all approv'd,
Prais'd, wept, and honour'd by the Muse he lov'd.

JACOBUS CRAGGS, REGI MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ A SECRETIS ET CONSILIIS
SANCTIORIBUS, PRINCIPIS PARITER AC POPULI AMOR ET DELICIÆ: VIXIT
TITULIS ET INVIDIA MAJOR, ANNOS HEV PAVCOS, XXXV.

The lines on Craggs [so writes Dr. Johnson] were not originally intended for an epitaph; and therefore some faults are to be imputed to the violence with which they are torn from the poem that first contained them. We may, however, observe some defects. There is a redundancy of words in the first couplet: it is superfluous to tell of him, who was *sincere, true, and faithful*, that he was in

Criticism
of Dr.
Johnson.

¹ Pope, ix. 427, 428, 442.—For the character of Craggs, see his *Epistle* (ibid. iii. 295, 296; and for the original inscription, ibid. iv. 290).

honour clear. There seems to be an opposition intended in the fourth line, which is not very obvious: where is the relation between the two positions, that he *gained no title and lost no friend*? It may be proper here to remark the absurdity of joining, in the same inscription, Latin and English, or verse and prose. If either language be preferable to the other, let that only be used; for no reason can be given why part of the information should be given in one tongue, and part in another, on a tomb more than in any other place, or any other occasion; and to tell all that can be conveniently told in verse, and then to call in the help of prose, has always the appearance of a very artless expedient, or of an attempt unaccomplished. Such an epitaph resembles the conversation of a foreigner, who tells part of his meaning by words, and conveys part by signs.¹

The situation of the monument has been slightly changed, but the care which was expended upon it was not in vain, if the youthful minister and faithful lover of the Muses becomes the centre of the memorials of greater statesmen than himself, and of poets not unworthy of Pope—Pitt and Fox, Wordsworth and Keble.

Lord Godolphin,
Sept. 15,
1712.

In the Nave is a slight record of an earlier statesman of this age—Sidney, Earl Godolphin, ‘chief minister of Queen ‘Anne during the nine first glorious years of her reign,’ buried in the south aisle—‘a man of the clearest head, the ‘calmest temper, and the most incorrupt of all the ministers ‘of states’ that Burnet had ever known²—‘the silentest ‘and modestest man that was, perhaps, ever bred in a court;’³ and who maintained to his life’s end the short character which Charles II. gave him when he was page,—‘He was never ‘in the way, and never out of the way.’⁴ The bust was erected to him by Henrietta (his daughter-in-law), daughter and heiress of the great Duke of Marlborough, who was buried beside him and his brother. Her mother Sarah was standing by Lord Godolphin’s deathbed, with Sir Robert

Henrietta,
Duchess of
Marl-
borough,
1733.

¹ Johnson’s *Poets*, iii. 205, 206.

² *Own Times*, vi. 135 (or ii. 614).

³ *Ibid.* ii. 240 (or i. 479).

⁴ See Pope, v. 256.

Walpole, then in his early youth. The dying Earl took Walpole by the hand, and, turning to the Duchess, said: 'Madam, should you ever desert this young man, and there should be a possibility of returning from the grave, I shall certainly appear to you.'¹

WAR OF
THE SUC-
CESSION.

Before passing to Walpole and the ministers of the Hanoverian dynasty, we must pause on the War of the Succession in Germany and Spain, as before we had been involved in the Flemish wars of Elizabeth and the Dutch wars of Charles II.; and again the funerals of Blake and Monk are renewed, and the funerals of Nelson and Wellington, in our own day, anticipated. When the *Spectator*, 'in his serious humour, walked by himself in Westminster Abbey,' he observed that 'the present war had filled the church with many uninhabited monuments,² which had been erected to the memory of persons whose bodies were perhaps buried on the plains of Blenheim, or in the bosom of the ocean.'³ These monuments were chiefly in the northern aisle of the Nave—to General Killigrew, killed in the Battle of Almanza; to Colonel Bingfield,⁴ aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough, killed at the Battle of Ramillies, whilst 'remounting the Duke on a fresh horse, his former "fayling" under him, and inttered at Bavechem, in Brabant, a principal part of the English generals attending his obsequies;' to Lieutenant Heneage Twysden, killed at the Battle of Blaregnies, and

Killigrew,
April 14,
1707.
Bingfield,
May 23,
1706.

Heneage
Twysden.
Sept. 1709.

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, vol. i. p. cxxiii.

² One such monument was placed there long after Addison's time. Old Lord Ligonier, after having fought all through the wars of Anne, died at the age of 92 (1770), in the middle of the reign of George III.

³ *Spectator*, No. 26 (1711).

⁴ 'Poor Bingfield, holding my stirrup for me, and lifting me on horseback, was killed. I am told that he leaves his wife and mother in a poor

'condition.' (Letter to the Duchess of Marlborough on the next day, March 24, 11 A.M.) There is a similar expression in the formal despatch: 'You may depend that Her Majesty will not fail to take care of poor Bingfield's widow.' (Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, ii. 354, 357.) He is called on the monument Bringfield. His head was struck off by a cannon-ball.

⁵ The horse did not 'fayl,' but the Duke was thrown in leaping a ditch.

his two brothers, John and Josiah, of whom the first was lieutenant under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and perished with him, and the second was killed at the siege of Agremont in Flanders.

John
Twysden,
Oct. 23,
1717.
Josiah
Twysden,
1708.
Creed,
1704.

In the southern aisle was the cenotaph to Major Creed, who fell in his third charge at Blenheim, and was buried on the spot. 'It was erected by his mother,' 'near another' 'which her son, while living, used to look up to with pleasure, for the worthy mention it makes of that great man' 'the Earl of Sandwich, to whom he had the honour to be' 'related, and whose heroic virtues he was ambitious to' 'emulate.'¹

To the trophies on 'one of these new monuments,' perhaps this very one, as Sir Roger de Coverley went up the body of the church, he pointed, and cried out, 'A' 'brave man I warrant him!' As the two friends advanced through the church, they passed, on the south side of the Choir, a more imposing structure, on which Sir Roger flung his hand that way, and cried, 'Sir Cloudesley Shovel,' 'a very gallant man!' The 'Spectator' had passed there before, and 'it had often given him very great offence. 'Instead of the brave rough English admiral, which was' 'the distinguishing character of that plain gallant man, he' 'is represented by the figure of a beau, dressed in a long' 'periwig, and reposing himself on velvet cushions, under a' 'canopy of state. The inscription is answerable to the monument, for, instead of celebrating the many remarkable' 'actions he had performed in the service of his country, it acquaints us only with the manner of his death, in which it was' 'impossible for him to reap any honour.'² The Admiral was returning with his fleet from Gibraltar. It was believed that the crew had got drunk for joy that they were within sight of

Sir
Cloudesley
Shovel,
died
Oct. 22,
buried
Dec. 22,
1707.

¹ *Epitaph*.—It originally stood where André's monument now is, and therefore nearer to Harbord's monu-

ment, to which it alludes.

² *Spectator*, No. 139.

England. The ship was wrecked, and Sir Cloudesley's body was thrown ashore on one of the islands of Scilly, where some fishermen took him up, and, having stolen a valuable emerald ring from his finger, stripped and buried him. This ring being shown about made a great noise all over the island. The body was accordingly discovered by Lieutenant Paxton, purser of the 'Arundell,' who took it up, and transported it in his own ship to Portsmouth, whence it was conveyed by land to London, and buried, from his house in Soho Square, in the Abbey with great solemnity.¹

The Duke
of Marl-
borough,
died
June 16,
1722.

At the time when the 'Spectator' surveyed the Abbey, the great commander of the age was still living. A few years later, and Addison himself was laid within the same walls. But Pope soon writes to the same illustrious Dean and Prelate who had buried Addison: 'At the time of the 'Duke of Marlborough's funeral I intend to lie at the 'Deanery, and moralise one evening with you on the vanity 'of human glory;'² and Atterbury writes in return:—

I go to-morrow to the Deanery, and, I believe, shall stay there till I have said 'Dust to dust,' and shut up that last scene of pompous vanity. It is a great while for me to stay there at this time of the year, and I know I shall often say to myself, whilst expecting the funeral:

O rus, quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?

In that case I shall fancy I hear the ghost of the dead thus entreating me:

At tu sacratæ ne parce malignus arenæ
Ossibus et capiti inhumato
Particulam dare . . .
Quamquam festinas, non est mora longa: licebit
Injecto ter pulvere curras.

¹ Campbell's *Admirals*, iii. 28-30.—
There is no monument to Admiral
Delaval, long the companion of Sir
Cloudesley Shovel, who died in the
North, and was buried in the Abbey

on January 27, 1707 (*ibid.* iii. 8;
Charnock's *Naval Biography*, ii. 1),
probably in the Delaval vault.

² *Letters*, iv. 6.

Delaval,
Jan. 27,
1707.

There is an answer for me somewhere in *Hamlet* to this request, which you remember though I do not: '*Poor ghost, thou shalt be satisfied!*' or something like it. However that be, take care that you do not fail in your appointment, that the company of the living may make me some amends for my attendance on the dead.

Sed me

Imperiosa trahit Proserpina, vive valeque.

The Tory prelate and the Tory poet waited, no doubt, long and impatiently for the slow cavalcade of the funeral of the Great Duke, whose Whiggery they could not pardon even at that moment—

Funeral of
the Duke
of Marl-
borough,
Aug. 9,
1722.

By unlamenting veterans borne on high
Dry obsequies, and pomps without a sigh.

His remains had been removed from Windsor Lodge, where he died, to Marlborough House. From thence the procession was opened by bands of military, accompanied by a detachment of artillery, in the rear of which followed Lord Cadogan, Commander-in-Chief, and several general officers, who had been devoted to the person of the Duke, and had suffered in his cause. Amidst long files of heralds, officers at arms, mourners, and assistants, the eye was caught by the banners and guidons emblazoned with his armorial achievements, among which was displayed, on a lance, the standard of Woodstock, exhibiting the arms of France on the Cross of St. George.

In the centre of the cavalcade was an open car, bearing the coffin, which contained his mortal remains, surmounted with a suit of complete armour, and lying under a gorgeous canopy, adorned with plumes, military trophies, and heraldic achievements. To the sides shields were affixed, exhibiting emblematic representations of the battles he had gained, and the towns he had conquered, with the motto, '*Bello, hæc et plura.*' On either side were five captains in military mourning, bearing aloft a series of bannerols, charged with the different quarterings of the Churchill and Jennings families.

The Duke of Montagu, who acted as chief mourner, was supported by the Earls of Sunderland and Godolphin, and assisted by eight dukes and two earls. Four earls were also selected to bear the pall. The procession was closed by a numerous train of carriages, belonging to the nobility and gentry, headed by those of the King and the Prince of Wales.

The cavalcade moved along St. James's Park to Hyde Park Corner,

and from thence, through Piccadilly and Pall Mall, by Charing Cross to Westminster Abbey. At the west door it was received by the dignitaries and members of the Church, in their splendid habiliments;¹ and the venerable pile blazed with tapers and torches innumerable. . . . The procession then moved through the Nave and Choir to the Chapel of Henry VII.²

—to the vault³ which contained the ashes of Ormond, and which had once contained the ashes of Cromwell. The expenses were defrayed by Sarah herself.

This solemn ceremonial was, however, performed merely to render national honours to the remains of the great commander; for his body was not long suffered to repose in this ancient receptacle of royalty, but removed to the chapel at Blenheim, where it was finally deposited, in a magnificent mausoleum, executed by Rysbrach, under the superintendence of the Duchess.

Admiral
Churchill,
buried
May 12,
1710.

The Duke's brother, Admiral Churchill, who preceded him by a few years, rests in the south aisle of the Choir.

Sheffield,
Duke of
Buckingham-
hamshire,
died Feb.
24, buried
March 25,
1721.

Whilst Atterbury and Pope were complaining of the hard fate of having to assist at the funeral of the Duke of Marlborough, they were also corresponding about another tomb, preparing in Henry VII.'s Chapel, over the grave of one whose claims to so exalted a place were made up of heterogeneous materials, each questionable of itself, yet, together with the story of its erection, giving a composite value to the monument of a kind equalled by few in the Abbey. John Sheffield, first Duke of Normanby, and then Duke of Buckinghamhamshire or of Buckingham,⁴ was by some of his humble contemporaries regarded as a poet, has won a place in Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets,' and has left one celebrated line.⁵

¹ See note in Atterbury's *Letters*, iv. 6, 7.—The Dean and Canons appeared in copes. The Dean set up an altar at the head of Henry VII.'s tomb (ibid. iv. 11), as in Monk's funeral (see p. 228).

² Cox's *Marlborough*, vi. 385.

³ Register.

⁴ Johnson's *Lives*, ii. 153.—The ambiguity of the title was to guard against confusion with Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

⁵ A faultless monster which the world ne'er saw.

(Johnson, ii. 155.)

He has achieved for his name¹ a more legitimate place in Poets' Corner than his verses could have given him, by uniting it with the name of Dryden,² on the monument which he there erected to his favourite author.

It was, however, his political and military career, and still more his rank, which won for him a grave in Ormond's vault,³ and a monument in the adjoining recess. He must have been no despicable character, who at twelve years undertook to educate himself; who maintained the presence of mind ascribed to him in the extraordinary peril at sea to which he was exposed by the perfidy of Charles II.; who, by his dexterous answers, evaded the proselytism of James II. and the suspicions of William III. But probably his family connexions carried the day over all his other qualifications. He who had in his youth been the accepted lover of his future sovereign, Anne, the legitimate daughter, and who afterwards married the natural daughter of James II., almost fulfilled the claims of royal lineage. His elevation to the historic name of Buckingham—which, perhaps, procured for his monument the Chapel next to that filled, in the reign of Charles I., by his powerful namesake—left his mark on the stately mansion which, even when transformed into a royal palace, is still '*Buckingham House*,' created by his skill out of the old mulberry garden in St. James's Park, with the inscription *Rus in urbe*, 'as you see from the garden nothing 'but country.'⁴ As he lay there in state, the crowd was so great, that the father of the antiquary Carter, who was present, was nearly drowned in the basin in the courtyard.⁵ The Duchess, '*Princess Buckingham*,' as Walpole calls her, was so proud of her 'illegitimate parentage as to go and

Sheffield's
grave and
monument.

¹ 'Muse, 'tis enough—at length thy labour ends,

And thou shalt live—for *Buckingham* commends,

Sheffield approves, consenting Phœbus bends.' (Pope, iii. 331.)

² See p. 275.

³ Register.

⁴ Defoe's *Journey through England*, i. 194.

⁵ *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxxiv. pt. ii. p. 548.

‘weep over the grave of her father, James II., at St. Ger-
 ‘mains, and have a great mind to be buried by him.’¹ ‘On
 ‘the martyrdom of her grandfather, Charles I., she received
 ‘Lord Hervey in the great drawing-room of Buckingham
 ‘House, seated in a chair of state, attended by her women in
 ‘like weeds, in memory of the Royal Martyr.’² Yet she did
 full honour to her adopted race; and to express her gratitude
 for the contrast between the happiness of her second marriage
 and the misery of her first, her husband’s funeral was to be
 as magnificent as that of the great Duke of Marlborough;
 and his monument to be as splendid as the Italian taste of
 that pedantic age could make it. Pope was in eager com-
 munication with her and the artist Belluchi, to see that the
 likenesses were faithful.³ Three children, two sons and a
 daughter, were transferred at the same time to their father’s
 vault, from the neighbouring Church of St. Margaret.⁴ One
 son alone⁵ remained, the last of the house, from whom his
 mother was inseparable; and when he died in early youth
 at Rome, a few years later, she revived the pageant once
 more. Priding herself on being ‘a Tory Duchess of Marl-
 borough,’ she wrote to Sarah, to borrow the triumphal car
 that had transported the remains of the famous Duke. ‘It
 ‘carried my Lord Marlborough,’ replied the other, ‘and shall
 ‘never be profaned by any other corpse.’ ‘I have consulted
 ‘the undertaker,’ said her proud rival, ‘and he tells me
 ‘that I may have a finer for twenty pounds.’⁶ The waxen
 effigies of herself and of her son, which were prepared for
 this solemnity, are still preserved in the Abbey.⁷ That of
 her son, as it lay in state, she invited his friends to visit,

Sheffield’s
 funeral,
 March 27,
 1720.

His family.

Edward
 Sheffield,
 Duke of
 Bucking-
 hamshire,
 died at
 Rome,
 Oct. 30,
 1735;
 buried
 Jan. 31,
 1736.

¹ Walpole, i. 234.—One of the monks tried to make her observe how ragged the pall was, but she would not buy a new one.

² Walpole’s *Reminiscences*.

³ Pope, viii. 336; ix. 228.

⁴ Register.

⁵ On the monument Time is represented bearing away the four children.

⁶ Walpole’s *Reminiscences*.

⁷ See Note on the Waxworks.

with a message that, if they had a mind to see him, she could carry them in conveniently by a back-door.¹

The Duchess settled her own funeral with the Garter King-at-Arms, on her deathbed, and 'feared dying before 'the pomp should come home.' 'Why don't they send the 'canopy for me to see? Let them send it, though all the 'tassels are not finished.' She made her ladies vow to her that, if she should lie senseless, they would not sit down in the room before she was dead.

Catherine,
Duchess of
Buckinghamshire,
April 8,
1743.

Both mother and son were laid in the same tomb with the Duke. Atterbury's letters are filled with affection for them,² and Pope wrote a touching epitaph for her³ (which was, however, never inscribed), and corrected an elaborate description in prose of her character and person, written by herself.⁴ She quarrelled with the poet, but accepted the corrections, and showed the character as his composition in her praise.

Sheffield's epitaph on himself is an instructive memorial at once of his own history and of the strange turns of human thought and character.⁵ '*Pro Rege sæpe, pro Republicâ 'semper,*' well sums up his political career under the three last Stuarts. Then comes the expression of his belief:

Sheffield's
epitaph.

*Dubius sed non improbus vixi ;
Incertus morior, non perturbatus.
Humanum est nescire et errare.
Deo confido
Omnipotentî benevolentissimo :
Ens entium, miserere mei.*

Many a reader has paused before this inscription. Many a one has been touched by the sincerity through which a profound

¹ Walpole's *Reminiscences*, i. 234.

⁴ Pope, vii. 323, 325.

² For the Duchess, see Atterbury's *Letters*, iv. 135, 153, 161, 163, 253, 268, 310, 317; and for the young Duke, *ibid.* iv. 149, 155.

⁵ The sensation produced by the epitaph at the time is evident from the long defence of it 'by Dr. Richard 'Fiddes, in answer to a Freethinker' (1721).

³ Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 216.

and mournful scepticism is combined with a no less profound and philosophic faith in the power and goodness of God. In spite of the false boast of a purer life than Sheffield, unhappily, could assert, there is in the final expression a pathos, amounting almost to true penitence. ‘If any heathen could ‘be found,’ says even the austere John Newton, ‘who sees the ‘vanity of the world, and says from his heart, *Ens entium, ‘miserere mei*, I believe he would be heard.’ He adds, ‘But I never found such, though I have known many heathens.’¹ Perhaps he had never seen this monument, but quoted the words from hearsay. The expression is supposed to have been suggested by the traditional last prayer of Aristotle, who earnestly implored ‘the mercy of the Great ‘First Cause.’² But many readers also have been pained by the omission of any directly Christian sentiment, and have wondered how an inscription breathing a spirit so exclusively drawn from natural religion found its way, unrebuked and uncorrected, into a Christian church. Their wonder will be increased when they hear that it once contained that very expression of awestruck affection for the Redeemer, which would fill up the void; that it originally stood ‘*Christum ‘adveneror, Deo confido.*’³ The wonder will be heightened yet more when they learn that this expression was erased, not by any too liberal or philosophic layman, but by the episcopal champion of the High Church party—Atterbury, to whom, as Dean of Westminster, the inscription was submitted. And this marvel takes the form of a significant lesson in ecclesiastical history, when we are told the grounds of the objection—that the word *adveneror* ‘was not full enough as

¹ Scott’s *Eclectic Notes*, p. 265.

² Fiddes (p. 40), who quotes from *Cælius Rhodigenius* (tom. ii. lib. 17, c. 34), and adds the prayer of the friends who are supposed to be standing by the philosopher’s deathbed—‘*Qui philosophorum animas excipit*

‘*et tuam colliget.*’ (Ibid. tom. ii. lib. 18, c. 31.)

³ The original inscription is given at length in Crull, ii. 49 (1722); and also in Fiddes’s *Letter* (1721), who argues at length on the force of the expression (p. 38).

‘applied to Christ.’¹ How like is this criticism to the worldly theologian who made it, but how like also to the main current of theological sentiment for many ages, which, rather than tolerate a shade of suspected heresy, will admit absolute negation of Christianity—which refuses to take the half unless it can have the whole. And, finally, how useless was this caution to the character of the prelate who erased the questionable words. The man of the world always remains unconvinced, and in this case was represented by the scoffing Matthew Prior, who, in the short interval that elapsed between the Duke of Buckingham’s funeral and his own, wrote the well-known lines, which, though professedly founded on a perverse interpretation of the charitable hope of the Burial Service, evidently point in reality to the deep-seated suspicion of Atterbury’s own sincerity:

Of these two learned peers, I prythee say, man,
Who is the lying knave, the priest or layman?
The Duke—he stands an infidel confess’d,
‘He’s our dear brother,’ quoth the lordly priest.²

Three statesmen stretch across the first half of the eighteenth century. John Campbell, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich—soldier and statesman alike, of the first order in neither service, but conspicuous in both as the representative of the northern kingdom, which through his influence more than that of any single person was united to England—was buried in a vault³ in Henry VII.’s Chapel, made for himself and his family, far away from his ancestral restingplace at Kilmun. His monument, erected by an admiring friend, stands almost alone of his class amongst the poets in the

1678–
1743.
Duke of
Argyll and
Green-
wich, bur-
ied Oct.
15, 1743.

¹ The opposite party, in the published copies of the inscription, inserted *solo* after *deo*. (Fiddes, p. 39.)

² Pope’s *Works*, ix. 209.

³ This new vault was made in 1743, close to the Sheffield monu-

ment. His widow was interred there in 1766, and his daughter Mary (Lady Mary Coke) in 1811 (Register), ‘the lively little lady’ who, in the ‘Heart of Midlothian,’ banters her father after the interview with Jeannie Deans.

Southern Transept. 'History' pauses at the title of 'Greenwich,' which was to die with him. 'Eloquence,' with outstretched hand, in an attitude which won Canova's special praise,¹ represents the 'thunder'² and 'persuasion'³ described by the poets of his age. This singular situation of his monument⁴ may well be accorded by our generation to one with whose charming character and address our age has become familiar chiefly through the 'Heart of Midlothian.'

Walpole died at Houghton, and was interred in the parish church without monument or inscription :

So peaceful rests, without a stone, a name
Which once had honour, titles, wealth, and fame.⁵

Lady Wal-
pole, died
Aug. 20,
1737.

Her statue.

But he is commemorated in the Abbey by the monument of his first wife, Catherine Shorter, whose beauty, with the good looks of his own youth, caused them to be known as 'the handsome couple.' The position of her statue, in the south aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, is one to which nothing less than her husband's fame would have entitled her. It was erected by Horace Walpole, her youngest son, and remains a striking proof both of his affection for her and his love of art. The statue itself was copied in Rome from the famous figure of 'Modesty,' and the inscription, written by himself, perpetuates the memory of her excellence: 'An ornament to courts, untainted by them.' If the story be true, that he was really the son of Lord Hervey, it is remarkable as showing his unconsciousness of the suspicion of his mother's honour. He murmured a good deal at having to pay forty pounds for the ground of the statue,⁶ but 'at last,'

¹ *Life of Nollekens*, ii. 161.

² 'Argyll, the state's whole thunder
born to wield,
And shake alike the senate and
the field.'—(Pope.)

³ 'From his rich tongue
Persuasion flows, and wins the
high debate.'—(Thomson.)

⁴ The monument displaced the last remains of the Chapel of St. Blaize. Close to it were characteristically pressed the monuments of two lesser members of the Campbell clan.

⁵ Cox's *Walpole*, chap. lxii. & lxiii.

⁶ Walpole's *Letters*, ii. 277.

he says, 'the monument for my mother is erected; it puts me in mind of the manner of interring the Kings of France — when the reigning one dies, the last before him is buried. Will you believe that I have not yet seen the tomb? None of my acquaintance were in town, and I literally had not courage to venture alone among the Westminster boys; they are as formidable to me as the ship-carpenters at Portsmouth.'¹

Pulteney, after his long struggles, determined, when he had reached his peerage, to be buried in the Abbey, which he had known from his childhood as a Westminster boy. A vault was constructed for himself and his family in the Islip Chapel,² and there, in his eightieth year, his obsequies were performed by his favourite Bishop, Zachary Pearce.³ In the pressure to see his funeral (which, as usual, took place at night), the spectators stood on the tomb of Edward I., opposite the vault.⁴ A mob broke in, and, in the alarm of the confusion, the gentlemen tore down the canopy of the royal tomb, and defended the pass of the steps leading into the Confessor's Chapel by their drawn swords and the broken rafters of the canopy.⁵ The only memorial of Pelham is the monument to his 'very faithful' secretary, Roberts, in the South Transept.

Pulteney,
Earl of
Bath, died
July 7,
buried
July 17,
1764.

His
funeral.

Roberts,
Secretary
of Pelham,
1776.

As the Duke of Argyll recalls the Rebellion of 1715, so the Rebellion of 1745 has left its trace in the tablet erected in the North Transept to General Guest, 'who closed a service of sixty years by faithfully defending Edinburgh Castle

General
Guest,
buried
Oct. 16,
1747, in
the East
Cloister.

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, i. 352.

² Probably attracted by the grave of Jane Crewe, heiress of the Pulteneys in 1639, whose pretty monument is over the chapel door.

³ The most conspicuous monument in the Cloisters is that of Daniel Pulteney, who died September 7, 1731, buried May 17, 1732. (Register.)

⁴ *Gent. Mag.* 1817, part i. p. 33. —

The antiquary Carter was present, as a boy: 'I stood, with many others, 'on the top of the tomb. . . . A dreadful conflict ensued. Darkness soon 'closed the scene.' (Ibid. 1799, part ii. p. 859.)

⁵ Perhaps at this time the wooden hatch put up by Feckenham at the head of the stairs was swept away. It was restored in 1867.

Marshal
Wade,
buried
March 21,
1748,
near the
Choir gate.

‘against the rebels in 1745;’ and in the elaborate monument of Roubiliac, in the Nave, to Marshal Wade, whose military roads, famous in the well-known Scottish proverb, caused the subjugation of the Highlands.

General
Fleming,
March 30,
1750;
General
Hargrave,
Feb. 2,
1750; both
buried near
the Choir
gate.

Following the line of the eye, and erected by the same great sculptor—who seems for these few years to have attained a sway over the Abbey more complete than any of those whose trophies he raised—are the memorials of two friends, ‘remarkable for their monuments in Westminster Abbey,’ but for little beside. That to General Fleming was erected by Sir John Fleming, who also lies there, ‘to the memory of his uncle, and his best of friends.’¹ That to General Hargrave appears to have provoked a burst of general indignation at the time. It was believed to have been raised to him merely on account of his wealth.² At the time it was thought that ‘Europe could not show a parallel to it.’³ Now, the significance of the falling pyramids has been so lost, that they have even been brought forward as a complaint against the Dean and Chapter for allowing the monuments to go to ruin.

Roubiliac's
monu-
ments.

It was at this time that Goldsmith uttered his complaint: ‘I find in Westminster Abbey several new monuments erected to the memory of several great men. The names of the great men I absolutely forget, but I well remember that Roubiliac was the statuary who carved them. . . . Alas! alas! cried I, such monuments as these confer honour not on the great men, but on little Roubiliac.’⁴ But the sculptor himself was never satisfied. He used to come and stand

¹ Epitaphs; see Neale, ii. 242.—The whole Fleming family are congregated under these monuments. (Register.)

² ‘Some rich man.’ (Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*, p. 46.) It was said that a wag had written under the

figure struggling from the tomb, ‘Lie still if you're wise; you'll be damned if you rise.’ (Hutton's *London Tour*.)

³ Malcolm, p. 169.

⁴ Goldsmith.

before 'his best work,' the monument of Wade, and weep to think that it was put too high to be appreciated.¹ The Nightingale tomb was probably admitted more for his sake than for that of the mourners. Yet when he came back from Rome, and once more saw his own sculptures in the Abbey, he had the magnanimity to exclaim, with the true candour of genius, 'By God! my own works looked to me 'as meagre and starved as if they had been made of tobacco-pipes.'

The successors of Marlborough by land and sea still carry on the line of warriors, now chiefly in the Nave. At the west end is the tablet of Captain William Horneck, the earliest of English engineers, precursor of Watt and Stephenson, who learned his military science under the Duke of Marlborough, and is buried in his father's grave in the South Transept. There also is told the story of Sir Thomas Hardy, descendant of the protector of Henry VII. on his voyage from Brittany to England, and ancestor of the companion of Nelson, who, for his services under Sir George Rooke, lies buried (with his wife) near the west end of the Choir. There too is the first monument erected by Parliament to naval heroism—the gigantic memorial of the noble but now forgotten death of Captain Cornwall, in the Battle off Toulon; and, close upon it, the yet more prodigious mass of rocks, clouds, sea, and ship, to commemorate the peaceful death of Admiral Tyrrell. In the North Transept and the north aisle of the Choir follow the cenotaphs of a host of scamen—Saumarez, who fought from his sixteenth to his thirty-seventh year under Anson and Hawke; Balchen, lost at sea, at the end of a long career; Temple West, his son-in-law; Wager, celebrated for his 'fair character';² Vernon, for his 'fleet

William
Horneck,
April 27,
1746.

Sir Thomas
Hardy,
May 3,
1720;
Lady
Hardy,
Aug. 24,
1732.

Cornwall,
Dec. 26,
1743.

Tyrrell,
died June
6, 1766.

Saumarez,
Oct. 14,
1747.

buried at
Plymouth.
Balchen,
1744.

Temple
West,
1757.

Wager,
1743.
Vernon,
1751.

¹ Akermann, ii. 37.

² 'There was never any man that
'behaved himself in the Straits (of

'Gibraltar) like poor Charles Wager,
'whom the very Moors do mention
'with tears sometimes.' (Pepys, iv.

Beauclerk,
1740.

‘near Portobello lying;’¹ Lord Aubrey Beauclerk, the gallant son of the first Duke of St. Albans, who fell under Vernon at Carthagera, and whose epitaph is ascribed to Thomson.

Admiral
Watson,
buried at
Calcutta,
1757.
Sir Eyre
Coote,
buried at
Rockburn,
1783.
Lawrence,
1775.
George
Montague,
Earl of
Halifax,
1771.
Lord
Howe,
1758.
General
Wolfe,
killed at
Quebec
Sept. 13,
buried at
Greenwich
Nov. 20,
1759.
His monu-
ment.

The narrow circle of these names takes a wider sweep as, with the advance of the century, the Colonial Empire starts up under the mighty reign of Chatham. Now for the first time India on one side, and North America on the other, leap into the Abbey. The palm-trees and Oriental chiefs on the monument of Admiral Watson recall his achievements at the Black Hole of Calcutta, and at Chandernagore; as the elephant and Mahratta captive on that of Sir Eyre Coote, and the hill of Trichinopoly on that of General Lawrence, recall, a few years later, the glories of Coromandel and the Carnatic. George Montague, Earl of Halifax, ‘Father of the Colonies,’ from whom the capital of Nova Scotia takes its name, is commemorated in the North Transept; Massachusetts and Ticonderoga,² first appearing on the monument in the north aisle of the Nave, erected to Viscount Howe, the unsuccessful elder brother of the famous admiral. But the one conspicuous memorial of that period is that of his brother’s friend—‘friends to each other as cannon to gunpowder’³—General Wolfe. He was buried in his father’s grave at Greenwich, at the special request of his mother; but the grief excited by the premature end of the romantic soldier in the moment of victory is manifested by the unusual proportions of the monument, containing the most elaborate delineation of the circumstances of his death—the Heights

1668.) ‘Old Sir Charles Wager is dead at last, and has left the fairest character.’ (Walpole, i. 248.)

¹ Vernon’s birthday (November 12) was celebrated as a general holiday. (*Londiniana*, ii. 46.)

² Ticonderoga appears also on the monument, not far off, of Colonel Townsend, executed by T. Carter. ‘Here,’ says the sculptor’s antiquarian

son, ‘I recall my juvenile years. . . I then loved the hand that gave form to the yielding marble. I now revere his memory, deeper engraved on my heart than on that part of the monument allotted to perpetuate the name of the sculptor.’ (*Gent. Mag.* 1799, pt. ii. p. 669.)

³ Walpole’s *Memoirs of George II.*

Townsend,
killed July
25, 1757.

of Abraham, the River St. Lawrence,¹ the faithful Highland serjeant, the wounded warrior, the oak with its tomahawks. ‘Nothing could express my rapture,’ wrote the gentle Cowper, ‘when Wolfe made the conquest of Quebec.’ So deep was the enthusiasm for the ‘little red-haired corporal,’² that the Dean had actually consented to erect the monument in the place of the beautiful tomb of the Plantagenet prince, Aymer de Valence—a proposal averted by the better taste of Horace Walpole, but carried out in another direction by destroying the screen of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, and dislodging the monument of Abbot Esteney.

Earl Howe—great not only by his hundred fights, but by his character, ‘undaunted and silent as a rock, who never ‘made a friendship but at the cannon’s mouth’³—first of the naval heroes, received his public monument in St. Paul’s instead of the Abbey. It was felt to be a marked deviation from the rule, and the Secretary of State, Lord Dundas, in proposing it to Parliament, emphatically gave the reason. It was that, ‘on a late solemn occasion, the colours which Lord ‘Howe had taken from the enemy on the First of June had ‘been placed in the metropolitan Cathedral.’ But that great day of June is not left without its mark in Westminster. The two enormous monuments of Captains Harvey and Hutt, and of Captain Montagu, who fell in the same fight, originally stood side by side between the pillars of the Nave,⁴ the first beginning of an intended series of memorials of a like kind. Corresponding to these three captains of the Nave, but of a slightly earlier date, are the three captains of the North Transept—Bayn, Blair, and Lord Robert Manners, who perished in like manner in Rodney’s crowning victory,

LORD
HOWE’S
CAPTAINS.

Harvey,
Hutt, and
Montagu,
died June
1, 1794.

RODNEY’S
CAPTAINS.

Bayn,
Blair, and
Manners,
April 12,
1782.

¹ The bronze bas-relief is by Capit-soldi; the monument itself by Wilton, who ‘carved Wolfe’s figure without clothes to display his anatomical knowledge.’ (*Life of Nollekens*, ii. 173.)

² *Notes and Queries*, xii. 398.

³ Campbell’s *Admirals*, vii. 240.

⁴ (Neale, ii. 228.) They have now been transposed, Montagu to the west end, and Harvey and Hutt, greatly reduced, to one of the windows.

and whose colossal monument¹ so cried for room as to expel from its place the font of the church, which has since taken refuge in the western end of the Nave.²

Kempen-
felt, Aug.
29, 1787.

Harrison,
Oct. 26,
1791.

Earl Dun-
donald,
died Oct.
30, buried
Nov. 14,
1860.

Sir John
Burgoyne,
buried
Aug. 13,
1792. His
monument.

André,
died Oct. 2,
1780; bu-
ried Nov.
20, 1821.

The tablet of Kempenfelt in the Chapel of St. John commemorates the loss of the 'Royal George.' Admiral Harrison is buried at the entrance into the Cloisters, with the two appropriate texts, *Deus portus meus et refugium*, and *Deus monstravit miracula sua in profundis*; and the funeral of Lord Dundonald, in the Nave—thus at the close of his long life reinstated in the public favour—terminates the series of naval heroes which begins with Blake. Nelson, whose signal at Aboukir was 'Westminster Abbey or a Peerage,' found his grave in St. Paul's.

The military line still runs on. The unfortunate General Burgoyne, whose surrender at Saratoga lost America to England, lies, without a name, in the North Cloister. But of that great struggle the most conspicuous trace is left on the southern wall of the Nave by the memorial of the ill-fated Major André,⁴ whose remains, brought home after a lapse of forty years,⁵ lie close beneath. On its basrelief,⁶ representing André's death, is to be seen the likeness of Washington; and many a citizen of the great Western Republic has paused before the sight of the sad story. Often has the head of Washington or André been carried off, perhaps by republican or royalist indignation, but more probably by the pranks of Westminster boys: 'the wanton mischief,' says Charles Lamb, 'of some schoolboy, fired perhaps with some raw notions of Transatlantic freedom. The mischief was done,'

¹ It was shut up for seven years after its erection, from the delay of the inscription. (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxiii. pt. ii. p. 782.)

² Neale, ii. 208.

³ See Note on the Waxworks.

⁴ The only other mark of the American war, showing the tragic interest it excited, is the monument to William

Wragg, shipwrecked in his escape from South Carolina.

⁵ Register; *Annual Register*, 1821, p. 333.—By order of the Duke of York, first deposited in the Islip Chapel, and then in the Nave.

⁶ The monument was deemed of sufficient importance to displace that of Major Creed.

Wragg, died Sept. 3, 1777.

he adds, addressing Southey, ‘about the time that you ‘were a scholar there. Do you know anything about the ‘unfortunate relic?’¹ Southey, always susceptible at allusions to his early political principles, not till years after could forgive this passage at arms.

Here and there a few warriors of the Peninsular War are to be found in the Aisles. Sir Robert Wilson, like Lord Dundonald, after many vicissitudes, has found a place in the Nave. The Crimean War has left its mark in the stained-glass of the North Transept; and the late Indian campaigns are represented in the Nave by the two chiefs, Outram and Clyde, united in the close proximity of their graves, after the long rivalry of their lives. Both these wars will also be long recalled by the granite column which, in front of the Abbey, records, in a touching inscription, the Westminster scholars who fell in Crimean or Indian battles, and whose names acquire an additional glory from the most illustrious of their number—Lord Raglan.

Sir R.
Wilson.
May 15,
1849.

Sir James
Outram,
died at
Pau,
March 11.
buried
March 23,
1863.
Lord
Clyde, died
Aug. 14,
buried
Aug. 22,
1863.

Down to this point we have followed the general stream of history, as it has wound, at its own sweet will, in and out of Chapel, and Aisle, and Nave, without distinction of class or order. But there are channels which may be kept apart, by the separation both of locality and of interests.

The first to be noticed is the last in chronological order, but flows more immediately out of the general arrangement of the tombs. The statesmen of previous ages had, as we have seen, found their restingplaces and memorials, according to their greater or less importance, in almost every part of the Abbey. But in the middle of the last century a marked change took place. Down to that time one exception presented itself to the general influx. The Northern Transept, like the north side of a country churchyard—like the Pelasgicum under the dark shadow of the

THE
MODERN
STATES-
MEN.

¹ Lamb's *Elia*.

NORTH TRANSEPT.

°PEEL

Wilberforce

north wall of the Acropolis of Athens—had remained a comparative solitude. But, like the Pelasgicum under the pressure of the Peloponnesian War, this gradually began to be occupied. 'At first it seemed destined to become the Admirals' Corner. They, more than any other class, had filled its walls and vacant niches. One great name, however, determined its future fate for ever. The growth of the naval empire which those nautical monuments symbolised had taken place under one commanding genius. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was the first English politician who, without other accompaniments of military or literary glory, or court-favour, won his way to the chief place of statesmanship. Whatever fame had gathered round his life, was raised to the highest pitch by the grand scene at his last appearance in the House of Lords. The two great metropolitan cemeteries contended for his body—a contention the more remarkable if, as was partly believed at the time, he had meanwhile been privately interred in his own churchyard at Hayes. It was urgently entreated by the City of London, as 'a mark 'of gratitude and veneration from the first commercial city 'of the empire towards the statesman whose vigour and 'counsels had so much contributed to the protection and 'extension of its commerce,' that he should be buried 'in 'the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the City of London.' Parliament, however, had already decided in favour of Westminster, on the ground that he ought to be brought 'near to the dust of kings;'¹ and accordingly, with almost regal pomp, the body was brought from the Painted Chamber, and interred in the centre of the North Transept, in a vault which eventually received his whole family.

Lord
Chatham,
died
May 16,
1778.

His
funeral,
June 1,
1778.

Though men of all parties had concurred in decreeing posthumous honours to Chatham, his corpse was attended to the grave almost exclusively by opponents of the Government. The banner of the

¹ *Anecdotes of Lord Chatham*, pp. 332, 335; Malcolm, p. 254.

lordship of Chatham was borne by Colonel Barré, attended by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham. Burke, Savile, and Dunning upheld the pall. Lord Camden was conspicuous in the procession. The chief mourner was young William Pitt.¹

Such honours Ilium to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade.²

The North Transept 'has ever since been appropriated to 'statesmen, as the other transept to poets.' The words of Junius have been literally fulfilled: 'Recorded honours still 'gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a 'solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it.'³

Monument
and effigy
of
Chatham.

In no other cemetery do so many great citizens lie within so narrow a space. High over those venerable graves towers the stately monument of Chatham,⁴ and from above, his effigy, graven by a cunning hand, seems still, with eagle face and outstretched arm, to bid England be of good cheer, and to hurl defiance at her foes. The generation which reared that memorial of him has disappeared. And history, while, for the warning of vehement, high, and daring natures, she notes his many errors, will yet deliberately pronounce that, among the eminent men whose bones lie near his, scarcely one has left a more stainless, and none a more splendid name.⁵

Lord
Mansfield,
died
March 28,
1793.

Next in order of date, buried by his own desire 'privately 'in this cathedral, from the love he bore to the place of his 'early education,' is Lord Mansfield.⁶

Here Murray, long enough his country's pride,
Is now no more than Tully or than Hyde.⁷

Close behind the great judge stands the statue of the famous

¹ Macaulay's *Essays*, vi. 229.

² His own last words, communicated to me by a friend, who heard them from the first Lord Sidmouth.

³ *Anecdotes of Chatham*, p. 379. — In the same vault are his wife and sister (Lady R. Elliot), and the second Lord and Lady Chatham. His coffin was found turned over by the water thrown into it in the fire of 1806.

⁴ Bacon, the sculptor, also wrote the inscription. George III. approved it,

but said, 'Now, Bacon, mind you don't 'turn author, but stick to your chisel.' (*Londiniana*, ii. 63.) The figure itself is suggested by Roubiliac's 'Eloquence' on the Argyll monument.

⁵ Macaulay's *Essays*.

⁶ It is copied from a portrait of Reynolds. His son (1796) was buried in the same vault.

⁷ 'Foretold by Pope, and fulfilled 'in the year 1793.' (Epitaph.)

advocate, Sir William Follett. These are the sole representatives, in the Abbey, of the modern legal profession. But the direct succession of statesmen immediately continued. The younger Pitt was buried in his father's vault. 'The sadness of the assistants was beyond that of ordinary mourners. For he whom they were committing to the dust had died of sorrows and anxieties of which none of the survivors could be altogether without a share. Wilberforce, who carried one of the banners before the hearse, described the awful ceremony with deep feeling. As the coffin descended into the earth, he said, the eagle face of Chatham seemed to look down with consternation into the dark home which was receiving all that remained of so much power and glory.'¹ Lord Wellesley, who was present, with his brother Arthur, already famous, spoke of it with no less emotion. The herald pronounced over his grave, *Non sibi sed patriæ vixit*.

There is but one entry in the Register between the burial of Pitt and the burial of Fox. They lie close together :

Here, where the end of earthly things
Lays heroes, patriots, bards, and kings,
Where stiff the hand and still the tongue
Of those who fought and spoke and sung ;
Here, where the fretted aisles prolong
The distant notes of holy song,
As if some angel spoke again,
' All peace on earth, goodwill to men '—
If ever from an English heart,
O here let prejudice depart . . .
For ne'er held marble in its trust
Of two such wondrous men the dust.
Genius and taste and talent gone,
For ever tomb'd beneath the stone,
Where—taming thought to human pride—
The mighty chiefs sleep side by side.

Sir W. W.
Follett,
died
June 28,
1845.

PITT and
FOX.

William
Pitt, died
at Putney
Jan. 23,
buried
Feb. 22,
1806.

Charles
Fox,
died at
Chiswick,
Sept. 13,
buried
Oct. 10,
1806
(the anni-
versary of
his first
West-
minster
election).

¹ Macaulay's *Essays*; Stanhope's *Pitt*, iv. 396; Ann. Register, 1806, p. 375; *Quart. Rev.* lvii. 492.

Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,
 'Twill trickle to his rival's bier.
 O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
 And Fox's shall the notes rebound.
 The solemn echo seems to cry—
 Here let their discord with them die;
 Speak not for those a separate doom
 Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb !¹

Monument
 of Pitt.

Their monuments are far apart from their graves but, by a singular coincidence, near to each other, so as to give the poet's lines a fresh application. Pitt stands in his robes of Chancellor of the Exchequer, over the west door of the Abbey, trampling on the French Revolution, in the attitude so well known by his contemporaries, 'drawing up his 'haughty head, stretching out his arm with commanding 'gesture, and pouring forth the lofty language of inextin-

Monument
 of Fox.

'guishable hope.' Fox's monument, erected by his numerous private friends, originally near the North Transept, was removed to the side of Lord Holland's, in the north-west angle of the Nave. The figure of the Negro represents the prominence which the abolition of the slave-trade then occupied in the public mind.² This spot by the monuments of Fox and Holland, of Tierney, the soul of every opposition, and of Mackintosh,³ the cherished leader of philosophical and liberal thought, has been consecrated as the Whigs' Corner. Perceval's dreadful death is commemorated in the Nave. But the burials continued in the North Transept.⁴ Grattan had expressed to his friends his earnest desire ('Remember ! 'remember !') to be buried in a retired churchyard at Moyanna, in Queen's County, on the estate given him by the Irish people. On his deathbed, in the midst of one of his

THE
 WHIGS'
 CORNER.

Lord
 Holland,
 died Oct.
 22, 1840.
 Tierney,
 died
 1830.
 Mackin-
 tosh died
 1832.
 Perceval,
 died May
 11, 1812.
 Grattan,
 died June
 10, buried
 June 16,
 1820.

¹ Scott's *Marmion*, Introd. to canto i.

² 'Liberty' lost her cap in the erection of the scaffolding for the coronation of Queen Victoria.

³ Buried at Hampstead, 1832. How well he knew and loved the Abbey

appears from the record of his walk round it with Maria Edgeworth. The inscription, added in 1867, is by his nephew Mr. Claude Erskine.

⁴ The first Lord Minto was buried here January 29, 1816.

impassioned exclamations about his country—‘I stood up for Ireland, and I was right’—as his eye kindled and his countenance brightened, and his arm was raised with surprising firmness, he added, ‘As to my grave, I wish to be laid in Moyanna: I had rather be buried there.’ His friends told him that it was their intention to place him in Westminster Abbey. ‘Oh!’ said he, ‘that will not be thought of; I would rather have Moyanna.’ On the request being urged again the next day from the Duke of Sussex, he gave way, and said, ‘Well, Westminster Abbey.’¹ The children of the Roman Catholic charities were, at the request of the ‘British Catholic Board,’ who also attended, ranged in front of the west entrance, the Irish children habited in green. The coffin nearly touched the foot of the coffin of Fox, ‘whom in life he so dearly valued, and near whom, in death, it would have been his pride to lie.’

Here, near yon walls, so often shook
By the stern weight of his rebuke,
While bigotry with blanching brow
Heard him and blush’d, but would not bow,²—
Here, where his ashes may fulfil
His country’s cherish’d mission still,
There let him point his last appeal
Where statesmen and where kings will kneel;
His bones will warn them to be just,
Still pleading even from the dust.³

Castlereagh, Marquis of Londonderry, followed. The same mingled feelings of consternation and of triumph that were awakened by his sudden and terrible self-destruction in the Conservative and the Liberal parties throughout Europe, accompanied him to his grave. From his house in St. James’s Square to the doors of the Abbey, ‘the streets seemed to be paved with human heads.’ The Duke of Wellington and

Castle-
reagh,
died Aug.
12, 1822,

buried
Aug. 20,
1822.

¹ *Life of Grattan*, v. 545–553.

pp. lxi.–lxiii.

² Preface to *Speeches of Grattan*,

³ *Ibid.* p. lxxiii.

Lord Eldon were deeply affected. But when the hearse reached the western entrance, and the coffin was removed, ‘a shout arose from the crowd, which echoed loudly through every corner of the Abbey.’ With this awful welcome the coffin moved on, and was deposited between the graves of Pitt and Fox.¹ His rival and successor, George Canning, was not long behind him. On the day of the funeral, though the rain descended in torrents, the streets were crowded, and he was laid opposite the grave of Pitt.²

Canning,
died at
Chiswick,
Aug. 8,
buried
Aug. 16,
1827.

Peel,
died July
2, 1850,
buried at
Drayton.

His statue.

When, on the sudden death of Sir Robert Peel, ‘all London felt like one family,’ the departed statesman had so expressly provided in his will, that he should be ‘buried by the side of his father and mother at Drayton,’ that the honoured grave in the Abbey was not sought. In its place was erected the statue, which still waits the inscription that shall record what he was.³

Palmer-
ston, died
Oct. 16,
buried
Oct. 27,
1865.

The close of Lord Palmerston’s octogenarian career was laid amongst the mémoires of numerous statesmen with whom, or against whom, his public life had been spent. He lies opposite the statue of his first patron, Canning. As the coffin sank into the grave—which contained the recollections of this long career, and left so new a field open for his successors—a dark storm broke over the Abbey, in which, as in a black shroud, the whole circle of mourners seemed to vanish from the sight, till the ray of the returning sun, as the service drew to its end, once more reanimated the scene.

INDIAN
STATES-
MEN.
Staunton,
buried
Jan. 23,
1801.
Malcolm,
died 1833.
Raffles,
died 1826.
Earl
Canning,
buried
June 21,
1862.

The Indian statesmen not unnaturally fell into the aisles of the same transept which thus enfolds at once the earlier trophies of Indian warfare, and the first founders of the Indian Empire—Sir George Staunton, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Stamford Raffles, the younger Canning (laid beside his father), and

¹ *Annual Register* (1822), p. 181.

² Peel’s name was first inscribed in

³ *Ibid.* (1827), p. 143; *Life of* 1866.

an earlier, a greater, but a more ambiguous name than any of these—Warren Hastings. ‘With all his faults, and they were
 ‘neither few nor small, only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that Temple of silence and reconciliation
 ‘where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried, in the
 ‘Great Abbey which has during many ages afforded a quiet
 ‘resting-place to those whose minds and bodies have been
 ‘shattered by the contentions of the Great Hall, the dust
 ‘of the illustrious accused should have mingled with the
 ‘dust of the illustrious accusers.’¹ Though this was not to be, and though his remains lie in the parish church of his ancestral Daylesford, his memorial stands in the Abbey, His bust.
 which had also been associated with his early years—with the days when he was remembered by the poet Cowper as the active Westminster boy, with whom he had rowed on the Thames and played in the Cloisters, amongst the scholars to whom he left the magnificent cup which bears his name. It was whilst standing before this bust that Macaulay received from Dean Milman the suggestion of writing that essay, which has in our own days revived the fame of the great proconsul.

Close by the monument of the stern ruler of India begins the line of British philanthropists. It started with the tablet of Jonas Hanway, whose motto, ‘Never despair,’ recalls his unexpected deliverance from his dangers in Persia. Of the heroes of the abolition of the slave-trade,³ Clarkson alone is absent. Granville Sharp has his memorial in Poets’ Corner, Zachary Macaulay² in the Whigs’ Corner of the Nave. Wilberforce was, at the requisition of Lord Brougham,⁴ buried, with the attendance of both Houses of Parliament,

Warren Hastings, died Aug. 22, 1818: buried at Daylesford.

His bust.

PHILANTHROPISTS.

Jonas Hanway, 1786. Granville Sharp, 1813. Zachary Macaulay, May 13, 1838. Wilberforce, died Aug. 5, 1833.

¹ Macaulay’s *Essays*.

² The epitaph was written by Sir James Stephen, and corrected by Sir Fowell Buxton.

³ A monument of the same cause

has been just raised outside the Abbey by a generous and worthy follower of its earlier advocates.

⁴ *Life of Wilberforce*, v. 373.

Buxton,
died Feb.
19, 1845,
buried at
Over-
strand.
Horner,
buried at
Florence,
1817.
Buller,
died Nov.
28, 1848,
buried at
Kensal
Green.
Lewis,
died 1863,
buried at
Old
Radnor.
Cobden,
died April
2, 1865,
buried at
West Liv-
ington.
POETS'
CORNER.

amongst his friends in the North Transept with whom he had fought the same good fight; and his statue sits nearly side by side with Fowell Buxton in the North Aisle. In later times and in a more philosophic vein, in the same corner of the church, follow the cenotaphs of Francis Horner, Charles Buller,¹ Cornewall Lewis, and Richard Cobden.

We now pass to the other side of the Abbey for another line of worthies, which has a longer continuity than any other; beginning under the Plantagenet dynasty, and reviving again and again, with renewed freshness, in each successive reign—

Till distant warblings fade upon my ear
And lost in long futurity expire.

The Southern Transept, hardly known by any other name but 'Poets' Corner'—the most familiar² though not the most august or sacred spot in the whole Abbey—derives the origin of its peculiar glory, like the Northern Transept at a much later period, from a single tomb. Although it is by a royal affinity that

These poets near our princes sleep,
And in one grave their mansion keep,³

the first beginning of the proximity was from a homelier cause. We have already traced the general beginning of the private monuments to Richard II. It is from him, also indirectly, that the poetical monuments take their rise. In 1389 the office of Clerk of the Royal Works in the Palaces of Westminster and Windsor was vacant. Possibly from his services to the Royal Family,⁴ possibly from Richard's

¹ His epitaph is by Lord Houghton.

² 'I have always observed that the
'visitors to the Abbey remain longest
'about the simple memorials in Poets'
'Corner. A kinder and fonder feeling
'takes the place of that cold curiosity
'or vague admiration with which they

'gaze on the splendid monuments of
'the great and the heroic. They linger
'about these as about the tombs of
'friends and companions.' (Washing-
ton Irving's *Sketch Book*, p. 216.)

³ Denham, on Cowley.

⁴ Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, ii. 498.

well-known patronage of the arts, the selection fell on Geoffrey Chaucer. He retained the post only for twenty months. CHAUCER. But it probably gave him a place in the Royal Household, which was not forgotten at his death. After the fall of Richard, 'when Chaucer's hairs were grey, and the infirmities of age pressed heavily upon him, he found himself compelled to come to London for the arrangement of his affairs.' There is still preserved a lease, granted to him by the keeper of the Lady Chapel of the Abbey, which makes over to him a tenement in the garden attached to that building,¹ on the ground now covered by the enlarged Chapel of Henry VII. In this house he died, on October 25, in the last year of the fourteenth century, uttering, it is said, 'in the great anguish of his deathbed,' the 'good counsel' which closes with the pathetic words—

Death of
Chaucer,
Oct. 25,
1400.

Here is no home—here is but wilderness.
Forth, pilgrim; forth, O beast, out of thy stall!
Look up on high, and thank thy God of all.
Control thy lust; and let thy spirit thee lead;
And Truth thee shall deliver: 'tis no dread.²

Probably from the circumstance of his dying so close at hand, combined with the royal favour, still continued by Henry IV., he was brought to the Abbey and buried, where the His burial. functionaries of the monastery were beginning to be interred, at the entrance of St. Benedict's Chapel. There was nothing to mark the grave except a plain slab, which was sawn up when Dryden's monument was erected, and a leaden plate on an adjacent pillar, hung there, it is conjectured, by Caxton, with an inscription by 'a poet laureate,' Surigonus of Milan.³ It was not till the reign of Edward VI. that the

¹ Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, ii. 549, 641.

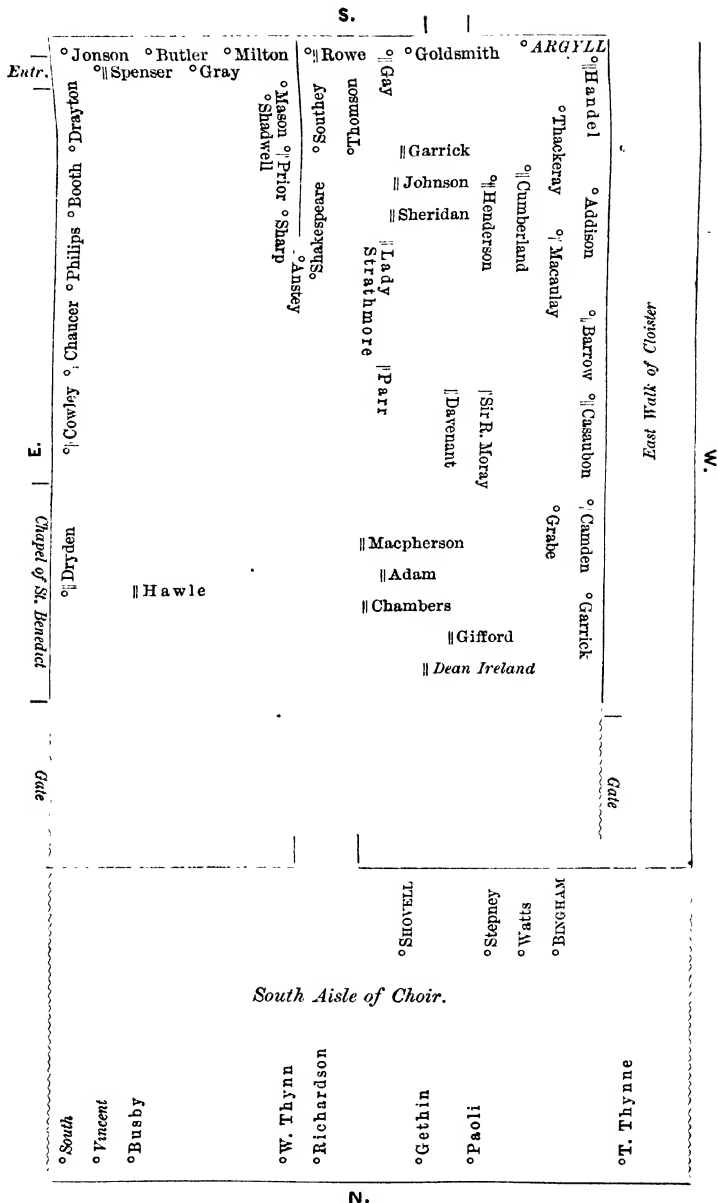
² Ibid. ii. 553, 555.

³ 'Galfridus Chaucer, vates et famâ poesis,

Maternâ hâc sacrâ sum tumulatus humo.'

(Winstanley's *Worthies*, p. 94.) It has long since disappeared. (See Godwin, i. 2.)

PLAN OF POETS' CORNER.



present tomb, to which apparently the poet's ashes were removed, was raised, near the grave, by Nicholas Bingham, himself a poet, who was buried close beside, with his daughter Rachel.¹ The inscription closes with an echo of the poet's own expiring counsel, '*Ærumnarum requies mors.*' Originally the back of the tomb contained a portrait of Chaucer. The erection of the monument so long afterwards shows how freshly the fame of Chaucer still flourished, and accordingly, within the next generation, it became the point of attraction to the hitherto unexampled burst of poets in the Elizabethan age. The first was Spenser. His interment in the Abbey was perhaps suggested by the fact that his death took place close by—in King Street, Westminster. But it was distinctly in his poetical character that he received the honours of a funeral from Devereux, Earl of Essex. His hearse was attended by poets, and mournful elegies and poems, with the pens that wrote them, were thrown into his tomb. What a funeral was that at which Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, and, in all probability, Shakspeare attended!—what a grave in which the pen of Shakspeare may be mouldering away! In the original inscription, long ago effaced, the vicinity to Chaucer is expressly stated as the reason for the selection of the spot—

Monument
of
Chaucer,
1551.

Spenser,
died Jan.
16, 1599.

His
funeral.

Hic prope Chaucerum situs est Spenserius, illi
Proximus ingenio, proximus et tumulo.²

The actual monument was erected by Anne Clifford, Duchess of Dorset, and restored by Mason the poet.³ The

His
monument,
erected
1620,
restored
1778.

¹ Dart, ii. 61.

² Camden.—See the lines quoted in Winstanley's *Worthies*, p. 97:—

Dan Chaucer, well of English undefiled,

On Fame's eternal bead-roll to be filed,

I follow here the footing of thy feet,

That with thy meaning so I may
the rather meet.

³ He raised a subscription for 'restoring it in durable marble instead of mouldering freestone, correcting the mistaken dates, and including it in an iron rail.' (Chapter Book, April 13, 1778.)

inscription, in pathos and simplicity, is worthy of the author of the 'Faery Queen,' but curious as implying the unconsciousness of any greater than he, at that very time, to claim the title then given him of 'the Prince of Poets.' 'The great Spenser keeps the entry of the Church, in a plain stone tomb, but his works are more glorious than all the marble and brass monuments within.'¹

The neighbourhood to Chaucer, thus emphatically marked as the cause of Spenser's grave, is repeated again and again at each successive interment. Beaumont was the next. He lies still nearer to Chaucer², under a nameless stone; and immediately afterwards came the cry and counter-cry over the ashes of another, who died within the next year, both suggested by the close contiguity of these poetic graves:

Beaumont,
March 9,
1615.

Shak-
speare,
died April
23, 1616,
buried at
Stratford.

Renowned Spenser, lie a thought more nigh
To learned Chaucer: and rare Beaumont, lie
A little nearer Spenser, to make room
For Shakspeare in your threefold fourfold tomb.³

To which Ben Jonson replies:

My Shakspeare rise, I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lie
A little farther off to make thee room.
Thou art a monument without a tomb,
And art alive still while thy book doth live,
And we have wits to read, and praise to give.

In fact, the attempt was never made. Whether it was prevented by the poet's own anathema on any one who should 'move his bones or dig his dust,' or by the imperfect recognition of his greatness, in Stratford he still lies; and not for another century was the statue raised which now stands in the adjacent aisle, by the same designer who planned the monument of Newton.⁴

His
monument,
erected
1740.

¹ Tom Brown, iii. 228.

² At the entrance of St. Benedict's Chapel. (Register.) Fletcher is buried in St. Mary Overies, Southwark.

³ Basse's *Elegy on Shakspeare* (1633).

⁴ See p. 280.

Next followed—such was the inequality of fortune—
 Drayton, of whom, after the lapse of not much more than a
 hundred years, Goldsmith, in his visit to the Abbey, could
 say, when he saw his monument, ‘Drayton! I never heard of
 ‘him before.’ Indeed, it was the common remark of London
 gossips—‘Drayton, with half a nose, was next, whose works
 ‘are forgot before his monument is worn out.’¹ But at the
 time the ‘Polyolbion’ was regarded as a masterpiece of art. It
 is uncertain whether he was buried in the Nave², or in this His grave.
 spot.³ But his bust was erected here by the same great lady
 who raised that to Spenser. Fuller, in his quaint manner,
 again revives their joint connexion with the grave of their
 predecessor:—‘Chaucer lies buried in the south aisle of
 ‘St. Peter’s, Westminster, and now hath got the company of
 ‘Spenser and Drayton, a pair royal of poets, enough almost to
 ‘make passengers’ feet to move metrically; who go over the
 ‘place where so much poetical dust is interred.’⁴ How little
 the verdict of Goldsmith was then anticipated appears from
 the fine lines on Drayton’s monument, ascribed both to Ben
 Jonson and to Quarle, which, in invoking ‘the pious marble’
 to protect his memory, predict that when its

Michael
 Drayton,
 died 1631.

Ruin shall disclaim
 To be the treasurer of his fame,
 His name, that cannot fade, shall be
 An everlasting monument to thee.

Ben Jonson—who, if so be, speaks on this bust of Drayton’s
 exchanging his laurel for a crown of glory, but who was,
 in fact, the first unquestionable laureate—soon followed.
 Both his youth and age were connected with Westminster.
 He was born in the neighbourhood, he was educated in the
 School, and his last years were spent close to the Abbey, in a

Ben
 Jonson,
 died Aug.
 16, 1637.

¹ Tom Brown, iii. 228.

³ Fuller’s *Worthies*, iii. 288.

² Heylin, who was present, and
 Aubrey (*Lives*, 335).

⁴ Fuller, *History*, A.D. 1631.

Ben
Jonson's
grave.

house that once stood between it and St. Margaret's Church.¹ This renders probable the story of his selecting his own grave, where it was afterwards dug, not far from Drayton's. According to the local tradition, he asked the King (Charles I.) to grant him a favour. 'What is it?' said the King.—'Give me eighteen inches of square ground.' 'Where?' asked the King.—'In Westminster Abbey.' This is one explanation given of the story that he was buried standing upright. Another is that it was with a view to his readiness for the Resurrection.² 'He lies buried in the north aisle [of the 'Nave], in the path of square stone [the rest is lozenge], 'opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus de Ros, with this 'inscription only on him, in a pavement-square of blue 'marble, about fourteen inches square,

Inscrip-
tion.

'O rare Ben Johnson!'²

'which was done at the charge of Jack Young (afterwards 'knighted), who, walking there when the grave was cover- 'ing, gave the fellow eighteenpence to cut it.'³ This stone was taken up when, in 1821, the Nave was repaved, and was brought back from the stoneyard of the clerk of the works, in the time of Dean Buckland, by whose order it was fitted into its present place in the north wall of the Nave. Meanwhile, the original spot had been marked by a small triangular lozenge, with a copy of the old inscription. When, in 1849, Sir Robert Wilson was buried close by, the loose sand of Jonson's grave (to use the expression of the clerk of the works who superintended the operation) 'rippled in like a 'quicksand,' and the clerk 'saw the two leg-bones of Jonson, 'fixed bolt upright in the sand, as though the body had been 'buried in the upright position; and the skull came rolling

¹ Malone's *Historical Account of the English Stage*; Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 425; Aubrey's *Lives*, 414. gravestone, as also in Clarendon's *Life* (i. 34), where see his character.

³ Aubrey's *Lives*, 414. His burial is not in the Register.

² He is called *Johnson* on the

‘down among the sand, from a position above the leg-bones, to the bottom of the newly-made grave. There was still hair upon it, and it was of a red colour.’ It was seen once more on the digging of John Hunter’s grave; and ‘it had still traces of red hair upon it.’¹ The world long wondered that he should lie buried from the rest of the poets and want² a tomb.’ At length, in the middle of the last century his medallion was placed in Poets’ Corner.

Apart from the other poets, not only in his grave but in his monument, is Sir Robert Ayton, secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria, under the tomb of Henry V. He is the first Scottish poet buried here, and claims a place from his being the first in whose verses appears the ‘Auld Lang Syne.’ His bust is from a portrait by Vandyck.

Robert
Ayton,
Feb. 21,
1638.

There is a pause in the succession during the troubled times of the Civil Wars. May,³ who had unsuccessfully competed with the wild Cavalier Sir William Davenant for the laureateship, and, according to Clarendon, on that account thrown himself into the Parliamentary cause, was buried here as poet and historian under the Commonwealth. But his vacant grave, after the disinterment of his remains, received his rival Davenant, connected with the two greatest of English poetical names—with Shakspeare by the tradition of the Stratford player’s intimacy with his mother, and with Milton by the protection which he first received from him, and afterwards procured for him, in their respective reverses.⁴ His funeral was conducted with the pomp due to a laureate, though, to the great grief of Anthony Wood, ‘the wreath was forgot that should have been put on the coffin’⁵ of walnut

Thomas
May, died,
1650,
disinterred
1661.

William
Davenant,
April 9,
1668.

His
funeral.

¹ For full details, see Mr. Frank Buckland’s interesting narrative in *Curiosities of Natural History* (3rd series), ii. 181–189. It would seem that, in spite of some misadventures, the skull still remains in the grave.

² *London Spy*, p. 179.

³ For May see Clarendon’s *Life*, i. 39, 40; and for an indignant Royalist epitaph, the Appendix to Crull, p. 46. (See p. 291.)

⁴ Malone’s *History of the Stage*.

⁵ *Ant. Or.* ii. 165.

wood, which, according to Denham, was the ‘finest coffin he had ever seen.’¹ Pepys, who was present, thought that the ‘many hackneys made it look like the funeral of a poor poet. He seemed to have many children, by five or six in the first mourning coach.’² On his grave³ was repeated the inscription of Ben Jonson, ‘O rare Sir William Davenant!’

Abraham
Cowley,
died July
28, buried
Aug. 3,
1667.

His
funeral.

The urn.
The in-
scription.

But grander obsequies than Davenant’s—probably the grandest that Poets’ Corner ever witnessed—were those which took place in the preceding year, of Abraham Cowley, of whose death at Chertsey, when Charles II. heard of it, he said, ‘Mr. Cowley has not left a better man in England.’ Evelyn was at his burial, though ‘he sneaked from church,’ and describes the hundred coaches of noblemen, bishops, clergy, and all the wits of the town; and adds, still harping on the local fitness, he was buried ‘next Geoffrey Chaucer,’⁴ and near ‘Spenser’—near the poet whose ‘Faery Queen,’ before he was twelve years, ‘filled his head with such chimes of verses as never since left ringing there.’ The urn was erected by George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. The inscription—which compares him to Pindar, Virgil, and Horace, and which, for its Pagan phraseology, could never be read by Dr. Johnson without indignation—was by Dean Sprat, his biographer. How deeply fixed was the sense of his fame appears from the lines, striking even in their exaggeration, which, speaking of his burial, describe, with the recollection of the great conflagration still fresh, that the best security for Westminster Abbey was that it held the grave of Cowley:⁵

That sacrilegious fire (which did last year
Level those piles which Piety did rear)

¹ Aubrey’s *Lives*, 309. He was present.

² Pepys’s *Correspondence*, iv. 90.

³ ‘Near the vestry door.’ (Register.)
‘Near to the monument of Dr. Barrow.’
(Aubrey’s *Lives*, 309.) The stone was

broken up, but was replaced in 1866.

⁴ ‘Mr. Cowly, a famous poet, was buried near to Chaucer’s monument.’ (Register.)

⁵ Pepys, iii. 325, v. 24.

Dreaded near that majestic church to fly,
 Where English kings and English poets lie.
 It at an awful distance did expire,
 Such pow'r had sacred ashes o'er that fire;
 Such as it durst not near that structure come
 Which Fate had order'd to be Cowley's tomb;
 And 'twill be still preserv'd, by being so,
 From what the rage of future flames can do.
 Material fire dares not that place infest,
 Where he who had immortal flame does rest.
 There let his urn remain, for it was fit
 Among our kings to lay the King of Wit,
 By which the structure more renown'd will prove
 For that part bury'd than for all above.¹

But the most effective glorification at once of Cowley and of Poets' Corner was that which came from his friend Sir John Denham, who, within a few months, was laid by his side, in the ground which he knew so well how to appreciate, and who, after describing how—

John
Denham,
March 23,
1661.

Old Chaucer, like the morning star, to us discovers day from far;
 how—

Next, like Aurora, Spenser rose, whose purple blush the day
 foreshows;

how Shakspeare, Jonson, Fletcher—

With their own fires,
 Phæbus, the poet's god, inspires;

then curses the fatal hour that in Cowley—pluck'd

The fairest, sweetest flow'r that in the Muses' garden grew.²

If the fame of Cowley has now passed away, it is not so with the poet who, like him, was educated³ under the shadow of the Abbey, and was laid beside him. Convert as he had become to the Church of Rome, and powerfully as he had advocated the claims of the 'Hind' against the 'Panther,' Sprat

John
Dryden,
died
May 1,
1700.

¹ *British Poets*, v. 213.

(*British Poets*, v. 214.)

² 'On Mr. Abraham Cowley's Death
 and Burial among the Ancient Poets.'

³ J. Dryden's name is still to be
 seen carved on a school bench.

(who was Dean at the time), as soon as he heard of his death, undertook to remit all the fees, and offered himself to perform the rites of interment in the Abbey. Lord Halifax offered to pay the expenses of the funeral, with 500*l.* for a monument. It is difficult to know how to treat the strange story of the infamous practical jest by which the son of Lord Jeffries broke up the funeral on the pretext of making it more splendid; the indignation of the Dean, who had 'the Abbey lighted, 'the ground opened, the Choir attending, an anthem ready 'set, and himself waiting without a corpse to bury;' and the anger of the poet's son, who watched till the death of Jeffries, with 'the utmost application,' for an opportunity of revenge.¹ At any rate, twelve days after Dryden's death, his 'deserving 'reliques' were lodged in the College of Physicians. There a Latin eulogy was pronounced by Sir Samuel Garth, himself at once a poet and physician, and also wavering between scepticism and Roman Catholicism: and thence 'an abundance 'of quality in their coaches and six horses'² accompanied the hearse with funeral music, singing the ode of Horace, *Exegi monumentum ære perennius*;³ and the Father, as he has been called, of modern English Poetry, was laid almost in the very grave⁴ of the Father of ancient English Poetry, whose gravestone was actually sawn asunder to make room for his monument. That monument was long delayed. But so completely had his grave come to be regarded as the most interesting spot in Poets' Corner, that when Pope wrote the epitaph for Rowe, the highest honour he could pay to him was that his tomb should point the way to Dryden's⁵:

Dryden's
funeral,
May 18,
1700.

His grave.

¹ Johnson's *Lives*, iii. 367-369. The story is partly confirmed by the *London Spy*, p. 417.

² *London Spy* (p. 418), who saw it from Chancery Lane (p. 424).

³ *Postman and Postbag*, May 14, 1700.

⁴ 'Mr. Dryden is lately dead, who 'will be buried in Chaucer's grave,

'and have his monument erected by 'Lord Dorset and Lord Montagu.' (Pepys's *Correspondence*, v. 321.)

⁵ 'At Chaucer's feet, without any 'name, lies John Dryden his admirer, 'and truly the English Maro.' (Tom Brown, iii. 228.)

Thy reliques, Rowe, to this fair urn we trust,
 And sacred, place by Dryden's awful dust.
 Beneath a rude and nameless stone he lies,
 To which thy tomb shall guide inquiring eyes.¹

The 'rude and nameless stone' roused the attention of Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who in consequence raised the present monument. For the inscription, Pope and Atterbury were long in earnest correspondence: His monu-
ment.

What do you think [says Atterbury] of some such short inscription as this in Latin, which may, in a few words, say all that is to be said of Dryden, and yet nothing more than he deserves? — The in-
scription.

IOHANNI DRYDENO,
 CVI POESIS ANGLICANA
 VIM SVAM AC VENERES DEBET;
 ET SI QVA IN POSTERVM AVGEBITVR LAVDE,
 EST ADHVC DEBITVRA:
 HONORIS ERGO P. &c.

To show you that I am as much in earnest in the affair as yourself, something I will send you too of this kind in English. If your design holds of fixing Dryden's name only below, and his busto above, may not lines like these be graved just under the name?—

This Sheffield rais'd, to Dryden's ashes just,
 Here fixed his name, and there his laurel'd bust;
 What else the Muse in marble might express,
 Is known already; praise would make him less.

Or thus?—

More needs not; where acknowledg'd merits reign,
 Praise is impertinent, and censure vain.²

Pope improved upon these suggestions, and finally wrote —

This Sheffield raised: the sacred dust below
 Was Dryden's once—the rest who does not know?

This was afterwards altered into the present plain inscription; and the bust erected by the Duke was exchanged for a finer one by Scheemakers, put up by the Duchess, with a pyramid

¹ Pope, iii. 369.

² Pope, ix. 199.

behind it.¹ So the monument remained till our own day, when Dean Buckland, with the permission of the surviving representative of the poet, Sir Henry Dryden, removed all except the simple bust and pedestal.

Bust of
Shadwell,
buried at
Chelsea,
Nov. 24,
1692.

Opposite Dryden's monument is the bust of his forgotten rival, and victim of his bitterest satire :

Others to some faint meaning make pretence,
But Shadwell never deviates into sense.

His son had intended a longer inscription,² but Sprat suppressed it, on the ground of an exception which some of the clergy had made to it, as 'being too great an encomium 'on plays to be set up in a church.'

George
Stepney,
Sept. 22,
1707.

These names close the seventeenth century and begin the eighteenth. Another race appears, of whom the monuments follow in quick succession. By his connexion with Westminster School, by his friendship with Montagu, by his diplomatic honours, rather than by his verses, George Stepney, who was thought by his contemporaries 'a much greater man' than Sir Cloudesley Shovel,³ 'whose juvenile compositions' were then believed to have 'made greyheaded authors blush,'⁴ has his bust and grave just outside the Transept. But within, on the right of Chaucer's tomb, is the monument of John Phillips, erected by his friend Sir Simon Harcourt, and claiming in its inscription to close the south side of the Father of English Poetry, as Cowley closes the north. His 'Splendid Shilling' and 'Cyder' are now amongst the forgotten curiosities of literature. But his epitaph has a double interest. It recounts his celebrity at that time as the master, almost the inventor, of the difficult art of blank verse, and it also indicates the gradual rise of another fame far greater. Phillips himself had been devoted to Milton's poems, as models for his own feeble imitations; and the partial patron who composed the inscription on

John
Phillips,
died and
buried at
Hereford,
1708.

¹ Akermann, ii. 89.

² Crull, ii. 42, where it is given.

³ Dart, ii. 83.

⁴ Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*.

his tomb has declared that in this field he was second to Milton alone: '*Uni Miltono secundus, primoque pæne par.*' It is disputed whether Smalridge, Friend, or Atterbury was the author. If (as is most probable) Atterbury, the emphasis laid on Phillips's proficiency is the expression of his own partiality 'against rhyme and in behalf of blank verse'—'without the least prejudice, being himself equally incapable 'of writing in either of those ways.'¹ The antiquary Crull happened to be copying the inscription, and he had nearly reached these lines, when he was told, 'by a person of 'quality,' to desist from what he was about, for that there 'was an alteration to be made.' Crull put up his papers, and pretended to leave. 'My lord went out,' and Crull immediately returned, and was informed that these lines were to be erased, and that 'his Lordship' (Bishop Sprat, then Dean) 'had forbidden the cutting of them.' Crull 'was the 'more eagerly resolved to finish the inscription,' 'as it was 'originally composed by the learned Dr. Smalridge.'² The next day he found the two lines wholly obliterated. The objection was not, as might have been supposed, to their intrinsic absurdity, but because the Royalist Dean would not allow the name of the regicide Milton to be engraved on the walls of Westminster Abbey.³ Another four years, and the excommunication was removed. Atterbury—whose love for Milton⁴ was stronger even than his legitimist principles, and who, in his last farewell⁵ to the Westminster scholars, vented his grief in the pathetic lines which close the 'Paradise Lost'—was now Dean, and the obnoxious lines were admitted within the walls of the Abbey. Another four years

Monument
of Phillips.

Sept. 4,
1710.

¹ Pope, viii. 188.

² Crull, pp. 343, 345.

³ 'Un nommé Miltonus, qui s'est rendu plus infâme par ses dangereux écrits que les bourreaux et les assassins de leur roi.' (French Ambassador in App. to Pepys's *Correspondence*,

v. 452.)

⁴ See Atterbury's remarks on the French translation of 'Paradise Lost.' (*Letters*, iv. 229.)

⁵ See Chapter VI. See also his letters to Pope. (Pope, viii. 233.)

Milton,
died 1674,
buried in
St. Giles,
Cripplegate.

Monument
erected
1737.

Samuel
Butler,
died 1680,
buried in
Covent
Garden
church-
yard ;
monument
erected
1732.

Of Shak-
speare,
1740.

yet again, and the criticism in the 'Spectator' had given expression to the irresistible feeling of admiration growing in every English heart. 'Such was the change of public opinion,'¹ said Dr. Gregory to Dr. Johnson, 'that I have seen 'erected in the church a bust of that man whose name I once 'knew considered as a pollution of its walls.' It is indeed a triumph of the force of truth and genius, such as of itself hallows the place which has witnessed it. And if this late testimony was rendered to Milton (as a like late acknowledgment had a few years before been rendered to Samuel Butler,² the author of 'Hudibras') not, as in the case of Spenser, Cowley, and Dryden, by dukes and duchesses, but by two humble citizens of London,³ the fact, so far from deserving the cynical remarks of Pope, only adds to the interest, by the proof afforded of the wide and (as it were) subterraneous diffusion of the fame of the once neglected poet, who, though 'fallen 'on evil days,' at last received his reward. Probably it was this stimulus which roused the public subscription for the statue of Shakspeare, which in 1740 was finally erected with the inscription from the 'Tempest,' which certainly well fits its application under the shadow of the 'cloudcapt towers, the 'gorgeous palaces, and the solemn temples' of Westminster.

It is curious to mark how immediately these new objects

¹ A curious instance of the change is given in the successive editions of Sheffield's *Essay on Poetry*. In the first edition the epic poet

'Must above Milton's lofty flights prevail,
Succeed where great Torquato and
where greater Spenser fail.'

In the last —

'Must above Tasso's lofty flights prevail,
Succeed where Spenser and *ev'n*
Milton fail.'

(Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, ii., 155.)

² Milton was buried at St. Giles's,

Cripplegate ; Butler at St. Paul's, Covent Garden. (*Biog. Brit.* i. 1075.)

³ Benson, the auditor, erected the monument to Milton in 1737 ; Barber, the printer, and Lord Mayor of London, that to Butler in 1732

'On poets' tombs see Benson's titles writ,'

is Pope's line in the 'Dunciad ;' and when asked for an inscription for Shakspeare's monument, he suggested :

'Thus Britons love me, and pre-
serve my fame,

Free from a Barber's or a Ben-
son's name.'

of interest draw to their neighbourhood the lesser satellites of fame. Nicholas Rowe, poet laureate and translator of Lucan, was buried here by Atterbury, from his feeling for his old schoolfellow.¹ His monument, which Pope had designed to act as a conductor to the tomb of Dryden,² by the time that it was erected claimed kindred with this mightier brother of the art —

Thy reliques, Rowe, to this sad shrine we trust,
And near *thy Shakspeare* place thy honour'd dust.

Peace to thy gentle shade, and endless rest,
Blest in thy genius, in thy love too blest !

Its conclusion had originally stood, before Buckingham had erected the tomb to Dryden—

One grateful woman to thy fame supplies
What a whole thankless land to his denies.

It now commemorates the grief of the poet's wife—

And blest that, timely from our scene remov'd,
Thy soul enjoys the liberty it lov'd.
To thee, so mourn'd in death, so lov'd in life,
The childless parent and the widow'd wife
With tears inscribes this monumental stone,
That holds thine ashes and expects her own.³

And this, in turn, was falsified by the remarriage of the widow (whose effigy surmounts the bust) to Colonel Deane.

Three dubious names close this period. In Poets' Corner lies the old voluptuary patriarch of Charles II.'s wits, St. Evremond, Governor of Duck Island, who died beyond the age of 90. Although a Frenchman and, nominally at least, a Roman Catholic, he was buried amongst the English poets, and, in spite of his questionable writings, was commemorated here, '*inter præstantiores avi sui scriptores.*'⁴ Aphara

Nicholas
Rowe,
buried
Dec. 14,
1718.

St.
Evremond,
Sept. 11,
1703.

¹ *Biog. Brit.* v. 3522.

² See p. 277.

³ Pope, iii. 365.

⁴ St. Evremond 'died renouncing
'the Christian religion. Yet the
'Church of Westminster thought fit

Aphara
Behn,
April 20,
1689.

Behn,¹ the notorious novelist, happily has not reached beyond the East Cloister. Her epitaph ran—

Here lies a proof that wit can never be
Defence enough against mortality.

Tom
Brown,
1704.

Beside her lies her friend, the scandalous satirist and essayist, Tom Brown, who had defiled and defied the Abbey during his whole literary life. The inscription prepared for him has, by this juxtaposition, a meaning which Dr. Drake, its author, never intended—*Inter concelebres requiescit.*²

Steele,
1729.
Mrs.
Steele,
1718.
Joseph
Addison,
died June
17, buried
June 26,
1719.
His
funeral.

Next came the age of the 'Tatler' and 'Spectator.' Steele, editor of the first, is buried at his seat near Carmarthen. His second wife, 'his dearest Prue,' is laid amongst the poets.³ But the great funeral of this circle is that of Addison. The last serene moments of his life were at Warwick House. 'See how a Christian can die.'

His body lay in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, and was borne thence to the Abbey at dead of night. The choir sang a funeral hymn. Bishop Atterbury, one of those Tories who had loved and honoured the most accomplished of the Whigs, met the corpse, and led the procession by torchlight, round the Shrine of St. Edward and the graves of the Plantagenets, to the Chapel of Henry VII. On the north side of that chapel, in the vault of the House of Albemarle, the coffin of Addison lies next to the coffin of Montague.⁴

The scene is described by Tickell in poetry as touching as Addison's or Macaulay's prose:—

Can I forget the dismal night that gave
My soul's best part for ever to the grave?

'to give his body room in the Abbey, 'and to allow him to be buried there 'gratis.' The monument was erected by one of the Prebendaries, Dr. Birch, 'on account of the old acquaintance between St. Evremond and his patron 'Waller.' Such is the cynical account of Atterbury. (*Letters*, iii. 117, 125.)

¹ In the Register she is called 'Astrea Behn.'

² Crull, p. 346.

³ See Thackeray's *Humourists* for their correspondence (pp. 137-146).

⁴ Macaulay's *Essays* (8vo. 1853), iii. 443; see p. 236.—The Westminster scholars, who were present with white tapers in their hands, remarked the unusual energy and solemnity with which Atterbury read the service. (*Life of Bishop Newton*.)

How silent did his old companions tread,
 By midnight lamps, the mansions of the dead,
 Through breathing statues, then unheeded things,
 Through rows of warriors, and through walks of kings!
 What awe did the slow solemn knell inspire;
 The pealing organ and the pausing choir;
 The duties by the lawn-rob'd prelate pay'd;
 And the last words that dust to dust convey'd!
 While speechless o'er thy closing grave we bend,
 Accept these tears, thou dear departed friend.
 Oh, gone for ever; take this long adieu;
 And sleep in peace, next thy lov'd Montague.
 Ne'er to those chambers where the mighty rest
 Since their foundation came a nobler guest:
 Nor e'er was to the bowers of bliss convey'd
 A fairer spirit or more welcome shade.¹

It is strange that neither his opulent and noble widow, nor any of his powerful and attached friends, should have thought of placing even a simple tablet, inscribed with his name, on the walls of the Abbey. It was not till three generations had laughed and wept over his pages that the omission was supplied by the public veneration. At length, in our own time, his image, skillfully graven, appeared in Poets' Corner.² It represents him, as we can conceive him, clad in his dressing-gown, and freed from his wig, stepping from his parlour at Chelsea into his trim little garden, with the account of the Everlasting Club, or the Loves of Hilpa and Shalum, just finished for the next day's 'Spectator,' in his hand. Such a mark of national respect was due to the unsullied statesman, to the accomplished scholar, to the master of pure English eloquence, to the consummate painter of life and manners. It was due, above all, to the great satirist, who alone knew how to use ridicule without abusing it—who, without inflicting a wound, effected a great social reform, and who reconciled wit and virtue after a long and disastrous separation, during which wit had been led astray by profligacy, and virtue by fanaticism.³

Monument
 of Addison,
 erected
 1808.

¹ *British Poets*, viii. 431.

² The intention of placing it on the grave of Thomas of Woodstock, inside the Confessor's Chapel, was happily frustrated. (Neale, ii. 115.)

³ Macaulay's *Essays* (8vo. 1853), iii. 443.—To this must be added the recent inscription of Tickell's verses over his grave by Lord Ellesmere.

Richard
Congreve,
died Jan.
19, buried
Jan. 26,
1728(29).

His
funeral.

His
monu-
ment.

Ten years after followed a funeral of which the inward contrast in the midst of outward likeness to that of Addison is complete. As he, for the sake of his beloved patron, Montague, had been laid apart from the rest of the poetic tribe in the Chapel of the Tudors, in the far east of the church, so Congreve was laid almost as completely separated from them in the Nave, in the neighbourhood if not in the vault of his patroness—Henrietta Godolphin, the second Duchess of Marlborough. By that questionable alliance he, the worst corrupter, as Addison the noblest purifier, of English literature, was honoured with a sumptuous funeral, also from the Jerusalem Chamber; and with the same strange passion which caused the Duchess to have a statue of him in ivory, which moved by clockwork, placed daily at her table, and a wax doll, whose feet were regularly blistered and anointed by the doctors, as Congreve's had been when he suffered from the gout,¹ she erected the monument to him at the west end of the church, commemorating the 'happiness and honour which she had enjoyed in her intercourse.' 'Happiness, perhaps,' exclaimed her inexorable mother, the ancient Sarah; 'she cannot say "honour!"' Yet, though private partiality may have fixed the spot, his burial in the Abbey was justified by the fame which attracted the visit of Voltaire to him, as to the chief representative of English literature;² which won from Dryden the praise of being next to Shakspeare; from Steele the homage of 'Great sir, great author,' whose 'awful name was known' by barbarians; and from Pope, the Dedication of the Iliad, and the title of *Ultimus Romanorum*. And there is a fitness in the place of his monument, 'of the finest Egyptian marble,' by

¹ Macaulay's *Essays*, vi. 531.

² Congreve himself judged more wisely. 'I wish to be visited on no other footing than as a gentleman who leads a life of plainness and

'simplicity.' Such is his appearance on his monument. (See the whole story discussed in Thackeray's *Humourists*, p. 78; see also pp. 61, 80.)

the door where many, who there enjoy their first view of the most venerable of English sanctuaries, may thankfully recall the fine lines in which he, with a feeling beyond his age, first described the effect of a great cathedral on the awestruck beholder—

All is hush'd and still as death.—'Tis dreadful !
How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof,
By its own weight made stedfast and immoveable,
Looking tranquillity ! It strikes an awe
And terror on my aching sight ; the tombs
And monumental caves of death look cold,
And shoot a chillness to my trembling heart.

He who reads these lines enjoys for a moment the powers of a poet; he feels what he remembers to have felt before; but he feels it with great increase of sensibility; he recognises a familiar image, but meets it again amplified and expanded, embellished with beauty, and enlarged with majesty.¹

We return to the South Transept. Matthew Prior, by his diplomatic career and his connexion with Westminster School, made up for some of the claims which his despicable life and his inferior poetry ill supplied. The monument, as a last piece of human vanity, was provided by his son; the bust was a present from Louis XIV., whom he had known on his embassy to Paris; the inscription was by Dr. Freind, Head Master of Westminster, 'in honour of one who had done so 'great honour to the school.'²

Matthew
Prior,
Sept. 25,
1721.

I had not strength enough [writes Atterbury] to attend Mr. Prior to his grave, else I would have done it, to have shown his friends that I had forgot and forgiven what he wrote to me. He is buried, as he desired, at the feet of Spenser, and I will take care to make good in every respect what I said to him when living; particularly as to the triplet he wrote for his own epitaph; which, while we

¹ Johnson, ii. 197, 198.

² *Biog. Brit.* v. 3445.

were in good terms, I promised him should never appear on his tomb while I was Dean of Westminster.¹

John
Gay, died
Dec. 11,
1732.

Ten years afterwards another blow fell on the literary circle. Gay's 'Fables,' written for the education of the Duke of Cumberland, still attract English children to his monument. But his playful, amiable character can only be appreciated by reading the letters of his contemporaries.² 'We have all had,' writes Dr. Arbuthnot,³ 'another loss, of our worthy and dear 'friend Dr. Gay. It was some alleviation of my grief to see 'him so universally lamented by almost everybody, even by 'those who only knew him by reputation. He was interred at 'Westminster Abbey, as if he had been a peer of the realm; 'and the good Duke of Queensberry, who lamented him as a 'brother, will set up a handsome monument upon him.' His body was brought by the Company of Upholders from the Duke of Queensberry's to Exeter Change, and thence to the Abbey, at eight o'clock in the winter evening. Lord Chesterfield and Pope were present amongst the mourners.⁴ He had already, two months before his death, desired—

His
funeral,
Dec. 23,
1732.

My dear Mr. Pope, whom I love as my own soul, if you survive me, as you certainly will, if a stone shall mark the place of my grave, see these words put upon it—

Life is a jest, and all things show it ;
I thought it once, but now I know it,

with what else you may think proper.

His wish was complied with.⁵ The conclusion specially points to his place of burial :—

¹ Pope, x. 382.—The triplet was :
To me 'tis given to die—to you 'tis
given
To live: alas! one moment sets us
even—
Mark how impartial is the will of
Heaven.

² 'Good God! how often we are
'to die before we go quite off this
'stage! In every friend we lose a part
'of ourselves, and the best part. God

'keep those we have left: few are
'worth praying for, and one's self the
'least of all.' (Pope, iii. 378.)

³ Pope, ix. 208, 209.

⁴ *Biog. Brit.* iv. 2167, 2187.

⁵ To make room for the monument, Butler's bust (by permission of Alderman Barber) was removed to its present position. (Chapter Book, October 31, 1733.)

These are thy honours ! not that here thy bust
Is mix'd with heroes, nor with kings thy dust,
But that the worthy and the good shall say,
Striking their pensive bosoms—' Here lies Gay.'

This last line, which was altered at the suggestion of Swift,¹
'is so dark that few can explain it, and so hard when it is
'explained that still fewer can understand it.'²

With Gay is concluded, as far as the Abbey is concerned,
the last of the brilliant circle of friends whose mutual corre-
spondence and friendship gives such an additional charm to
their graves. One of these, however, we sorely miss. 'I Pope,
'have been told of one Pope,' says Goldsmith's Chinese phi- died May
losopher, as he wanders through Poets' Corner, murmuring at 30, 1744,
the obscure names of which he had never heard before : 'Is buried at
'he there?' 'It is time enough,' replied his guide, 'these Twicken-
'hundred years: he is not long dead: people have not done ham.
'hating him yet.' It was not, however, the hate of his con-
temporaries that kept his bust out of the Abbey,³ but his own
deliberate wish to be interred, by the side⁴ of his beloved
mother, in the central aisle of the parish church of Twicken-
ham; and his epitaph, composed by himself, is inscribed on
a white marble tablet above the gallery—

For one that would not be buried in Westminster Abbey.

Heroes and kings ! your distance keep,
In peace let one poor poet sleep,
Who never flatter'd folks like you :
Let Horace blush, and Virgil too.

His
epitaph.

The 'Little Nightingale,' who withdrew from the boisterous
company of London to those quiet shades, only to revisit
them in his little chariot like 'Homer in a nutshell,'⁵ naturally
rests there at last.

¹ From 'striking their *aching* bo-
soms.' (*Biog. Brit.* iv. 2187.)

² Johnson, iii. 215.

³ Pope, iii. 382.

⁴ 'His filial piety excels
Whatever genuine story tells.'
(Swift.)

⁵ Thackeray's *Humourists*, p. 207.

With Pope's secession the line of poets is broken for a time. None whose claims rested on their poetic merits only were, after him, buried within the Abbey, till quite our own days. Thomson, whose bust appears by the side of Shakspeare's monument, was interred in the parish church of his own favourite Richmond—

Thomson,
buried at
Richmond,
1748; his
monument
in the
Abbey,
erected
1762.

In yonder grave a Druid lies.¹

Gray,
buried at
Stoke
Pogis,
1771.

Gray could be buried nowhere but in that country churchyard of Stoke Pogis, which he has rendered immortal by his elegy on it and on himself. His monument, however, is placed by Milton's; and, both by the art of the sculptor, and the verses inscribed upon it by his friend Mason, is made to point not unfitly to Milton, thus completing that cycle of growing honour which we saw beginning from the tablet of Phillips.² And next to this memorial is also, in a natural sequence, that of Mason himself, with an inscription by his own friend Hurd. He is buried where he died, at York.

Mason,
buried at
York,
1797.

It may be well to take advantage of this pause in the

HISTORI-
CAL AISLE.

• succession to mark the memorials of other kinds of genius, which have intermingled with the more strictly poetic vein. Isaac Casaubon³, interesting not only for his great

Casaubon,
died
July 8,
1614.

learning, but as one of those Protestants of the seventeenth century who, like Grotius and Grabe, looked with a kindly eye on the older Churches, had, on the death of his French patron Henri IV., received from James I. (although a layman) prebendal stalls both in Canterbury and Westminster; and from this connexion, as well as from his intrinsic merit, 'he lieth entombed,' says Fuller, 'in the south aisle⁴ of

¹ Collins's Ode.

² See pp. 278, 279.

³ Spelt *Causabon* in the Register. Mrs. *Causabon* was buried March 11, 1635. (Register.)

⁴ As regards the grave, this is not

strictly correct. He was buried 'at the entrance of St. Benedict's Chapel' (Register), where not long afterwards (November 20, 1639) was laid the historian of the Scottish Church, Archbishop Spottiswoode.

Spottis-
woode.
Nov. 20,
1639.

‘Westminster Abbey;’ who then adds, with an emphasis which marks this tomb as the first in a new and long succession, ‘not in the east or *poetical* side thereof, where Chaucer, ‘Spenser, Drayton are interred, but on the west or *historical* ‘side of the aisle.’ His monument was erected by ‘Thomas ‘Morton, Bishop of Durham, that great lover of learned ‘men, dead or alive.’ Next to it, and immediately carrying on the same affinity, is the bust of William Camden, by his close connexion with Westminster, as its one lay Head-master, and as the Prince of English antiquaries and topographers, well deserving his place in this ‘Broad Aisle,’¹ in which he was laid with great pomp; all the College of Heralds attending the funeral of their chief, the sermon being preached by Christopher Sutton. ‘Both of these plain ‘tombs,’ adds Fuller, marking their peculiar appearance at the time, ‘made of white marble, show the simplicity of ‘their intentions, the candidness of their natures, and perpetuity of their memories.’ On Isaac Casaubon’s tablet is left the trace of another ‘candid and simple nature.’ Izaak Walton,²—who may in his youth have seen his venerable namesake, to whom perhaps Casaubon gave his Christian name, who was a friend of his son Meric and of his patron Morton, and who loses no occasion of commending ‘that man of rare ‘learning and ingenuity’—forty years afterwards, wandering through the South Transept, scratched his well-known monogram on the marble, with the date 1658, earliest of those unhappy inscriptions of names of visitors, which have since defaced so many a sacred space in the Abbey. *O si sic omnia!* We forgive the Greek soldiers who recorded their journey on the foot of the statue at Ipsambul; the Platonist who has left his name on the tomb of Rameses at Thebes; the Roman Emperor who has carved his attestation of

Camden,
buried
Nov. 10,
1623.

Casa-
bon’s
monu-
ment.

Izaak
Walton’s
monogram,
1658.

¹ Register.

² Walton was born 1593, and died 1683.

Camden's
monu-
ment.

Memnon's music on the colossal knees of Amenophis. Let us, in like manner, forgive the angler for this mark of himself in Poets' Corner. Camden's monument long bore traces of another kind. The Cavaliers, or as some said, the Independents, who broke into the Abbey at night, to deface the hearse of the Earl of Essex, 'used the like uncivil deportment towards the effigies of old learned Camden—cut 'in pieces the book held in his hand, broke off his nose, and 'otherwise defaced his visiognomy.'¹

A base villain—for certainly no person that had a right English soul could have done it—not suffering his monument to stand without violation, whose learned leaves have so preserved the antiquities of the nation.²

Restored
about
1780.

It was restored by the University of Oxford, from which, in his earlier struggles, he had vainly sought a fellowship and a degree—one of the instances of generous repentance by which Oxford has repaid her shortcomings to her eminent sons.

Spelman,
buried
Oct. 24,
1641.

'Opposite his friend Camden's monument,'³ though a little beyond the precincts of the transept, before the entrance of St. Nicholas's Chapel, is the grave of another antiquary, hardly less famous—Sir Henry Spelman, buried there in his eighty-first year, by order of Charles I., with much solemnity.⁴ He had lived in intimacy with all the antiquarians of that antiquarian time, and the patronage which he received, both from Archbishop Abbott and Archbishop Laud, well agrees with the two-sided character of the old knight, at once so constitutional and so loyal. If ever any book was favourable to the claims of the High Church party, it was the 'History of Sacrilege;' but even Spelman was obliged to stop his 'Glossary' at the letter 'L,' because there were three M's

¹ *Perfect Diurnal*, November 23–30, 1646.

² Winstanley's *Worthies* (1660). Alluding to the book of 'Britannia'

on Camden's monument.

³ Gibson's *Life of Spelman*.

⁴ Register.

that scandalised the Archbishop—'Magna Charta,' 'Magnum 'Concilium Regis,' and at the foot of Camden's monument, the Parliamentary historian May had been buried. 'If he were a biassed and partial writer, he lieth near a 'good and true historian indeed—I mean Dr. Camden.'¹

This spot was consecrated, under the Commonwealth, to the burial of theologians. Twiss, Marshall, and Strong, the famous Presbyterian preachers, were all laid here until their disinterment in 1661.² It became afterwards no less the centre of Royalist divines. In the place of May's³ monument was raised the tablet of Dr. Triplett, and then, that of Outram, both Prebendaries of Westminster. Beside them rests another, also locally connected with Westminster, but far more famous—Isaac Barrow. Doubtless had 'the best 'scholar in England' (as Charles II. called him when he signed his patent for the Mastership of Trinity) died in his own great college, he would have been interred at the foot of Newton's statue, in the vestibule of Trinity Chapel, as his portrait hangs by the side of that of Newton in Trinity Hall. It was the singular connexion of his office with Westminster School which caused his interment under the same roof which contains Newton's remains. He had come, as Master after Master had come, to the election of Westminster scholars, and was lodged in one of the canonical houses 'that had a little stair to it out of the Cloisters,'⁴ which made him call it 'a man's nest.'⁵ He was there struck

Triplett,
buried
July,
1670.

Outram,
buried
Aug. 25,
1670.

Barrow,
died
May 4,
buried
May 7,
1677.

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 259.—The expressive bust of Sir William Sander-son, the aged historian of Mary Stuart, James I., and Charles I., was originally close to the spot where, with his wife, 'mother of the maids of honour,' he lies in the North Transept. It was removed to make way for Wager's monument, and now looks out from beneath the cenotaph of Admiral Watson.

² See p. 225, and Chapter VI.

³ Crull, App. xxiv.

⁴ It was, doubtless, the 'old prebendal house called the Tree,' pulled down in 1710(11). (Chapter Book, February 22, 1710.)

⁵ *Lives of Guilford and North*, iii. 318.—This seems more probable than that 'he died in mean lodgings at a 'saddler's near Charing Cross.' (*Biog. Brit.* ii. 505.)

Barrow's
monu-
ment.

with high fever, and died from the opium which, by a custom contracted when at Constantinople, he administered to himself. 'Had it not been too inconvenient to carry him to Cambridge, there wit and eloquence had paid their tribute for the honour he has done them. Now he is laid in Westminster Abbey, on the learned side of the South Transept.'¹ His monument was erected by 'the gratitude of his friends, a contribution not usual in that age, and a respect peculiar to him among all the glories of that Church.' His epitaph was written 'by his dear friend Dr. Mapleton.' 'His picture was never made from life, and the effigies on his tomb doth but little resemble him.' 'He was in person of the lesser size, lean and of extraordinary strength, of a fair and calm complexion, a thin skin, very susceptible of the cold; his eyes grey, clear, and somewhat shortsighted; his hair of a light auburn, very fine and curling.'

Grabe,
died
Aug. 3,
1711,
buried in
St. Pan-
cras.

Above Casaubon and Barrow is the monument erected by Harley, Earl of Oxford, to the illustrious Prussian scholar, Grabe,² the editor of the Septuagint and of Irenæus, who, like Casaubon, found in the Church of England a home more congenial than either Rome or Geneva could furnish.

Busby,
buried
April 5,
1695.

Looking down the transept are three notable monuments, united chiefly by the bond of Westminster School, but also of learning and wit—Busby, South, and Vincent. Busby, the most celebrated of schoolmasters before our own time, was doubtless the genius of the place for all the fifty-five years in which he reigned over the School.³ To this, and not to the Abbey, belongs his history. But the recollection of his severity long invested his monument with a peculiar awe 'His pupils,' said the profane wit of the last century 'when they come by, look as pale as his marble, in remem-

His monu-
ment.

¹ *Life of Dr. Barrow*, p. xvii.

² Secretan's *Life of Nelson*, p. 223.

—He was buried in the chancel of St. Pancras' Church, it was believed from

a secret sympathy with the Roman Catholics, who were buried in the adjacent cemetery.

³ See Chapter VI.

‘brance of his severe exactions.’¹ As Sir Roger de Coverley stood before Busby’s tomb, he exclaimed, ‘Dr. Busby, a great man, whipped my grandfather—a very great man! I should have gone to him myself if I had not been a blockhead. A very great man!’² From this tomb is said to have been taken all the likenesses of him, he having steadily refused, during his life, to sit for his portrait. He was buried, like a second Abbot Ware, under the black and white marble pavement which he placed along the steps and sides of the Sacrarium.

Under those steps was laid South, who began his career at Westminster under Busby; and then, after his many vicissitudes of political tergiversation, polemical bitterness, and witty preaching, was buried, as Prebendary and Archdeacon of Westminster, ‘with much solemnity,’ in his eighty-third year, by the side of his old master.

South,
buried
Feb. 8,
1716.

Vincent followed the two others after a long interval.³ His relations with Westminster were still closer than theirs—Scholar, Under-master, Head-master, Prebendary, and Dean in succession,—still his works on ancient commerce and navigation would almost have entitled him to a place amongst the scholars of the Abbey, apart from his official connexion with it.

Vincent,
buried
Dec. 7,
1815.

Not far from those indigenous giants of Westminster is the monument of Antony Horneck,⁴ who, though a German by birth and education, was, with the liberality of those times, recommended by Tillotson to Queen Mary for a stall in Westminster. He was the glory of the Savoy Chapel, where his enormous congregations caused it to be said that his parish reached from Whitechapel to Whitehall. He presented the rare union of great pastoral experience, unflinching moral courage, and profound learning. The Hebrew

Horneck,
buried
Feb. 4,
1696.

¹ Tom Brown, iii. 228.

² Spectator, No. 139.

³ He is buried in St. Benedict’s

Chapel. See Chapter VI.

⁴ He is buried in the South Transsept. See Chapter VI.

epitaph bears witness to his proficiency in Biblical and Rabbinical literature.

Thorn-
dyke,
buried
July 13,
1672.

Another Prebendary of Westminster, Herbert Thorndyke,¹ lies in the East Cloister. He had the misfortune of equally offending the Nonconformists at the Savoy Conference, by his supposed tendencies to the Church of Rome, and the High Church party by his familiarity with the Moravians. In his will he withheld his money from his relatives if they joined either the Mass or the new licensed Conventicles. And on

His grave.

his grave he begged that these words might be inscribed: *'Hic jacet corpus Herberti Thorndyke, Preb. hujus ecclesie, qui vivus veram reformandæ ecclesiæ rationem ac modum precibusque studiisque prosequebatur. Tu, lector, requiem ei et beatum in Christo resurrectionem precare.'*² This wish was not fulfilled. His gravestone, which is near the eastern entrance to the Abbey from the Cloister, never had any other inscription than his name, which has since perished.

Atterbury,
died at
Paris,
buried
1731.

The burial of Atterbury, connected with almost every celebrated name in the Abbey during this period, and in the opinion of Lord Grenville the greatest master of our English prose, must be reserved for another place.³

Wharton,
buried
March 8,
1695.

But immediately above his grave hangs the monument of a divine whose memory casts a melancholy interest over the small entrance by which Dean after Dean has descended into the Abbey: 'the favourite pupil of the great Newton'—'the favourite chaplain of Sancroft, whose early death was deplored by all parties as an irreparable loss to letters';⁴ the youthful pride of Cambridge, as Atterbury was of Oxford; perhaps, had he lived, as unscrupulous and as imperious as Atterbury, but with an exactitude and versatility of learning which may keep his name fresh in the mind of

John
Thorn-
dyke,
1668.

¹ His brother, John Thorndyke, who lies with him, died in 1668, on his return from New England, to which he was one of the first emigrants.

² This inscription was adduced in the famous Woolfrey case.

³ See Chapter VI.

⁴ Macaulay, ii. 109.

students long after Atterbury's fame has been confined to the political history of his time. Henry Wharton, author of the '*Anglia Sacra*,' died in his thirty-first year. His funeral was attended by Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Lloyd. Sprat, as Dean, read the service. The Westminster scholars (at that time 'an uncommon respect,' and 'the highest the 'Dean and Chapter can show on that occasion') were caused to attend — the usual fees were remitted — and Purcell's Anthem was sung over his grave,¹ which was close to the spot where his tablet is seen.²

Returning towards Poets' Corner, in the south aisle of the Choir, is a monument which commemorates at once the increasing culture of the Nonconformists and the Christian liberality of the Church of England. Isaac Watts was 'one of the first authors that taught the Dissenters to court 'attention by the graces of language.' We may add that he was one of the first, if not the first, who made sacred poetry the vehicle of edification and instruction. He was the Keble of the Nonconformists and of the eighteenth century. Before the '*Christian Year*,' no English religious poems were so popular as his '*Psalms and Hymns*.' 'Happy,' says the great contemporary champion of Anglican orthodoxy, 'will 'be that reader whose mind is disposed, by his verses or his 'prose, to imitate him in all but his Nonconformity, to copy 'his benevolence to men, and his reverence to God.'³

Meanwhile, the 'Historical or Learned Aisle' of the South Transept had overflowed into that part which was especially entitled Poets' Corner. The blending of poet, divine, scholar,

Watts, died at Stoke Newington, buried in Bunhill Fields, 1748.

MEN OF LETTERS.

¹ *Life of Wharton*.

² In the North Aisle and Transept may here be noticed Warren, Bishop of Bangor (1800), with the fine monument of his wife, and the two Irish Primates — Boulter, who 'was translated to the Archbishopric of Armagh, 1723, and from thence to Heaven,

'1742;' and Agar, Lord Normanton, who, in 1809, was buried in the adjacent grave of his uncle, Lord Mendip. In the South Aisle, too, must be added the Scottish Prebendary of Westminster, Andrew Bell, founder of the Madras scheme of education.

Agar, 1819.

Bell, 1822.

³ Johnson's *Poets*, iii. 218.

and historian in the same part of the Abbey, is a testimony to the necessary union of learning with imagination, of fact with fiction, of poetry with prose. The consecration of all these branches of literature within these narrow limits is a protest against the vulgar literary heresy which denies Clio to be a muse. The 'Divine Spirit' ascribed to Poetry on the monument of Spenser is seen to inspire a wider range. The meeting-point between the two is in the group of 'men of letters,' properly so called, which gathered round Shakspeare's monument—the cluster of names familiar through Boswell's 'Life of Johnson.'

Goldsmith, died April 4, 1774, and buried at the Temple.

Goldsmith was the first to pass away. 'I remember once,' said Dr. Johnson, 'being with Goldsmith in Westminster Abbey. While we surveyed Poets' Corner, I said to him—

'Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscabitur istis.

'When we got to Temple Bar he stopped me, pointed to the 'heads [of the Jacobites] upon it, and slyly whispered me—

'Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscabitur istis.'¹

It is his name only, not his dust, that is mingled with the Poets. He lies on the north side of the Temple Church, under a gravestone erected in this century. But 'whatever he wrote, he did it better than any other man could do. 'He deserved a place in Westminster Abbey, and every year 'he lived, would have deserved it better.'² His tablet is on the south wall of the South Transept—in a situation selected by the most artistic, and with an inscription composed by the most learned, of his admirers. Sir Joshua Reynolds fixed the place. Dr. Johnson exemplified, in his inscription, the rule which he had sternly laid down for others, by writing it not in English, but in Latin. In vain was the famous round-robin addressed to him by all his friends, none of whom had the courage to address him singly, to petition that—

His tablet.

¹ Boswell's *Johnson*.

² *Ibid.* iv. 108.

The character of the deceased as a writer, particularly as a poet, is perhaps not delineated with all the exactness which Dr. Johnson is capable of giving it: we therefore, with deference to his superior judgment, humbly request that he would at least take the trouble of revising it, and of making such additions and alterations as he shall think proper upon a further perusal. But if we might venture to express our wishes, they would lead us to request that he would write the epitaph in English rather than in Latin, as we think that the memory of so eminent an English writer ought to be perpetuated in the language to which his works are likely to be so lasting an ornament, which we also know to have been the opinion of the late Doctor himself.¹

Sir Joshua agreed to carry it to Dr. Johnson, ‘who received it with much good humour, and desired Sir Joshua to tell the gentlemen that he would alter the epitaph in any manner they pleased, as to the sense of it, but he would never consent to disgrace the walls of Westminster Abbey with an English inscription;’ adding, ‘I wonder that Joe Warton, a scholar by profession, should be such a fool. I should have thought too that Mund Burke would have had more sense.’² One mistake in detail was afterwards discovered as to the date³ of Goldsmith’s birth. The expression ‘physicus,’ as Boswell says, ‘is surely not right.’ Johnson himself used to say, ‘Goldsmith, sir, will give us a very fine book on this subject; but if he can distinguish a cow from a horse, that, I believe, is the extent of his knowledge of natural history.’⁴ But the whole inscription shows the supreme position which Goldsmith occupied in English literature; and one expression, at least, has passed from it into the proverbial Latin of mankind—

Goldsmith’s
epitaph.

*Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit.*⁵

¹ Boswell’s *Johnson*, iii. 449.

² *Ibid.*

³ 1731 for 1728. (*Ibid.* iii. 448.)

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 419.

⁵ *Nullum scribendi genus tetigit quod*

non ornavit. Professor Conington calls my attention to the fact that, if this were a genuine classical quotation, it would be ‘*ornaret.*’ The slight mistake proves that it is Johnson’s own.

Johnson,
died
Dec. 13,
buried
Dec. 20,
1784.

The giant of the circle was the next to fall. Johnson, a few days before his death,

had asked Sir John Hawkins, as one of his executors, where he should be buried; and on being answered, 'Doubtless, in Westminster Abbey,' seemed to feel a satisfaction, very natural to a poet; and, indeed, very natural to every man of any imagination, who has no family sepulchre in which he can be laid with his fathers. Accordingly, upon Monday, December 20, his remains [enclosed in a leaden coffin] were deposited in that noble and renowned edifice [in the South Transept, near the foot of Shakspeare's monument, and close to the coffin of his friend Garrick]; and over his grave was placed a large blue flagstone with name and age.¹

His funeral was attended by a respectable number of his friends, particularly such of the members of The Literary Club as were in town; and was also honoured with the presence of several of the Reverend Chapter of Westminster. Mr. Burke, Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Windham, Mr. Langton, Sir Charles Bunbury, and Mr. Colman, bore his pall. His schoolfellow, Dr. Taylor, performed the mournful office of reading the Burial Service.²

Macpherson, died
Feb. 17,
buried
March 15,
1796.

Within a few feet of Johnson lay (by one of those singular coincidences in which the Abbey abounds) his deadly enemy, James Macpherson, the author or editor of 'Ossian.' Though he died near Inverness, his body, according to his will, was carried from Scotland, and buried 'in the Abbey Church of Westminster, the city in which he had passed the 'greatest and best part of his life.'

Cumberland,
died May
7, buried
May 14,
1811.
Sheridan,
died July
7, buried
July 13,
1816.

The last links in that group are the two dramatists, Richard Cumberland and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, both buried close to Shakspeare's statue. When Sheridan was dying, in the extremity of poverty, an article appeared from a generous enemy in the 'Morning Post,' saying that relief should be given before it was too late: 'Prefer ministering 'in the chamber of sickness' to ministering at 'the splendid sorrows that adorn the hearse'—'life and succour, against 'Westminster Abbey and a funeral.' But it was too late;

¹ Boswell's *Johnson*, v. 351.

² *Ibid.* v. 351, 352.

and Westminster Abbey and the funeral, with all the pomp that rank could furnish, was the alternative. It was this which suggested the remark of a French journal: 'France is the place for a man of letters to live in, and England the place for him to die in.'¹

Two cenotaphs close the eighteenth century in Poets' Corner, under the tablet of St. Evremond. One is that of Christopher Anstey, the amiable author of the 'New Bath Guide'—probably the most popular satire of that time, though now receding into the obscurity enveloping the Bath society which it describes. The other, remarkable by the contrast which it presents to the memorial of the profligate epicurean wit of Charles II.'s age, is that of the Christian chivalry and simplicity of Granville Sharp, belonging more properly to the noble army of Abolitionists on the other side of the Abbey, but claiming its place among the men of letters by his extensive though eccentric learning.² The monument, with its kneeling negro, and its lion and lamb, was erected by the African Institution; and the inscription over the most scrupulously orthodox of men was, by a curious chance, the composition of the Unitarian, William Smith.

The remaining glories of Poets' Corner³ belong to our own time and to the future. It would seem as if, during the opening of this century, the place for once had lost its charm. Of that galaxy of poets which ushered in this epoch, Campbell alone has achieved there both grave and monument, on which is inscribed the lofty hope of immortality from his own poems. Of the three greatest geniuses of that period, two

Christopher Anstey, buried at Bath, 1805.

Granville Sharp, died July 1, 1813, buried at Fulham.

Campbell, died at Boulogne, buried June 15, 1844.

¹ Moore's *Life of Sheridan*, ii. 461.

² Hoare's *Life of Granville Sharp*, p. 472. For his character see Stephen's *Eccel. Biog.* ii. 312–321.

³ In the Cloisters is the tablet of the humourist, Bonnell Thornton, friend of Warton, who wrote his epitaph; and the grave and monu-

ment of Ephraim Chambers, the eccentric sceptical philosopher, the Father of Cyclopædias, who wrote his own epitaph—'*Multis pervulgatus, paucis notus, qui vitam inter lucem et umbram, nec eruditus nec idioticis literis deditus, transigit.*'

Chambers, July, 21, 1740.

Byron,
died
at Missolonghi,
April 19,
buried
at Newstead,
July 21,
1824.

Southey,
died Mar.
4, 1843,
buried at
Keswick.
Wordsworth,
died April
23, 1850.
buried at
Grasmere.

Keble,
died at
Bournemouth,
Mar. 29,
buried at
Hursley,
April 6,
1866.

(Burns and Walter Scott) sleep at Dumfries and at Dryburgh, under their own native hills; the third (Byron) lies at Newstead. 'We cannot even now retrace the 'close of the brilliant and miserable career of the most 'celebrated Englishman of the nineteenth century, without 'feeling something of what was felt by those who saw the 'hearse with its long train of coaches turn slowly northwards, leaving behind it that cemetery which had been 'consecrated by the dust of so many great poets, but of which 'the doors were closed against all that remained of Byron.'¹ Hard trial to the guardians of the Abbey at that juncture: let us not condemn either him or them too harshly. Coleridge, poet and philosopher, rests at Highgate; and when Queen Emma, from the Islands of the Pacific, asked in the Abbey for a memorial of the author of the 'Ancient Mariner,' she asked in vain. Southey and Wordsworth have been more fortunate. Though they rest by the Lakes they loved so well, Southey's bust looks down upon us from over the shoulder of Shakspeare; and Wordsworth, by the sentiment of a kinsman, is seated in the Baptistry—not unsuited to the innocent presence of childhood at the sacred font—not unworthy to make that angle of the Nave the nucleus of a new Poets' Corner of future years. Beside him, by a like concord of ideas, will be the tablet of Keble, author of the 'Christian Year,' who himself wrote the reverential epitaph on Wordsworth's monument at Grasmere, and who, if by his prose he represents an ecclesiastical party, by his poetry belongs to the whole of English Christendom.¹

¹ Macaulay's *Essays*, ii. 338.—It was understood that an unfavourable answer would be given to any application to inter Byron in the Abbey. (Moore's *Life*, vi. 221.) He was buried in the village church of Hucknall, near Newstead.

² Dean Ireland (Sept. 2, 1842), founder of the scholarship and professorship that bear his name at Oxford, rests in the same grave as his schoolfellow, Gifford, the first editor of the *Quarterly Review* (Jan. 8, 1827).

One late grave has been opened in the Historical Aisle of the South Transept, to receive the remains of the poet and historian who, perhaps, of all who have trod the floor of the Abbey or lie buried within its precincts, most deeply knew and felt its manifold interests, and most unceasingly commemorated them. Lord Macaulay rests at the foot of the statue of Addison, whose character and genius none had painted as he; carrying with him to his grave the story of the reign of Queen Anne, which none but he could have told. And whilst, from one side of that statue, his bust looks towards the Royal Sepulchres, in the opposite niche is enshrined that of another no less profound admirer of the Spectator, who had often expressed his interest in the spot as he wandered through those aisles—William Makepeace Thackeray.

Macaulay,
died
Dec. 28,
1859,
buried
Jan. 9,
1860.

Thackeray,
died Dec.
24, 1863,
buried at
Kensal
Green.

The dramatists, who complete the roll of the writers of the eighteenth century, throw us back on another succession of notables whose entrance into the Abbey is itself significant, from the contrast which it brings out between the French and the English Church in reference to the stage. In France ‘the sacraments were denied to actors who refused to repudiate their profession,¹ and their burial was the burial of a dog. Among these was the beautiful and gifted Le Couvreur. Shé died without having abjured the profession she had adorned, and she was buried in a field for cattle on the banks of the Seine. . . . Molière was the object of especial denunciation; and when he died, it was with extreme difficulty that permission could be obtained to bury him in consecrated ground. The religious mind of Racine recoiled before the censure. He ceased to write for the stage when in the zenith of his powers; and an extraordinary epitaph,

THE
ACTORS.

¹ A curious exception was made in favour of the singers at the opera, who, by an ingenious fiction, were

considered parts of the Royal Household of France.

‘ while recording his virtues, acknowledges that there was ‘ one stain upon his memory—that he had been a dramatic ‘ poet.’ The same view of the stage has also prevailed in the Calvinistic Churches. On the other hand, the Italian Church, with the Pope at its head, has always regarded the profession of actors as innocent, if not laudable; and with this has, on the whole, agreed the practice of the Church of England. The reward of its forbearance has been that, ‘ if we except the short period of depravity which followed the Restoration, the English theatre ‘ has been that in which the moralist can find least to ‘ condemn.’¹

Of this triumph of the stage—of this proof of the toleration of the English Church towards it—Westminster Abbey is the crowning scene; and through this alone probably has won a place in the French literature of the last century.² Not only has it included under its walls the memorials of the greatest of dramatists, and also those whose morality is amongst the ‘ most obnoxious to complaint, but it has opened its doors to the whole race of illustrious actors and actresses. A protest indeed, as we have seen, was raised against the epitaph of Shadwell, and also against the monument of Anne Oldfield:—

¹ Lecky's *History of Rationalism*, ii. 347, 349, 354.

² O rivale d'Athène! ô Londres, heureuse terre!

Ainsi que les tyrans vous avez su chasser

Les préjugés honteux qui vous livraient la guerre.

C'est là qu'on sait dire, et tout récompenser,

Nul art n'est méprisé, tout succès a sa gloire.

Le vainqueur de Tallard, le fils de la victoire,

Le sublime Dryden et le sage Addison,

Et la charmante *Ophils* et l'immortel Newton,

Ont part au temple de la Mémoire, Et Lecouvreur à Londres aurait eu

des tombeaux

Parmi les beaux esprits, les rois et les héros.

Quiconque a des talens à Londres est un grand homme

L'abondance et la liberté

Ont, après deux mille ans, chez vous ressuscité

L'esprit de la Grèce et de Rome. — Voltaire's *Ode on the Death of Lecouvreur*, vol. x. 360 (*Ophils*, Oldfield).

Some papers from the Honourable Brigadier Churchill, asking leave to put up in the Abbey a monument and an inscription to the memory of the late Mrs. Oldfield, being this day delivered in Chapter to the Lord Bishop of Rochester and Dean of the said Church, and the same being examined and read, his Lordship the Dean was pleased to declare that he was so far from thinking the matter therein proposed proper to be granted, that he could neither consent to it himself, nor put any question to the Chapter concerning it.¹

Anno
Oldfield,
buried
Oct. 27,
1731.

But, even in this extreme case, the funeral had been permitted. Her extraordinary grace of manner drew a veil over her many failings :—

There was such a composure in her looks, and propriety in her dress, that you would think it impossible she could change the garb * you one day saw her in for anything so becoming, till the next day you saw her in another. There was no mystery in this but that, however apparelled herself was the same ; for there is an immediate relation between our thoughts and our gestures, that a woman must think well to look well.²

She was brought in state to the Jerusalem Chamber, and buried, with the utmost pomp, at the west end of the Nave. Her grave is in a not unsuitable place, beneath the monument of Congreve. Here she lies, ‘buried’ (according to the testimony of her maid, Elizabeth Saunders) ‘in a very fine ‘Brussels lace head, a Holland shift, and double ruffles of the ‘same lace, a pair of new kid gloves, and her body wrapped ‘in a winding-sheet.’

‘Odious ! in woollen ! ’twould a saint provoke,’
Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke ;
‘No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
‘Wrap my cold limbs, and shade my lifeless face :
‘One would not, sure, be frightful when one’s dead—
‘And—Betty—give this cheek a little red.’³

Anne Bracegirdle—earlier in her career, but, by the great

¹ Chapter Book, February 20,
1736.

² *Tatler*, i. 104 ; iv. 152.

³ Pope, v. 279.

Anne
Brace-
girdle,
buried
Sept. 18,
1748.
Susanna
Maria
Cibber,
1766.
Hannah
Prichard,
died at
Bath,
1768.
Betterton
buried
May 2,
1710.

age at which she died (in her eighty-sixth year), later in the Abbey—lies in the East Cloister. She was the most popular actress of her time.¹ Mrs. Cibber lies in the North Cloister. ‘Cibber dead!’ exclaimed Garrick, ‘then Tragedy expired with her.’ An inscription by Whitehead, in Poets’ Corner, records the better qualities of ‘Prichard, by nature for the stage designed.’²

Of the race of male actors, first came Betterton, the Roscius of his age. After a long life, in which he had been familiar with the leading wits of the reign of Charles II., he was buried in the south end of the East Cloister; and of no funeral of that time, except Addison’s, is left a more touching account than that by his friend Sir Richard Steele:—

Having received notice, that the famous actor Mr. Betterton was to be interred this evening in the Cloisters near Westminster Abbey, I was resolved to walk thither, and see the last office done to a man whom I had always very much admired, and from whose action I had received more strong impressions of what is great and noble in human nature, than from the arguments of the most solid philosophers, or the descriptions of the most charming poets I had ever read. . . . While I walked in the Cloisters, I thought of him with the same concern as if I waited for the remains of a person who had in real life done all that I had seen him represent. The gloom of the place, and faint lights before the ceremony appeared, contributed to the melancholy disposition I was in; and I began to be extremely afflicted that Brutus and Cassius had any difference, that Hotspur’s gallantry was so unfortunate, and that the mirth and good humour of Falstaff could not exempt him from the grave. Nay, this occasion in me, who look upon the distinctions amongst men to be merely scenical, raised reflections upon the emptiness of all human perfection and greatness in general; and I could not but regret, that the sacred heads which he buried in the neighbourhood of this little portion of earth in which my poor old friend is deposited, are returned to dust as well as he, and that there is no difference in the grave between the imaginary and the real monarch.³

¹ Macaulay, iv. 310.

³ *Tatler*, No. 167.

² Churchill’s *Rosciad*.

The memory of Betterton's acting was handed on by Barton Booth, celebrated as the chief performer of Addison's 'Cato.' His bust in Poets' Corner, erected by his second wife (Mrs. Laidlaw, an actress), in 1772, is probably as much owing to his connexion with Westminster as to his histrionic talent. He was educated at Westminster School under Busby, from which he escaped to Ireland to indulge his passion for the stage; and he possessed property in Westminster, called *Barton Street* (from his own name) and *Cowley Street* (from his country residence). His surname has acquired a fatal celebrity from his descendant, Wilkes Booth, who followed in his grandfather's profession, and, by the knowledge so gained, assassinated the American President in Ford's Theatre at Washington, on Good Friday, 1865.

Booth,
died
May 10,
1733,
buried
at Cowley,
near Ux-
bridge.

In the North Cloister is Spranger Barry and his wife, Anne Crawford—'in person taller than the common size'—famous as 'Othello' and 'Romeo.' In this character he and his great rival, Garrick, played against each other so long as to give rise to the proverb, 'Romeo again! a plague on 'both your houses!' And in the same year, in the West Cloister, was interred the comedian, Samuel Foote, 'who 'pleased Dr. Johnson against his will.' 'The dog was so 'very comical—Sir, he was irresistible!'

Barry,
buried
Jan. 20,
1777.

Foote,
died
Oct. 20,
buried
Oct. 30,
1777.

Whatever hesitation there might be about these actors, there was none concerning David Garrick. He followed in two years, and was interred at the foot of Shakspeare's statue,¹ and close by the spot which afterwards held the remains of his friend and former preceptor, Johnson; and his monument was raised high aloft on the opposite wall—with all the emblems of tragic art, and with an

David
Garrick,
died Jan.
20, buried
Feb. 1,
1779.

¹ Garrick's widow is buried with him. She survived him forty-three years—'a little bowed-down old woman, who went about leaning on

'a gold-headed cane, dressed in deep widow's mourning, and always talking of her dear Davy.' (*Pen and Ink Sketches*, 1864.)

buried
Oct. 16,
1829,
aged 99

Garrick's
monu-
ment.

inscription by Pratt ¹—which had the effect of provoking the only serious remonstrance which has been uttered against the introduction of these theatrical memorials into the Abbey, and that not from any austere moralist or prelate, but from the gentlest and most genial of mortals:

Taking a turn in the Abbey the other day [says Charles Lamb], I was struck with the affected attitude of a figure, which, on examination, proved to be a whole-length representation of the celebrated Mr. Garrick. Though I would not go so far, with some good Catholics abroad, as to shut players altogether out of consecrated ground, yet I own I was a little scandalised at the introduction of theatrical airs and gestures into a place set apart to remind us of the saddest realities. Going nearer, I found inscribed under this harlequin figure a sarrago of false thoughts and nonsense.

Statue of
Mrs. Siddons, died
June 8,
1831.

Garrick is the last actor who was buried in the Abbey. Two cenotaphs, now side by side, in St. Andrew's Chapel, commemorate the two most illustrious of the modern family of actors—Sarah Siddons and her brother, John Kemble. The statue of Mrs. Siddons, by Chantry (suggested by Reynolds's portrait of her as the Tragic Muse) stands in colossal proportions, in a place selected, after much deliberation, by the sculptor and the three successive Deans of that time. The cost was defrayed by Macready, and the name affixed after a long consultation with Lord Lansdowne and Rogers. The statue of John Philip Kemble, by Hinchcliffe (after a design of Flaxman) was, in 1865, moved from an inappropriate site in the North Transept, with the concurrence of his niece, Fanny Kemble. He is represented as 'Cato.'

Statue of
John
Philip
Kemble,
died Feb.
26, 1823;
buried at
Lausanne.
MUSICIANS.

Not altogether alien to the stage, but more congenial to the Church, is the series of eminent musicians, who in fact formed a connecting link between the two, which has since been almost severed. In a humorous letter, imagined to be written from one to the other in the nether world, of two of

¹ An inscription had been prepared by Burke, which was thought too long. (Windham's *Diary*, p. 361.)

the most famous of these earlier leaders of the art, they are compared to Mahomet's coffin, equally attracted by the Theatre and Earth—the Church and Heaven.¹

Henry Lawes lies, unnamed, in the Cloisters, probably from his place in the Chapel Royal under Charles I. and the Commonwealth, in which he composed the anthem for the coronation of Charles II., the year before his death. But his chief fame arises from his connexion with Milton. He composed the music of 'Comus,' and himself acted the part of the attendant spirit in its representation at Ludlow; and his reward was the sonnet which rehearses his peculiar gift—

Lawes,
died Oct.
21, buried
Oct. 25,
1662.

Harry, whose tuneful and well-measur'd lay
First taught our English music how to span
Words with just note and accent—
To after age thou shalt be writ the man
That with smooth air could humour best our tongues.

Christopher Gibbons (son of the more famous Orlando²) also lies unmarked in the Cloisters—first of the famous organists of the Abbey, and master of Blow.

Christo-
pher
Gibbons,
buried
Oct. 29,
1676.

But the first musician who was buried within the church—the Chaucer, as it were, of the Musicians' Corner—was Henry Purcell, organist of the Abbey, who died at the same early age of 37 which was fatal to Mendelssohn, and was buried in the north aisle of the Choir, close to the organ³ which he had been the first to raise to celebrity, and with the Anthem which he had but a few months before composed for the funeral of Queen Mary. The tablet above was erected by his patroness, Lady Elizabeth Howard, the wife of Dryden, who is said to have composed

Purcell,
died Nov.
21, buried
Nov. 26,
1695.

His tablet.

¹ Tom Brown's *Letters from the Dead to the Living*. (Blow and Purcell.) It is also one of the complaints in the *London Spy* (p. 187), against the quiremen of the Abbey, that they should 'sing at the playhouse.'

² Orlando Gibbons is buried in

Canterbury Cathedral.

³ '*Dum vicina organa spirant*' are the words of the inscription on his gravestone, now effaced, which also records his double fame both in secular and sacred music—'*Musa profana suos, religiosa suos.*'

Epitaph on Purcell. the epitaph ¹—‘Here lies Henry Purcell, Esq., who left this life, and is gone to that blessed place where only his harmonies can be excelled.’ As ‘Tom Brown’² and his boisterous companions passed this way, they overlooked all the other monuments, ‘except that of Harry Purcell, the memory of whose harmony held’ even those coarse souls ‘for a little.’³

Blow,
buried
Oct. 8,
1708.

Opposite to Purcell is the grave and tablet of his master, also his successor in the Abbey—John Blow. Challenged by James II. to make an anthem as good as that of one of the King’s Italian composers, Blow by the next Sunday produced, ‘I beheld, and lo a great multitude!’ The King sent the Jesuit, Father Peter, to acquaint him that he was well pleased with it; ‘but,’ added Peter, ‘I myself think it too long.’—‘That,’ replied Blow, ‘is the opinion of but one fool, and I heed it not.’ This quarrel was, happily, cut short by the Revolution of 1688. Close beside Blow is his successor, William Croft. His tablet records his gentleness to his pupils for fifty years, and the fitness of his own *Hallelujah* to the heavenly chorus, with the text, ‘Awake up my glory, awake lute and harp; I myself will awake right early.’ He will be longer remembered in the Abbey for the union of his music with Purcell’s at its great funerals. Samuel Arnold, the eminent composer, lies next to Purcell; and opposite his tablet is that of the historian of all those who lie around him—Charles Burney.⁴ The grave and monument of Benjamin Cooke, with his ‘canon’ engraved, are in the West Cloister.

Croft,
buried
Aug. 23,
1727.

Arnold,
died Oct.
22, buried
Oct. 29,
1802.
Burney,
died 1814.
Cooke,
died 1793.

One, the greatest of all, has found his restingplace in

¹ Neale, ii. 221.—Thesamethought of the welcome of the heavenly choir was expressed in Dryden’s elegy upon him—

They handed him along,
And all the way he taught, and all
the way they sung.

(Dryden, ii. 305.)

² Vol. iii. p. 127.

³ ‘Peter Abbott,’ on the night of July 1, 1800, made a wager that he would write his name on this monument. See Chapter II.

⁴ The other historian of music—the biographer of Johnson—Sir John Hawkins, lies in the North Cloister, with only the letters J. H., by his own desire, on the gravestone.

Hawkins,
buried
Jan. 28,
1789.

a less appropriate, though still a congenial spot. Handel had lived in the society of poets. It was Arbuthnot, the friend of Pope, who said, 'Conceive the highest you can of his abilities, and they are much beyond anything that you can conceive.' He who composed the music of the 'Messiah,' and the 'Israel in Egypt,' must have been a poet, no less than a musician, of no ordinary degree. Therefore he was not unfitly buried in Poets' Corner, apart from his musical brethren, under the spot where, by his own provision, Roubiliac erected his monument, with the inscription, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.' It was no doubt accidental that the figure of the somewhat unwieldy¹ musician faces eastward; but it gave an exquisite pleasure to the antiquary Carter, when (in contrast to the monument of Shakspeare) he saw 'the statue of this more than man turning his eyes to where the Eternal Father of Heaven is supposed to sit enthroned, King of kings, and Lord of lords.'² On the monument the date of his death had been originally inscribed as Saturday, April 14; it is now corrected to 'Good Friday,' April 13, 1759. 'He had most seriously and devoutly wished, for some days before his death, that he might breathe his last on Good Friday, in hopes, he said, of meeting his good God, his sweet Lord and Saviour, on the day of His resurrection.'³

Handel,
died
April 13,
buried
in Poets'
Corner.
April 20,
1759.

His statue.

Music and poetry are the only arts which are adequately represented in the Abbey. Sir Godfrey Kneller is its only painter, and even he is not buried within its walls. 'Sir Godfrey sent to me,' says Pope, 'just before he died. He began by telling me he was now convinced he could

ARTISTS.

Kneller,
died Oct.
27, 1723,
buried at
Kneller
Hall.

¹ 'Nature required a great supply of sustenance to support so large a mass, and he was rather epicurean in the choice of it.' (Burney's *Life of Handel*, p. 32.) 'His hand was so fat that the knuckles were like those

'of a child.' (Ibid. p. 85.) For the curious care with which Roubiliac modelled the *car* of Handel, see Smith's *Life of Nollekens*, ii. 87.

² *Gent. Mag.* (1774), part ii. pt. 670.

³ Burney, p. 31.

Pope's
Epitaph
on
Kneller.

'not live, and fell into a passion of tears. I said I hoped 'he might, but if not he knew that it was the will of God. 'He answered, "*No, no; it is the Evil Spirit.*" The next 'word he said was this: "*By God, I will not be buried in* ' "*Westminster!*" I asked him why? He answered, "They ' "do bury *fools* there." Then he said to me, "My good ' "friend, where will you be buried?" I said, "Wherever ' "I drop—very likely in Twickenham." He replied, "So ' "will I." He proceeded to desire that I would write his 'epitaph, which I promised him.'¹ He was buried in the garden of his manor at Whitton—now Kneller Hall. He chose for his monument in the church at Twickenham a position already occupied (on the north-west wall of the church) by Pope's tablet to his father. An angry correspondence ensued after Kneller's death between his widow and Pope, and the monument was ultimately placed in the Abbey.² The difficulty did not end even there. Pope fulfilled his promise at his friend's deathbed, but thought the epitaph 'the 'worst thing he ever wrote in his life,' and Dr. Johnson said of it:

Of this epitaph the first couplet is good, the second not bad; the third is deformed with a broken metaphor, the word *crowned* not being applicable to the *honours* or the *lays*; and the fourth is not only borrowed from the epitaph on Raphael, but of a very harsh construction.³

After this unfortunate beginning, no painter has been, or probably ever will be, interred within the Abbey. The burial of Sir Joshua Reynolds in St. Paul's has carried with it the commemoration of all future artists in the crypt of that great cathedral.

¹ Pope's *Works*, iii. 374.

² At the west end of the Nave, where Fox's monument now is (moved by Dean Buckland to the south aisle of the Choir). It was there so conspicuous and solitary, as

to be made a landmark for the processions in the Nave. (See Precentor's Book on Queen Caroline's funeral, 1737.)

³ *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 211.

Of architects and sculptors, the graves of Chambers and Wyatt, and the monument of Taylor, are in the South Transept, and the tablet of Banks in the North Aisle; and in the Nave lies Sir Charles Barry, whose grave is adorned, in brass, by a memorial of his own vast work in the adjacent pile of the New Palace of Westminster.

The West Cloister contains the monuments of the two engravers, Vertue—who, as a Roman Catholic, was buried near an old monk, of his family, who was laid there just before the Dissolution¹—and Woollett, '*Incisor Excellentissimus*.'

It is a proof of the late, slow, and gradual growth of science in England, that it has not appropriated to itself any special place in the Abbey, but has, almost before we are aware of it, penetrated promiscuously into every part, much in the same way as it has imperceptibly influenced all our social and literary relations elsewhere.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there were two important places vacant in the Nave, on each side of the entrance to the Choir. That on the south was occupied by the monument designed by Kent to the memory of the first Earl Stanhope, and of his second son, and recording also the characters of the second and third Earls of the same proud name. They are all buried at Chevening. Collectively, if not singly, they played a part sufficiently conspicuous to account for, if not to justify, so honourable a place in the Abbey.² But at the same moment that the artist was designing this memorial of the high-spirited and high-born statesman, he was employed in erecting two other monuments in the Abbey, which outshine every other name, however illustrious by rank or heroic action. One was but a cenotaph, and has been already described³—the statue of Shakspeare

Chambers,
buried
March 18,
1796.
Wyatt,
Sept. 26,
1813.
Taylor,
1788.
Banks,
1805.
Barry,
May 22,
1860.
Vertue,
1756.
Woollett,
1785.

MEN OF
SCIENCE.

The monu-
ments of
James,
Philip,
and
Charles,
Earls
Stanhope,
1720,
1783,
1816;
and of
George
Stanhope,
son of
James,
Earl Stan-
hope, 1746.

¹ Malcolm's *Londinium*, p. 193;
Nichols's *Bowyer*.

² 'Stanhope's noble flame.' (Pope,
vi. 376.)

³ See pp. 270, 280.

Sir Isaac
Newton,
died March
20, buried
March 28,
1727.

His grave.

His
epitaph.

in Poets' Corner. But the other was to celebrate the actual interment of the only dust of unquestionably world-wide fame that the floor of Westminster covers—of one so far raised above all the political or literary magnates by whom he is surrounded, as to mark an era in the growth of the monumental history of the whole building. On March 28, 1727, the body of Sir Isaac Newton, after lying in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, where it had been brought from his deathbed in Kensington, was attended by the leading members of the Royal Society, and buried at the public cost in the spot in front of the Choir, which, being 'one of the most 'conspicuous in the Abbey, had been previously refused to 'various noblemen who had applied for it.'¹ Its selection for such a purpose marks the moment at which the more sacred recesses in the interior of the church were considered to be closed, or to have lost their special attractions, whilst the publicity of the wide and open spaces hitherto neglected gave them a new importance. On the gravestone² are written the words, which here acquire a significance of more than usual solemnity—'*Hic depositum quod mortale fuit Isaaci 'Newtoni.*'³ On the monument was intended to have been inscribed the double epitaph of Pope :

ISAACUS NEWTONIUS,
Quem Immortalem
Testantur *Tempus, Natura, Cælum :*
Mortalem
Hoc marmor fatetur.

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night :
God said, *Let Newton be!*—and all was light.⁴

The actual inscription agrees with the actual monument—the one in words, the other in marble allegory, a de-

¹ *London Gazette*, April 5, 1727.

² Restored to its place in 1866.

³ Johnson had intended, '*Isaacus 'Newtonius legibus naturæ investigatis, 'hic quiescit.*'

⁴ Pope, iii. 378.—Compare the inscription on the monument of Gutenberg at Strasburg: '*He said, Let 'there be light, and there was light.*'

scription of Newton's discoveries closing with the summary :—

Naturæ, antiquitatis, Sanctæ Scripturæ sedulus, sagax, fidus interpres, Dei O. M. majestatem philosophiâ asseruit; Evangelii simplicitatem moribus expressit. Tibi gratulentur mortales, tale tantumque exstitisse humani generis decus.¹

His grave, if not actually the centre of the heroes of science, yet attracted two at least of his friends towards the same spot. One was his nephew and successor in the Mint, John Conduitt, who was buried 'on the right side of Sir 'Isaac Newton,' and whose monument, at the extreme west end of the Nave, was raised (as its inscription states) exactly opposite to his. The other was Martin Ffolkes, his friend and deputy at the Royal Society, of which he ultimately became the President, though, from his Jacobite principles, he never was made a baronet. He is buried in his ancestral place at Hillington, in Norfolk; but his genial character,² his general knowledge, and his antiquarian celebrity as a numismatist, naturally procured for him a memorial in the North Aisle of the Abbey. It was erected long afterwards, by the sister-in-law of his daughter Lucretia.³

Conduitt,
buried
May 29,
1737.

Ffolkes,
died 1754,
buried at
Hilling-
ton.

His monu-
ment, erec-
ted 1788.

Close upon these follows the band of eminent physicians—uniting (as so many since) science and scholarship with medical skill, and bound by ties, more or less near, to the presiding genius of Westminster at that period. 'It is a very sickly 'time,'⁴ writes the daughter of Atterbury to her exiled father, in announcing the successive deaths of his beloved friends, Chamberlen, Arbuthnot, and Woodward.

THE PHY-
SICIANS.

¹ See the criticism of Newton's monument by the continuator of Stowe, p. 618.

² Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*; Coleridge's *Northern Worthies*; Dibdin's *Bibliomania*. — 'He had a 'striking resemblance to Peireskios, 'the ornament of the seventeenth 'century.' His portrait by Hogarth

is the 'picture of open-hearted 'English honesty and hospitality, 'but does not indicate much intellect.' (Coleridge.)

³ So called from her mother, Lucretia Bradshaw, the first actress married by a gentleman.

⁴ Atterbury's *Letters*, iv. 127, 151, 159.

Chamber-
len, died
June 17,
1728.

Hugh Chamberlen was the last of the eminent race of accoucheurs who brought into the world the royal progeny of the whole Stuart dynasty, from James I. to Anne. He attended Atterbury in the Tower, and Atterbury repaid his friendship by the pains bestowed on his elaborate epitaph, which forms a topic of no less than seven letters in the Bishop's exile.¹ It is inscribed on the cenotaph erected to the physician by Atterbury's youthful admirer, the young Edward, Duke of Buckinghamshire.²

Wood-
ward, died
April 25,
buried
May 1,
1728.

John Woodward, who was buried in the Nave,³ at the head of Newton's gravestone, within two months after Newton's death, was, amidst all his eccentricities, philosophical and antiquarian, the founder of English Geology, and of that Cambridge chair which bears his name, and has received an European illustration from the genius of its present octogenarian occupant; and his death was received as a blow to science all over Europe—'the first man of his faculty,'⁴ writes Atterbury from his French exile.

Freind,
died July
26, 1728;
buried at
Hitchin.

His rival, John Freind, interred at his own seat at Hitchin, Buckinghamshire, has a monument on the opposite side. His close connexion with Westminster, through his brother Robert, the Headmaster,⁵ and through his education there, may have led to the monument; but it has an intrinsic interest from his own eminence as a physician and scholar, and the vicissitudes of his political life—imprisoned in the Tower for his intimacy with Atterbury; released at the promise of Walpole, extorted by his friend Dr. Mead; favourite of George II. and

¹ Atterbury's *Letters*, pp. 127, 149, 185, 186, 198, 217, 258, 260.

² By a Chapter Order of May 16, 1729, the Duchess of Buckinghamshire is allowed to take down the screen of the sacarium to erect it; but this order was afterwards rescinded.

³ Register.

⁴ Atterbury's *Letters*, iv. 244.

⁵ He gave for a theme, on the day

after his brother's imprisonment, '*Frater ne desere fratrem*' (Nichols's *Anecdotes*, v. 86, 102), and wrote the epitaph for him, as for many others at this time. Hence Pope's lines—

Freind, for your epitaph I'm griev'd,

Where still so much is said,

One half will never be believed,

The other never read.

Queen Caroline—an interest independent of any accidental connexion with the place. Samuel Wesley's epitaph says of afflicted Physic on this event, 'She mourns with Radcliffe, but 'she dies with Freind.'¹ Atterbury heard of his death in France with much concern: 'He is lamented by men of all parties 'at home, and of all countries abroad; for he was known 'everywhere, and confessed to be at the head of his faculty.'²

Richard Mead is buried in the Temple Church, but his bust also is in the Nave.³ He was the first of that succession of eminent physicians who have been (from this example) sent forth from the homes of Nonconformist ministers. His noble conduct, in refusing to prescribe for Sir R. Walpole till Freind was released from the Tower, and in repaying him all the fees of his patients; his fiery encounter with their joint adversary, Woodward, in the courts of Gresham College; his large and liberal patronage of arts and sciences, give a peculiar charm to the good physician who 'lived 'more in the broad sunshine of life than almost any man.'⁴

Wetenall and Pringle have tablets in the South, and Winteringham in the North, Transept. But the main succession of science is carried on in St. Andrew's Chapel,⁵ which contains busts of Matthew Baillie, the eminent physician, the brother of Joanna, the poetess; of Sir Humphry Davy, the genius of modern chemistry; and of Dr. Young, whose mathematical and hieroglyphical discoveries have outshone his medical fame.⁶ John Hunter was transferred (by what in the Middle Ages would have been called a 'translation') from the vaults of St. Martin's Church into the Nave of the Abbey. There is no more curious narrative

Cenotaphs
of Mead,
died Feb.
16, 1754;

and of
Wetenall,
1733;
Pringle,
1782;
Winter-
ingham,
1794;
Baillie,
1823;
Davy,
died at
Geneva,
1829; and
Young,
1829.
Hunter,
died Oct.
16, 1793
removed
here,
March 28,
1859.

¹ Nichols, v. 103.

² Atterbury's *Letters*, ii. 320, 384.

³ The inscription was written by Dr. Ward. (Nichols, vi. 216.)

⁴ Boswell's *Johnson*, iv. 222.

⁵ Dr. Buchan, author of 'Domestic

Medicine,' is buried in the West Cloister (1805).

⁶ Dr. Young's epitaph is by Hudson Gurney. The projected bust was a failure, hence the medallion is in profile. (Peacock's *Life*, p. 485.)

Buchan,
1805.

of a chivalrous devotion to the relics of a great man, than the extraordinary account of Mr. Frank Buckland's sixteen dreary days in the catacombs of St. Martin's Church, which ended in his triumphant recovery of the remains of the founder of scientific surgery.¹

INVENTORS
OF PRAC-
TICAL SCI-
ENCE.

Sir
Robert
Moray,
buried
July 6,
1673.

Sir Samuel
Morland,
died 1696.

His wives,
Carola,
died Oct.
10, 1674;
Anne, bur-
ied Feb.
21, 1679
(80).

Tompion,
buried
Nov. 25,
1713.
Graham,
died Nov.
24, 1751.

And now, the latest-born of time, comes the practical science of modern days. The earliest that the Abbey contains is Sir Robert Moray, first President of the Royal Society, buried in the South Transept near Davenant, at the charge of Charles II., who through him had made all his scientific communications: 'the life and soul of the Society;' Evelyn's 'dear and excellent friend, that good man and accomplished gentleman.' The strange genius of Sir Samuel Morland³—perfidious secretary of Oliver Cromwell, more creditably known as the first inventor of the speaking-trumpet, the fire-engine, the calculating machine, and, according to some, even of the steam-engine—has left his mark in the South Aisle of the Nave, by the two singular tablets to his first wife, Carola Harsnett, and his second wife, Anne Fielding, whom he married, and buried in the Abbey, within the space of ten years.⁴ It was before these two tablets—which record the merits of Carola and Anne, in Hebrew, Greek, Ethiopic, and English—that Addison paused, and, contrasting them with the extraordinary praises bestowed on the dead in some epitaphs, remarked that 'there were others so excessively modest, that they deliver the character of the person departed in Greek and Hebrew, and by that means are not understood once in a twelvemonth.'⁵ In the centre of the Nave, in the same grave, were laid the master and apprentice—Tompion and Graham, the fathers of English watchmakers. The slab over their

¹ *Curiosities of Natural History*, ii. 160–179.

² Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 90; Evelyn (who attended the funeral), ii. 383.

³ For Morland's Life see Pepys's

Diary, and his Autobiography (*Historical Society of Music*, 1841).

⁴ Marriage Register, 1670 and 1676; Burial Register, 1679.

⁵ *Spectator*, No. 26.

grave, commemorating 'their curious inventions and accurate performances,' was removed at the beginning of the century. This change called forth many an indignant remonstrance from the humble but useful tribe who regarded this gravestone as their Caaba. 'Watchmakers,' says one of them, 'the writer amongst the number, until prevented by recent restrictions, were in the habit of making frequent pilgrimages to the sacred spot: from the inscription and the place, they felt proud of their occupation; and many a secret wish to excel has arisen while silently contemplating the silent restingplace of the two men whose memory they so much revered. Their memory may last, but the slab is gone.'¹

In the South Transept, perhaps from his sacred profession, beside the other divines, was erected (by the mother of George III.) the medallion of Stephen Hales, remarkable both as a vegetable physiologist and as the discoverer of ventilators.

Hales, died Jan. 4, 1761; buried at Teddington.

But all these lesser representatives of practical science shrink into insignificance, both without and within the Abbey as its chief representative leaps full-grown into sight in Chantrey's gigantic statue of James Watt, the 'Improver of the Steam Engine.' Of all the monuments in the Abbey, perhaps this is the one which provokes the loudest execrations from those who look for uniformity of design, or congruity with the ancient architecture. Well may the ancient pavement of the church have cracked and yawned, as the enormous monster moved into its place, and 'disclosed to the eyes of the astonished workmen rows upon rows of gilded coffins in the vaults beneath; into which, but for the precaution of planking the area, workmen and work must have descended, joining the dead in the chamber of death.'² Well might

James Watt, died Aug. 19, 1819; buried at Handsworth, near Birmingham.

¹ Thompson's *Time and Time-keepers*, p. 74.—The passage was pointed out to me by a friend, in consequence of the strong irritation expressed on the subject by an obscure watchmaker in a provincial town.

The gravestone, happily, had not been destroyed, and was restored in 1866.

² Cunningham's *Handbook*, p. 23.—It is said that an exalted personage, when visiting this Chapel some twenty years ago, enquired how the

the standard-bearer of Agincourt, and the worthies of the Courts of Elizabeth and James, have started from their tombs in St. Paul's Chapel,¹ if they could have seen this colossal champion of a new plebeian art enter their aristocratic restingplace, and take up his position in the centre of the little sanctuary, regardless of all proportion, or style, in all the surrounding objects. Yet, when we consider what this vast figure represents, what class of interests before unknown, what revolutions in the whole actual framework of modern society, equal to any that the Abbey-walls have yet commemorated, there is surely a fitness even in its very incongruity; and as we read the long laudation on the pedestal, though we may not think it, as its admirers call it, 'beyond comparison the finest lapidary inscription in the English language,'² yet, in its vigorous English and scientific enthusiasm, it is not unworthy of the omnigenous knowledge of him who wrote it,³ or of the powerful intellect and vast discovery which it is intended to describe.

Rennell,
buried
April 6,
1831.
Telford,
buried
Sept. 10,
1834.
Stephenson, died
Oct. 12.
buried Oct.
21, 1859.

Close to the geographer Rennell, in the centre of the Nave, lie Telford,⁴ the famous builder of bridges, and Robert Stephenson, who 'had during his life expressed a wish that his body should be laid near that of Telford; and the son of the Killingworth engineman thus sleeps by the side of the

statue effected its entrance. No one present was able to answer. An explanation was afterwards given, that the statue was sunk in a passage tunnelled under the screen, and then lifted into its present place. This, however, was not the case. The pedestal was introduced in three parts over the tomb of Lewis Robsart, and the statue was just able to force its way through the door; although, in anticipation of the passage not being wide enough, permission had been obtained to remove the neighbouring monument of Pulteney. It was at the moment of crossing the threshold that the arch of the

vault beneath gave way, as described above. These particulars were communicated to me from Mr. Weekes, who assisted Chantrey in the operation, by the kindness of Mr. Sopwith.

¹ See pp. 197, 199, 203.

² Smiles's *Life of Watt*, p. 507.

³ 'It has ever been reckoned one of the chief honours of my life,' says Lord Brougham, 'that I was called upon to pen the inscription upon the noble monument thus nobly reared.'

⁴ Rennell's monument is at the west end of the Nave; Telford's in the Chapel of St. Andrew.

‘son of the Eskdale shepherd,’¹ and over their graves the light falls through the stained glass windows erected in memory of their brethren in the same art—Locke and Brunel.²

Joseph
Locke,
died 1860.
Brunel,
died 1849.

We have now gone through all the monuments and graves that attach themselves to the history of our country. There still remains that thin dark thread of those who, without historical or official claims, have crept into the Abbey, often, we must regret to think, from the carelessness of those who had the charge of it in former times. Goldsmith, in his ‘Citizen of the World,’ has a bitter satire on the guardianship of ‘the sordid priests, who are guilty, for a superior reward, of taking down the names of good men to make room for others of equivocal character, or of giving other but true merit a place in that awful sanctuary.’³

PRIVATE
MONU-
MENTS.

O fond attempt to give a deathless lot
To names ignoble, born to be forgot!

Still, even amongst these, there are claims upon our attention, of various kinds, which deserve a passing notice.

One class of obscure names belong to those who entered, by virtue of their rank, ‘the Nobles,’ who with the kings and queens had anciently a right to interment within the Abbey. Most of these lie, as we have seen, in the Ormond vault. But amongst the special burialplaces of the aristocracy, three may be selected, as belonging rather to the course of private than of public history, yet still with an interest of their own.

THE NO-
BILITY.

In the Chapel of St. Nicholas is the vault in which, owing to the marriage of Algernon, ‘the proud Duke⁴ of ‘Somerset,’ with the heiress of the Percys, the House

¹ Smiles's *Engineers*, ii. 481.

² The window erected to Stephenson curiously commemorates the mechanical contrivances of the world, from the Tower of Babel down to the railways; that to Locke, the instances, in the Gospel History, of working on the Sabbath; that to Brunel, the

building of the Temple.

³ Goldsmith, ii. 44. Compare Walpole's *Letters*, iii. 427.

⁴ One of this family—Sarah, Duchess of Somerset (1692)—remarkable as a benefactress of St. Margaret's parish and of Brampton and St. John's Colleges, lies in St. Michael's Church.

Elizabeth
Percy,
Duchess of
Northum-
berland,
buried
Dec. 18,
1775.

of Percy has from that time been interred, under the monument of the ancient Duchess of Somerset, widow of the Protector. The offspring of this marriage was Elizabeth Percy, the first Duchess of Northumberland. She was conspicuous both for her extensive munificence, and for her patronage of literature, of which the 'Percy Reliques' are the living monument. She died on her sixtieth birthday, and was the first of her family interred in the Percy vault. Her elaborate monument marks the interest felt in her death and her character. By her own repeated desire, the funeral was to be 'as private as her rank would admit.' The crowd collected was, however, so vast that the officiating clergy and choir could scarcely make their way from the west door to the chapel. Just as the procession had passed St. Edmund's Chapel, the whole of the screen, including the canopy of John of Eltham's tomb, came down with a crash, which brought with it the men and boys who had clambered to the top of it to see the spectacle, and severely wounded many of those below. The uproar and confusion put a stop to the ceremony for two hours. The body was left in the ruined Chapel, and the Dean did not return till after midnight, when the funeral was completed, but still amidst 'cries of murder, raised by 'such of the sufferers as had not been removed.'¹

Another very different race is that of the Delavals. Of that ancient northern family, whose ancestor carried the standard at Hastings, two were remarkable for their own distinctions—Admiral Delaval² (companion of Sir Cloudesley Shovel) and Edward Hussey Delaval, last of the male line, who was the author of various philosophical works,³ and lies buried amongst the philosophers in the Nave. But Lord and Lady

Admiral
Delaval,
buried
Jan. 27,
1807.
E. H.
Delaval,
1814.

¹ *Annual Register*, xix. 197; *Gent. Mag.* [1776], p. 576. This is the only vault which still belongs to a private family. It received in our own time the remains of the chief of the House,

distinguished by a princely magnificence worthy of his ancestors.

² Charnock's *Naval Biog.* ii. 10.

³ *Gent. Mag.* [1814], pt. ii. p. 293.

Delaval and their two daughters, Lady Mexborough and Lady Tyrconnell, perhaps also the Admiral, are interred in or close to St. Paul's Chapel, where the banners—the last vestiges of a once general custom—hang over their graves.¹ Their pranks at Seaton Delaval² belong to the history of Northumberland, and of the dissolute state of English society at the close of the last century; and in the traditions of the North still survives the memory of the pomp which, at every stage of the long journey from Northumberland to London, accompanied the remains of the wildest of the race—Lady Tyrconnell.³

Lord Delaval, 1783; Lady Delaval, 1808 Lady Mexborough, 1821.

Lady Tyrconnell, 1800.

Another trace of the strange romances of the North of England is the grave of Mary Eleanor Bowes, Countess of Strathmore, who, a few months before the funeral (just described) of her neighbour Lady Tyrconnell, was buried in the South Transept, in the last year of the past century, after adventures which ought to belong to the Middle Ages.⁴

Mary Eleanor Bowes, Countess of Strathmore, died April 28, buried May 10, 1800.

It is touching to observe how many are commemorated from their extreme youth. Not only, as in the case of eminent persons—like Purcell, or Francis Horner, or Charles Buller—where the Abbey commemorates the promise of glories not yet fully developed, but in the humbler classes of life, the sigh over the premature loss is petrified into stone, and affects the more deeply from the great events amidst which it is enshrined. ‘Jane Lister, dear child, October 7, 1688.’⁵ ‘Her brother Michael had already died in 1676, and been buried at Helen’s Church, York.’⁵ In that eventful year of the Revolution, when Church and State were reeling to their

MONUMENTS OF THE YOUNG.

Jane Lister, died Oct. 7, 1688.

¹ Neale, ii. 181.

² Howitt's *Visits to Remarkable Places* (2nd series), pp. 354–374.

³ Register, November 4, 1800.

⁴ Howitt's *Visits*, p. 198.

⁵ This seems to show that her father must have been Dr. Lister, author of

a ‘Journey to Paris,’ and other works on Natural History, who came from York to London in 1684. He is buried at Clapham, with his first wife, who is there described as his ‘dear wife.’ There is no Register in St. Helen’s at York between 1649 and 1690.

Nicholas
Bagenall,
aged two
months,
died
March 7,
1688.

foundations, this 'dear child' found her quiet restingplace in the Eastern Cloister. In that same year too, a few months before, another still more insignificant life—Nicholas Bagenall, an 'infant of two months old, by his nurse unfortunately over-
'laid'—has his own little urn amongst the Cecils and Percys in St. Nicholas's Chapel.

Thomas
Smith,
aged 27,
March 10,
1661.
Carteret,
aged 19,
1710.

In the Little Cloisters is a tablet to 'Mr. Thomas Smith, of
'Early Lovet . . . who through the spotted veil of the small-
'pox rendered a pure and unspotted soul to God, expecting
'but not fearing death.'¹ Young Carteret, a Westminster scholar, who died at the age of 19, and is buried in the North Aisle of the Choir, with the chiefs of his house, is touchingly commemorated by the pretty Sapphic verses of Dr. Freind.

William
Dalrymple,
aged
18, 1782.

In the Nave several young midshipmen are commemorated. Amongst them is William Dalrymple, who at the age of 18 was killed in a desperate engagement off the coast of Virginia, 'leaving to his once happy parents the endearing remembrance of his virtues.'

MONU-
MENTS OF
MOURN-
ERS.

Lady
Kerry,
1799.
Lord
Kerry,
1815.

Lady
Elizabeth
Nightingale,
1734.

Other tombs represent the intensity of the mourners' grief. In St. Andrew's Chapel, Lord Kerry's monument to his wife, 'who had rendered him for thirty-one years the
'happiest of mankind,' retained at its north end, till 1815, shortly before his own interment in the same tomb, the cushion on which, year after year, he came to kneel.² Opposite to it is the once admired monument raised by her son to commemorate the premature death of Lady Elizabeth Shirley,³ daughter of Washington, Earl Ferrers, wife of Joseph Gascoigne Nightingale, and sister of Lady Selina, Countess of Huntingdon,⁴ foundress of the Methodist sect which bears

¹ There was a like monument in the North Cloister to R. Booter, a Westminster scholar, who died of smallpox in 1655. (*Seymour's Stow*, p. 582.)

² Akermann, ii. 189.

³ It was really a monument to Mr. Nightingale. (See Chapter Book,

February 13, 1758.) His wife was aged 27, he 56.

⁴ Two of her sons are buried in the North Transept, where a monument was to have been erected to them. (Chapter Book, March 3, 1743-4).

her name. She was buried in the area beneath Queen Eleanor's tomb.¹ But this spot, which was rendered vacant by the displacement of the monument of Lady Catherine St. John, was doubtless selected as affording better light and space. It was when working at this famous structure that Roubiliac made the exclamation (already quoted) on the figures in the neighbouring tomb of Sir Francis Vere. It was also whilst engaged on the figure of Death, that he one day, at dinner, suddenly dropped his knife and fork on his plate, fell back in his chair, and then darted forwards, and threw his features into the strongest possible expression of fear—fixing his eye so expressively on the country lad who waited, as to fill him with astonishment. A tradition of the Abbey records that a robber, coming into the Abbey by moonlight, was so startled by the same figure as to have fled in dismay.²

Other monuments record the undying friendship, or family affection, which congregated round some loved object. Such are Mary Kendall's tomb in St. Paul's Chapel, and the tombs of the Gethin,³ Norton, and Freke families in the South Aisle of the Choir. Such is the monument which, in the East Cloister, records Pope's friendship with General Withers and Colonel Disney (commonly called Duke Disney), who resided together at Greenwich. Gay, in his poem on Pope's imaginary return from Greece, thus describes them:—

MONU-
MENTS OF
FRIENDS.

Mary
Kendall,
1700.
Grace
Gethin,
1697.

Now pass we Gravesend with a friendly wind,
And Tilbury's white fort, and long Blackwall;
Greenwich, where dwells the friend of human kind,

¹ Or at the north-west corner of Lord Norris's monument. (Smith's *Life of Nollekens*, ii. 86.)

² The crowbar which was found under the monument is still preserved.

³ For Grace Gethin see Ballard's *Illustrious Ladies*, p. 263; and D'Is-

raeli's *Curiosities of Literature*.—She left a bequest for an anniversary sermon to be preached for her in the Abbey every Ash-Wednesday. Her celebrity arose, in part, from a book of extracts, which were mistakenly supposed to be original.

More visited than either park or hall,
 Withers the good, and (with him ever joined)
 Facetious Disney, greet thee first of all.
 I see his chimney smoke, and hear him say,
 Duke ! that's the room for Pope, and that for Gay.¹

Pope's epitaph carries on the same strain after Withers's death :

Withers,
 died 1729.

Here, Withers, rest ! thou bravest, gentlest mind,
 Thy country's friend, but more of human kind.
 O born to arms ! O worth in youth approv'd !
 O soft humanity, in age belov'd !
 For thee the hardy vet'ran drops a tear,
 And the gay courtier feels the sigh sincere.

Withers, adieu ! yet not with thee remove
 Thy martial spirit, or thy social love !
 Amidst corruption, luxury, and rage,
 Still leave some ancient virtues to our age :
 Nor let us say (those English glories gone),
 The last true Briton lies beneath this stone ! ²

Disney,
 died 1731.

And ' Duke Disney ' follows it up by the touching record, that
 ' Colonel Henry Disney, surviving his friend and companion,
 ' Lieutenant-General Withers, but two years and ten days, is
 ' at his desire buried in the same grave with him.'

MONU-
 MENTS OF
 LON-
 GEVITY.
 Anne
 Birkhead,
 aged 102,
 1568.

Others have gained entrance by their longevity. There
 are three whose lives embrace three whole epics of English
 History. The epitaph of Anne Birkhead (now effaced) in the
 Cloister, seen by Camden when it was still a fresh wonder,
 recorded that she died on August 25, 1568, at the age of 102—

An auncient age of many years
 Here lived Anne, thou hast,
 Pale death hath fixed his fatal force
 Upon thy corpse at last.

Thomas
 Parr,
 aged 152,
 1635.

In the centre of the South Transept, amongst the poets, by
 a not unnatural affinity, was buried Thomas Parr, the
 patriarch of the seventeenth century, who lived to the age

¹ Pope's *Works*, iii. 375.

² Ibid.

of 152, through the ten reigns from Edward IV. to Charles I. He was brought up to Westminster, two months before his death, by the Earl of Arundel, 'a great lover of antiquities.' 'He was found on his death to be covered with hair.' Many were present at his burial, 'doing homage to this our aged *Thomas de Temporibus*.'¹ In the West Cloister is Elizabeth Woodfall, daughter of the famous printer, who carried on the remembrance of Junius to our own time, when she died in Dean's Yard at the age of 94.

Elizabeth
Woodfall,
aged 94,
1862.

Connected with these by a curious coincidence of long life are several illustrious foreigners. Casaubon, St. Evremond, Grabe, and the Duke of Montpensier have been already mentioned.

MONU-
MENTS OF
FOREIGN-
ERS.

But in the Chapel of St. Paul, with his wife and daughter near him, lies Ezekiel Spanheim, a Genevese by birth, but student at Leyden and professor at Heidelberg, who died in England, as Prussian minister, in his eightieth year—the Bunsen of his time, uniting German research into scholarship and theology with the labours of his diplomatic profession.

Spanheim,
aged 80,
1710.

Peter Courayer, the Blanco White of the eighteenth century—endeared to the English Church, and estranged from the Roman Church, by his vindication, whilst yet at the Sorbonne, of the validity of Anglican Orders—had been already, before his escape from France, attached to the Precincts of Westminster by his friendship with the exiled Atterbury,² who had hanging in his room a portrait of Courayer, which he bequeathed to the University of Oxford. He lived and died in Downing Street, in close intimacy with Dr. Bell,³ one of the Prebendaries, chaplain to the Princess Amelia. By Dr. Bell—who afterwards published Courayer's 'Last Sentiments,' which were of the extremest latitude in theology—he was, at his own request, buried, in his ninety-fifth

Courayer,
aged 95,
1776.

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 68.

103, 133.

² See Atterbury's *Letters*, iv. 97,

³ See p. 295.

year, in the Southern Cloister. His epitaph, by his friend Kynaston, of Brasenose College, Oxford, was put up too hastily before the author's last revisal.¹

Theodore
Paleo-
logus,
buried
May 3,
1644.

In the Chapel of St. Andrew, close to the spot where now is the Nightingale monument, lies 'Theodore Phaliologus.'² There can be little doubt that he is the eldest of the five children of 'Theodoro Paleologus, of Pesaro, in Italye, descended from the imperial lyne of the last Emperors of Greece; being the sonne of Camillo, the sonne of John, the sonne of Thomas, second brother of Constantine Paleologus, the eighth of that name, and last of that lyne that reigned at Constantinople until subdued by the Turks: who marryed Mary, the daughter of William Ball, of Hedleye, in Suffolk, Gent., and had issue five children—*Theodoro*, John, Ferdinando, Maria, and Dorothy—and departed 'this life at Clyfton, the 20th January, 1636.'³

Paoli,
died Feb.
5, 1807;
buried at
St. Pancras.

Pascal Paoli, the champion of Corsican independence, died in his eighty-second year, under the protection of England. His bust, which looks from the Southern Aisle towards Poets' Corner, was erected not merely from the general esteem in which he was held, but from his close connexion with the whole Johnsonian circle, of whom he

¹ A correct copy is given in Malcol. i. 197, from Nichols's *Bouyer*, p. 545.

² 'Theodore Phaliologus, buried 'near the Lady St. John's tomb, 'May 3, 1644.' (Register.)

³ From the brass plate in the parish church of Landulph in Cornwall. (*Gent. Mag.* [1775], vol. xlv. p. 80; *Arch.* xviii. 83.) This curious pedigree was pointed out to me by Mr. Edmund Ffoulkes. Ferdinando must be the emigrant to Barbadoes, of whom a very interesting account appears in *Gent. Mag.* 1843, pt. ii. p. 28. The Greeks, in their War of Independence, sent to enquire whether any of the family

remained; and offered, if such were the case, to equip a ship and proclaim him for their lawful sovereign. He had a son 'Theodorus,' who is probably the same as Theodore Paleology, a mariner, whose will was signed August 1, 1693, and proved in Doctors' Commons, March 9, 1694. The only information which it gives respecting his family is that he left as his executrix his widow Martha. The conjecture in *Archæologia* (xviii. 93), that this sailor was the son of the Paleologus buried in Cornwall, is therefore unfounded. It is said that a member of the family is still living.

was the favourite. ‘General Paoli had the loftiest port of any man I have ever seen.’¹ He was buried in the old Roman Catholic cemetery at St. Pancras, from which, in this very year (1867), his remains have been removed to Corsica.

In the East Cloister is a tablet erected to a young Bernese noble of the name of Steiger, the remembrance of whose promising character still lingers in the Canton of Berne. In the North Transept, under the monument of Holles Duke of Newcastle, are interred three remarkable persons, transferred in 1739 from the French church in the Savoy—Louis Duras, Earl of Feversham, nephew of Turenne, ‘who had ‘learned from his uncle how to devastate, though not how ‘to conquer;’² and Armand de Bourbon, with his sister Charlotte, who died at an advanced age,³ having come to England before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when he pleaded the cause of the Camisards to Queen Anne, and meditated an invasion of France, with the view of assisting the insurrection in the Cevennes. His brother Louis, Marquis de la Caye, died at the Battle of the Boyne.⁴

Steiger,
1772.

Duras,
Earl of
Fevers-
ham, died
April 8,
1709;
Armand
de Bour-
bon, died
Feb. 12,
1732;
Charlotte
de Bour-
bon, died
Oct. 15,
1732;
removed
to the
Abbey,
March 21,
1740.

¹ Boswell's *Johnson*, ii. 83.

² Macaulay, ii. 195.

³ *La France Protestante*, De Haag, ii. 478, which gives the age of Armand as 77 (and the date of his death February 25, 1732), and that of Charlotte as 74. I owe this information to the kindness of M. Jules Bonnet.

⁴ NOTE FROM BURIAL REGISTER, 1740.—‘Louis de Duras, Earl of ‘Feversham, &c. died April 8, 1709, ‘in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

‘Cy gist très haut et très puissant ‘Seigneur, Monseigneur Armand de ‘Bourbon, Marquis de Miremont, &c., ‘à qui Dieu a fait la grâce de faire ‘naître en sa sainte Religion Réformée ‘et d’y persévérer malgré les grandes ‘promesses de Louis 14 mesme dans ‘sa plus tendre jeunesse; né dans le ‘Chatteau de la Cato en Languedoc le

‘12 juillet 1656, décédé en Angleterre ‘le 12 févr. 1732.’ [He was buried in the French church of the Savoy, February 22, 1732.]

‘Cy gist Charlotte de Bourbon, à ‘qui Dieu a fait la grâce de naître, de ‘vivre et de mourir dans sa sainte Religion, la gloire en soit à jamais rendue ‘à la ste. bénite et adorable Trinité,— ‘Père, Fils et St.-Esprit. Amen,— ‘décédée en Angleterre le 15 octobre ‘1732, âgée de 73 ans.’ [She was buried in the French church of the Savoy, October 21, 1732.]

‘And the bodies of the said Earl ‘of Feversham, Monsieur Armand de ‘Bourbon, and Charlotte de Bourbon, ‘being deposited in a vault in the ‘Chapel in the Savoy, were taken up ‘and interred, on the 21st day of March, ‘1739(40), in one grave in the North

Lyndwood,
died Oct.
22, 1352;
removed
here March
6, 1852.

One other 'translation' must be noticed. In the North Cloister lie the supposed remains of William Lyndwood, the celebrated Canonist and Ritualist Bishop of St. David's, which were found on January 16, 1852, 'in a roughly-formed cavity, cut into the foundation-wall of the north side of the Crypt of St. Stephen's Chapel, in the Palace of Westminster, beneath the stone seat in the easternmost window.'

MONU-
MENTS OF
SERVANTS.

Lastly, the Cloisters, long after the Abbey had been closed against them, became the general receptacle of the humbler officers and retainers of the Court and of the Chapter. Contrasted with the necessary reticence of modern times on faithful services, which live only in the grateful memory of those who watched them, two records have always attracted notice. One is that of the servant of one of the Prebendaries, full of the quaint conceits of the seventeenth century:—

Lawrence,
1621.

With diligence and trust most exemplary,
Did William Lawrence serve a Prebendary;
And for his paines now past, before not lost,
Gain'd this remembrance at his master's cost.

O read these lines againe : you seldome find
A servant faithful, and a master kind.
Short-hand he wrote : his flowre in prime did fade,
And hasty Death short-hand of him hath made.
Well covth he numbers, and well mesur'd land ;
Thus doth he now that ground whereon you stand,
Wherein he lyes so geometricall :
Art maketh some, but thus will nature all.

Broughton,
1789.

The other is that of John Broughton, one of the Yeomen of the Guard. He was a man of gigantic strength, and in his youth furnished the model of the arms of Rysbrack's 'Hercules.' He was the 'Prince of Prizefighters' in his time, and after his name on the gravestone is a space, which was to

' Cross of the Abbey, even with the
' North Corner, and touching the plinth
' of the iron rails of the monument of

' the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle,
' 3 ft. 0 in. deep.'

have been filled up with the words 'Champion of England.'¹
The Dean objected, and the blank remains.

It is natural to conclude this survey of the monumental structure of the Abbey with the reflections of Addison:—

Conclusion
of the
survey.

When I am in a serious humour, I very often walk by myself in Westminster Abbey; where the gloominess of the place, and the use to which it is applied, with the solemnity of the building, and the condition of the people who lie in it, are apt to fill the mind with a kind of melancholy, or rather thoughtfulness, that is not disagreeable. . . . I know that entertainments of this nature are apt to raise dark and dismal thoughts in timorous minds and gloomy imaginations; but for my own part, though I am always serious, I do not know what it is to be melancholy; and can therefore take a view of nature, in her deep and solemn scenes, with the same pleasure as in her most gay and delightful ones. By this means I can improve myself with those objects which others consider with terror. When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies in me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow; when I see kings lying by those who deposed them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some that died yesterday, and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together.²

Our purpose has been somewhat different, though converging to the same end.

We have seen how, by a gradual but certain instinct, the main groups have formed themselves round particular centres of death: how the Kings ranged themselves round the Confessor; how the Princes and Courtiers clung to the

Gradual
growth of
the Monu-
ments.

¹ These facts were communicated to the master-mason of the Abbey (Mr.

Poole) by Broughton's son-in-law.

² *Spectator*, No. 26.

skirts of the Kings; how out of the graves of the Courtiers were developed the graves of the Heroes; how Chatham became the centre of the Statesmen, Chaucer of the Poets, Purcell of the Musicians, Casaubon of the Scholars, Newton of the Men of Science: how, even in the exceptional details, natural affinities may be traced; how Addison was buried apart from his tuneful brethren, in the royal shades of Henry VII.'s Chapel, because he clung to the vault of his own loved Montague; how Ussher lay beside his earliest instructor, Sir James Fullerton, and Garrick beside his friend Johnson, and Spelman opposite his revered Camden, and South close to his master Busby, and Stephenson to his fellow-craftsman Telford, and Grattan to his hero Fox, and Macaulay beneath the statue of his favourite Addison.

These special attractions towards particular graves and monuments may interfere with the general uniformity of the Abbey, but they make us feel that it is not a mere dead museum, that its cold stones are warmed with the life-blood of human affections and personal partiality. It is said that the celebrated French sculptor of the monument of Peter the Great at St. Petersburg, after showing its superiority in detail to the famous equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius at Rome, ended by the candid avowal, '*Et cependant cette mauvaise bête est vivante, et la mienne est morte.*' Perhaps we may be allowed to reverse the saying, and when we contrast the irregularities of Westminster Abbey with the uniform congruity of Salisbury or of the Valhalla, may say, '*Cette belle bête est morte, mais la mienne est vivante.*'

We have seen, again, how extremely unequal and uncertain is the commemoration, or absence of commemoration, of our famous men. It is this which renders the interment or notice within our walls a dubious honour, and makes the Abbey, after all, but an imperfect monument of greatness. But it is this also which gives to it that perfectly

natural character of which any artificial collection is entirely destitute. In the Valhalla of Bavaria, every niche is carefully portioned out; and if a single bust is wanting from the catalogue of German worthies, its absence becomes the subject of a literary controversy, and the vacant space is at last filled. Not so in the Abbey: there, as in English institutions generally, no fixed rule has been followed. Graves have been opened or closed, monuments erected or not erected, from the most various feelings of the time. It is the general wave only that has borne in the chief celebrities. Viewed in this way, the absences of which we speak have a touching significance of their own. They are eloquent of the force of domestic and local affection over the desire for metropolitan or cosmopolitan distinction—eloquent of the force of the political and ecclesiastical prejudice at the moment—eloquent also of the strange caprices of the English public. Why are men so famous as Burke and Peel amongst statesmen, as Pope and Gray, Wordsworth and Southey, amongst poets, not in the Statesmen's or the Poets' Corner? Because the patriarchal feeling in each of these men—so different each from the other, yet alike in this—drew them from the neighbourhood of the great, with whom they consorted in the tumult of life, to the graves of father and mother, or beloved child, far away to the country churchyards where they severally repose—in each, perhaps, not unmingled with the longing desire for a simple restingplace which is expressed in Pope's epitaph on himself at Twickenham.¹ Why is it that Montague Earl of Sandwich, Monk Duke of Albemarle, restorers of the monarchy, Archbishop Ussher, the glory of the Irish Church, Clarendon, the historian of the Great Rebellion, rest here with no contemporary monument—three of them with none at all?² That blank void tells again in the bare stones the often-repeated story of the ingratitude of

¹ See p. 287.

² See p. 228.

Charles II. towards those to whom he owed so much and gave so little. Why is it that poets like Coleridge, Scott, and Burns, astronomers like Herschel, discoverers like Harvey and Bell, have no memorial? Because, for the moment, the fashion of public interment had drifted away from the Abbey, or lost heed of departing greatness in other absorbing interests, or ceased to regard proportion in the distribution of sepulchral honours.

It is well that this should be so. Westminster Abbey is, as Dr. Johnson well said, the natural resting-place of those great men who have no bond elsewhere. Its metropolitan position has, in this respect, powerfully contributed to its fame. But even London is, or ought to be, insignificant compared with England; even Westminster Abbey must at times yield to the more venerable, more enduring claims of home and of race. Those quiet graves far away are the Poets' Corners of a yet vaster temple; or may we take it yet another way, and say that Stratford-on-Avon and Dryburgh, Stoke Pogis and Grasmere, are chapels-of-ease united by invisible cloisters with Westminster Abbey itself?

The
toleration
of the
Abbey.

Again, observe how magnificently the strange conjunction of tombs in what has been truly called this Temple of Silence and Reconciliation exemplifies the wide toleration of Death—may we not add, the comprehensiveness of the true religion of the Church of England? Not only does Elizabeth lie in the same vault with Mary her persecutor, and in the same chapel with Mary her victim; not only does Pitt lie side by side with Fox, and Macpherson with Johnson, and Outram with Clyde; but those other deeper differences, which are often thought to part more widely asunder than any political or literary or military jealousy, here have sunk into abeyance. Goldsmith, in his visit to the Abbey, puts into the mouth of his Chinese philosopher an exclamation of wonder that the guardianship of a national temple should be confided to 'a college of priests.' It is not necessary to

claim for the Deans of Westminster any exemption from the ordinary infirmities of their profession; but the variety of the monuments, in country and in creed, as well as in taste and in politics, is a proof that the successive chiefs who have held the keys of St. Peter's Abbey have, on the whole, risen to the greatness of their situation, and have endeavoured to embrace, within the wide sympathy of their consecrated precincts, those whom a narrow and sectarian spirit might have excluded, but whom the precepts of their common Master, no less than the instincts of their common humanity, should have bid them welcome. The exclusiveness of Englishmen has given way before the claims of the French Casaubon, the Swiss Spanheim, the Corsican Paoli. The exclusiveness of Churchmen has allowed the entrance of the Nonconformist Watts, of the Roman Catholic Dryden.¹ Courayer, the French latitudinarian, Ephraim Chambers, the sceptic of the humbler, and Sheffield, the sceptic of the higher ranks, were buried with all respect and honour by the 'college of priests' at Westminster, who thus acknowledged that the bruised reed was not to be broken, nor the smoking flax quenched. Even the yet harder problem of high intellectual gifts, united with moral infirmity or depravity, has on the whole here met with the only solution which on earth can be given. If Byron was turned away from our doors, many a one as questionable as Byron has been admitted. Close above the monument of the devoted Granville Sharpe is the monument of the epicurean St. Evremond. The god-like gift of genius was recognised—the baser earthly part was left to the merciful judgment of its Creator. So long as Westminster Abbey maintains its hold on the affections and

¹ Several Roman Catholics, since the Reformation, have been buried in the Abbey, besides those before enumerated (pp. 184, 212, 214, 290). The Stafford family (1719) in St. Nicholas's Chapel,

with *Requiescat in pace* on their coffins (Register); De Castro, the Portuguese envoy, in the Nave, 1720 (*ibid.*).

respect of the English church and nation, so long will it remain a standing proof that there is in the truest feelings of human nature, and in the noblest aspirations of religion, something deeper and broader than the partial judgments of the day and the technical distinctions of sects,—even than the just, though it may for the moment be misplaced, indignation against the errors and sins of our brethren. It is the involuntary homage which perverted genius pays to the superior worth of goodness and of holiness, that it seeks to be at last honoured within the building consecrated to the highest and purest hopes of the soul of man; and when we consent to receive such within our walls, it is the best acknowledgment of the truth uttered by our departed Christian poet—

There is no light but Thine—with Thee all beauty glows.

The
changes of
taste.

There is yet another interest attaching to the tombs, even the worst and humblest—namely, as a record of the vicissitudes of art. Doubtless, this is shared by Westminster Abbey with other great cathedrals and churches. Still the record here is more continuous and more striking than anywhere else. We trace here, as in a long procession, the gradual rising of the recumbent effigies: first, to lean their heads on their elbows, then to kneel, then to sit, then to stand on their feet, then to gesticulate, then to ascend out of tomb, or sea, or ruins, as the case may be. Every stage of sepulchral attitude is visible, from the crusader of the thirteenth century, with his legs crossed on his stony couch, to the philanthropist of the nineteenth century, with his legs crossed far otherwise, as he lounges in his easy armchair. Forgive them: it may be a breach of the rules of ecclesiastical art, but it is also the life of the nation, awkwardly, untowardly struggling into individual existence. It will enable future generations to know a Wilberforce as he actually was, no less than a Plantagenet prince as it was supposed he ought to be.

We discern also the evanescent phases of the judgments of

art, which ought to make the artists and the critics of each successive age, if not sceptical, at least modest, as to the immortality of their own reputations. We are shocked sometimes at the ruthless disregard of ancient days, with which the Reformers or the Puritans swept away the altars or the imagery of their predecessors. But we have seen how the same disregard of antiquity reaches back far earlier. '*Ecclesiam stravit istam quam tunc renovavit*' was the inscription which long glorified the memory of Henry III. for destroying the venerable Norman church of the Confessor. Henry V.'s Chantry absorbed a large part of the tombs of Eleanor and Philippa. Henry VII. razed to the ground what must have been the graceful Lady Chapel of Henry III. The first prodigious intrusion of Pagan allegories, the first reckless mutilation of mediæval architecture by modern monuments, is the tomb of the favourite of Charles I., the patron and friend of Archbishop Laud. It was their sanction and influence that began the desecration, as it is now often thought, which to no section of Church or State is so repugnant as to the spiritual descendants of those to whom it then seemed the height of ecclesiastical propriety.

Or, again, we pass with scorn the enormous structures which Roubiliac raised in the Nave to General Wade and General Hargrave; but a great London antiquary declared of one of them, that 'Europe could hardly show a parallel to it;' and the other was deemed by the artist himself so splendid a work, that he used to come and weep before it, to see that it was put too high to be appreciated.² The clumsy rocks and maritime monsters which we ridicule in the strange representation of Admiral Tyrrell's death was, at the time, deemed 'a truly magnificent monument,'³ and its germ

¹ Malcolm, p. 169.

² Akermann, ii. 37.

³ Charnock's *Naval Biog.* v. 269.—
I have myself observed persons above

the class of rustics standing entranced before it, and calling it the 'master-piece of the Abbey.'

may even be seen in Addison's plaintive wish,¹—'that our 'naval monuments might, like the Dutch, be adorned with 'rostral courses and naval ornaments, with beautiful festoons of seaweed, shells, and coral.' A fastidious correspondent of Pope, whilst he criticizes the tombs already existing, proposes a remedy which to us appears worse than the disease.

I chose a place for my wife [says Aaron Hill] in the Abbey Cloisters—the wall of the church above being so loaded with marble as to leave me no room to distinguish her monument. But there is a low and unmeaning lumpishness in the vulgar style of monuments, which disgusts me as often as I look upon them; and, because I would avoid the censure I am giving, let me beg you to say whether there is significance in the draught, of which I enclose you a copy. The flat table behind is black, the figures are white marble. The whole of what you see is but part of the monument, and will be surrounded by pilasters, arising from a pediment of white marble, having its foundation on a black marble mountain, and supporting a cornice and dome that will ascend to the point of the cloister arch. About halfway up a craggy path, on the black mountain below, will be the figure of 'Time' in white marble, in an attitude of climbing, obstructed by little Cupids, of the same colour; some rolling stones into his path from above, some throwing nets at his feet and arms from below; others in ambuscade, shooting at him from both sides; while the 'Death' you see in the draught will seem, from an opening between hills in relievo, to have found admission by a shorter way, and prevented 'Time' at a distance.²

To the continuator of Stow, in the eighteenth century, the tomb of Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, appears far superior to that of Henry VII., particularly 'the Trophy 'and the figure of Time.' 'I have seen no ornament that has 'pleased me better, and very few so well.'³ In like manner, the tomb and screen of Abbot Esteney fell before the cenotaph of General Wolfe, which narrowly escaped thrusting itself into the place of the exquisite mediæval monument of Aymer de Valence.

¹ *Spectator*, No. 26.

² Pope's *Works*, ix. 304.

³ Stow's *Survey* [1755], ii. 619.

I will give you one instance, that will sum up the vanity of great men, learned men, and buildings altogether. I heard lately that Dr. Pearce, a very learned personage, had consented to let the tomb of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, a very great personage, be removed for Wolfe's monument; that at first he had objected, but was wrought upon by being told that *light* Aymer was a Templar, a very wicked set of people, as his Lordship had heard, though he knew nothing of them, as they are not mentioned by Longinus; and I wrote to his Lordship, expressing my concern that one of the finest and most ancient monuments in the Abbey should be removed, and begging, if it was removed, that he would bestow it on me, who would erect and preserve it at Strawberry Hill. After a fortnight's deliberation, the Bishop sent me an answer, civil indeed, and commending my zeal for antiquity! but, avowing the story under his own hand, he said that at first they had taken Pembroke's tomb for a Knight Templar's; that, upon discovering whose it was, he had been very unwilling to consent to the removal, and at last had obliged Wilton to engage to set the monument up within ten feet of where it stands at present.¹

In this attack on the Dean, Horace Walpole had all the world on his side, and possibly the world's judgment is now fixed for ever. Yet, perhaps, if some successor of Zachary Pearce were now, in the enthusiasm of modern restoration, to remove General Wolfe, it is doubtful whether he might not incur the wrath of some future Walpole.

There are, doubtless, 'lumpish' monuments which obstruct the architecture, which have no historical reason for being where they are, which might be more fittingly placed in other parts of the Abbey. On these, so far as friends and survivors permit, no mercy need be shown. But still, even the Deans of Westminster should always have before their eyes the salutary terror of the projected misdeed of Bishop Pearce.

It must also be borne in mind that these incongruities are no special marks of English or of Protestant taste. They belong to the same wave of sentiment that passed over the whole of Europe in the last century.² The Chapters of the Cathedrals

¹ Walpole's *Letters*, ii. 274.

² See Chapter VI. p. 461.

of Rheims and Strasbourg were as guilty in their ruthless destruction as ever have been the Chapter of any English Cathedral. The Campo Santo at Pisa has had its delicate tracery, its noble frescoes, mutilated by monuments as unsightly as any in Westminster. The allegorical statues in the Abbey of St. Peter are but the sister figures, on a less gigantic scale, of the colossal forms of Pagan mythology which cluster round the tombs of the Popes in the Basilica of St. Peter. The return from sitting, standing, speaking statues of the dead to their recumbent or kneeling effigies, has been earlier in Protestant England than in Papal Italy.

Variety of
Judgment.

And if our moral indignation is also roused against the prominence of many a name now forgotten, yet the same mixture of mortification and satisfaction which is impressed upon us as we see, in the monuments, the proof of the fallibility of artistic judgment, is impressed upon us in a deeper sense as we read, in the history of their graves, or their epitaphs, a like fallibility of moral and literary judgment. In this way the obscure poets and warriors who have attained the places which we now so bitterly grudge them, teach us a lesson never to be despised. They tell us of the writings, the works, or the deeds in which our fathers delighted; they remind us that the tombs and the graves which now so absorb our minds may in like manner cease to attract our posterity; they put forward their successors to plead for their perpetuation—at least in the one place where alone, perhaps, a hundred years hence either will be remembered. And if a mournful feeling is left upon our minds by the thought that so many reputations, great in their day, have passed away; yet here and there the monuments contain the more reassuring record, that there are glories which increase instead of diminishing as time rolls on, and that there are judgments in art and in literature, as well as in character, which never will be reversed. As in Henry VII.'s Chapel, the

eye rests with peculiar interest on Lord Dundonald's banner, fifty years ago torn from its place and kicked ignominiously down the flight of steps, yet within our own time, on the day of the old sailor's funeral, reinstated by the herald at the gracious order of the Sovereign—so the like reparation is constantly working on a larger scale elsewhere. The inscription on Spenser's tomb shows that even then the time had not arrived when the true Prince of Poets was acknowledged in his rightful supremacy; yet he came at last, and the statue of Shakspeare, better late than never, became the centre of a new interest in Poets' Corner, which can never depart from it.¹ And who would willingly destroy any link in the chain of lesser tablets, from Phillips to Gray, which marks the gradual rise of Milton's fame, from the days when he had the 'audience fit but few' to the moment of his universal recognition?²

Shakspeare and Milton, as we have seen, have had their redress. For others, who have been thus overlooked, it is enough now to say, that they are conspicuous by their absence. But it may be hoped that these injustices will become rarer and rarer as time advances. The day is fast approaching when the country must provide for the continuation to future times of that line of illustrious sepulchres which has added so much to the glory both of Westminster Abbey and of England. Already, in the eighteenth century, the alarm was raised that the Abbey was 'loaded with marbles;' a 'Petition from Posterity'³ was presented to the Dean and Chapter, to entreat that their case might be considered; and a French traveller remarked that 'le peuple n'est plus serré dans les rues de Londres qu'à Westminster, célèbre Abbaye, demeure des monuments funèbres de toutes les personnes illustres de la nation.'⁴ Yet the very pressure increases the attraction.

¹ See p. 281.

² See p. 280.

³ Annual Register [1756], p. 876.

⁴ D'Holbach, *Quart. Rev.* xviii. 326.

What a poet, already quoted, said of a private loss is still more true of the losses of the nation—‘A monument in so frequented a place as Westminster Abbey, restoring them to a kind of second life among the living, will be in some measure not to have lost them.’¹ The race of our distinguished men will still continue. That they may never be parted in death from the centre of our national energies, the hearth of our national religion, should be the joint desire at once of the Church and of the Commonwealth. The Legislature has, doubtless for this purpose, excepted the two great metropolitan churches from the general prohibition of intramural interments. Is it too much to hope that it will carry out the intention, by erecting within the precincts of the Abbey a Cloister, which shall bear on its portals the names of those who have been forgotten within our walls in former times, and entomb beneath its floor the ashes of the illustrious men that shall follow after us? We have already more than rivalled Santa Croce at Florence. Let us hope in future days to excel even the Campo Santo at Pisa.

¹ Pope, ix. 304.

NOTE ON THE WAXWORK EFFIGIES.

AMONGST the various accompaniments of great funerals—the body lying in state, guarded by the nobles of the realm;¹ the torchlight procession;² the banners and arms of the deceased hung over the

¹ At Monk’s funeral, ‘it is remarkable,’ says Walpole, ‘that forty gentlemen of good families submitted to wait as mutes, with their backs against the wall of the chamber where the body lay in state, for three weeks, waiting alternately twenty each day.’

² The funerals of great personages

were usually by torchlight. The last (except for royalty) was that of Lady Charlotte Percy, May 1781. (Register; *Gent. Mag.* 1817, part i. p. 33.) The first Cloister funeral, in which the corpse was taken into the Church, and the whole service read, was that of George Blunt, aged 91, March 19, 1847. (Register.)

tomb¹—there was one so peculiarly dear to the English public, as to require a short notice.

This was 'the herse'—not, as now, the car which conveys the coffin, but a platform highly decorated with black hangings, and containing a waxen effigy of the deceased person. It usually remained for a month in the Abbey, near the grave, but in the case of sovereigns (see p. 196) for a much longer time. It was the main object of attraction, sometimes, even in the funeral sermon (see p. 217). Laudatory verses were attached to it with pins, wax, or paste.² Of this kind, probably, was Ben Jonson's epitaph on Lady Pembroke—

Underneath *this sable herse*
Lies the subject of all verse,
Sidney's sister, &c.

They were even highly esteemed as works of art :

'Mr. Emanuel Decretz (Serjeant-Painter to King Charles I.) told me, in 1649, that the catafalco of King James, at his funerall (which 'is a kind of bed of state erected in Westminster Abbey, as Robert 'Earl of Essex had, Oliver Cromwell, and General Monke), was very 'ingeniously designed by Mr. Inigo Jones, and that he made the four 'heades of the cariatides of playster of Paris, and made the drapery 'of them of white callico, which was very handsome and very cheap, 'and shewed as well as if they had been cutt out of white marble.'³

These temporary erections, planted here and there in different parts of the Abbey, must of themselves have formed a singular feature in its appearance. But the most interesting portion of them was the 'lively effigy,' which was there placed after having been carried on a chariot before the body. This was a practice which has its precedent, if not its origin, in the funerals of the great men of the Roman Commonwealth. The one distinguishing mark of a Roman noble was the right of having figures, with waxen masks representing his ancestors, carried at his obsequies and placed in his hall.

In England the Royal Funerals were, till the time of Henry V., distinguished by the exhibition of the corpse itself of the deceased

¹ These still remain, in St. Paul's Chapel, over the graves of the Delavals. (See p. 321.)

² P. Cunningham's *Handbook of Westminster Abbey*, p. 16.

³ Aubrey's *Letters and Lives*, ii.

412.—There is an engraving of the *Wax Effigies*, and this *Catafalque of James the First*, prefixed to the funeral sermon, which was preached by Dean Williams.

sovereign. But even before that time the practice of effigies had been adopted.

These wax figures were detached from the hereses, and kept in the Abbey, generally near the graves of the deceased, but were gradually drafted off into wainscot presses above the Islip Chapel. Here they were seen in Dryden's time—

And now the presses open stand,
And you may see them all a-row.¹

In 1658 the following were the waxen figures thus exhibited:—

Henry the Seventh and his fair Queen,
Edward the First and his Queen,
Henry the Fifth here stands upright,
And his fair Queen was this Queen.
The noble Prince, Prince Henry,
King James's eldest son,
King James, Queen Anne, Queen Elizabeth,
And so this Chapel's done.²

With this agrees the curious notice of them in 1708:—

And so we went on to see the ruins of majesty in the women (*sic*: waxen?) figures placed there by authority. As soon as we had ascended half a score stone steps in a dirty cobweb hole, and in old wormeaten presses, whose doors flew open at our approach, here stood *Edward the Third*, as they told us; which was a broken piece of waxwork, a batter'd head, and a straw-stuff'd body, not one quarter covered with rags; his beautiful Queen stood by, not better in repair; and so to the number of *half a score* Kings and Queens, not near so good figures as the King of the Beggars make, and all the begging crew would be ashamed of the company. Their rear was brought up with good Queen Bess, with the remnants of an old dirty ruff, and nothing else to cover her.³

Stow also describes the effigies of Edward III. and Philippa, Henry V. and Catherine, Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, Henry Prince of Wales, Elizabeth, James I., and Queen Anne, as shown in the chamber close to Islip's Chapel.⁴ Of these the wooden blocks, entirely denuded of any ornament, still remain.

¹ *Miscellaneous Poems*, p. 301.

² *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*, p. 88. (8vo. London, 1658.)

³ *Tom Brown's Walk through London and Westminster*, p. 49.

⁴ The face of Elizabeth of York was still perfect when seen by Wal-

pole. (*Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 61.) In 1754 were also to be seen what were shown as the crimson velvet robes of Edward VI. (*Description of the Abbey and its Monuments*, printed for Cranley [1754], p. 753.)

But there are eleven figures in a tolerable state of preservation. That of Queen Elizabeth was, as we have seen, already worn out in 1708; and the existing figure is, doubtless, the one made by order of the Chapter, to commemorate the bicentenary of the foundation of the Collegiate Church, in 1760. As late as 1783 it stood in Henry VII.'s Chapel. The effigy of Charles II. used to stand over his grave, and close beside him that of General Monk. The former is tolerably perfect,¹ and seems to have early attracted attention from the contrast with his battered predecessors. Monk used to stand beside his monument by Charles II.'s grave. The effigy is in too dilapidated a condition to be shown, but the remnants of his armour exist still. The famous cap, in which the contributions for the showmen were collected, is gone :—

Queen
Elizabeth.

Charles II.
General
Monk.

His cap.

Our conductor led us through several dark walks and winding ways, uttering lies, talking to himself, and flourishing a wand which he held in his hand. He reminded me of the black magicians of Kobi. After we had been almost fatigued with a variety of objects, he at last desired me to consider attentively a certain suit of armour, which seemed to show nothing remarkable. 'This armour,' said he, 'belonged to General 'Monk.'—Very surprising that a general should wear armour!—'And 'pray,' added he, 'observe this cap; this is General Monk's cap.'—Very strange indeed, very strange, that a general should have a cap also!—'Pray, friend, what might this cap have cost originally?' 'That, sir,' says he, 'I don't know; but this cap is all the wages I have for my 'trouble.'²

The 'Ingoldsby Legends' (Barham's *Fragment on Westminster Abbey*) thus concludes—

I thought on Naseby, Marston Moor, and Worcester's crowning fight,
When on my ear a sound there fell, it filled me with affright;

As thus, in low unearthly tones, I heard a voice begin—

'This here's the Cap of General Monk! Sir, please put summut in.'³

William III., Mary, and Anne were, in 1754, 'in good condition, 'and greatly admired by every eye that beheld them.'⁴ The Duchess of Richmond (see p. 213) stood 'at the corner of the great east window'—according to her will—'as well done in wax⁵ as could be, and 'dressed in coronation robes and coronet (those which she wore at

William
III., Mary
II., and
Queen
Anne.
Duchess of
Richmond.

¹ 'That as much as he excelled his predecessors in mercy, wisdom, and liberality, so does his effigies exceed the rest in liveliness, proportion, and magnificence.' (Ward's *London Spy*, chap. viii. p. 170.)

² Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*.

³ *Ingoldsby Legends*.

⁴ *Description of the Abbey* (1754), p. 753.

⁵ By a Mr. Goldsmith. (Cunningham's *London*, p. 539)

Duchess of ' the coronation of Queen Anne), under clear crown-glass and none
Buckingham- ' other,' with her favourite parrot. The Duchess of Buckinghamshire,
hamshire with one son, as a child (see p. 247), stood by her husband's monu-
and her ment. The figure of her last surviving son is represented in a re-
son. cumbent posture, as the body was brought from Rome. This is the
Second Duke of last genuine ' effigy.' It long lay in the Confessor's Chapel.¹
Buckingham-
hamshire.

Chatham. The two remaining effigies belong to a practice, now happily dis-
continued, of eking out by fees the too scanty incomes of the Minor
Canons and Lay Vicars, who in consequence enlarged their salaries
by adding as much attraction as they could by new waxwork figures,
when the custom of making them for the funerals ceased. One of
these is the effigy of Lord Chatham, erected in 1779, when the fee
for showing them was, in consideration of the interest attaching to
the great statesman (see p. 260), raised from threepence to sixpence.²
' Lately introduced ' (says the Guidebook of 1785) ' at a consider-
' able expense. . . . The eagerness of connoisseurs and artists to see
' this figure, and the satisfaction it affords, justly places it among
' the first of the kind ever seen in this or any other country.'³

Nelson. The waxwork figure of Nelson furnishes a still more remarkable
proof of his popularity. After the public funeral, the car on which
his coffin had been carried to St. Paul's was deposited there, and
became an object of such curiosity, that the sightseers deserted
Westminster, and all flocked to St. Paul's. This was a serious
injury to the officials of the Abbey. Accordingly, a waxwork figure
of the hero was set up, said to have been taken from a smaller
figure, for which he had sat, and dressed in the clothes which
he had actually worn (with the exception of the coat). The
result was successful, and crowds flocked once more to Westminster
Abbey.

Ludicrous and discreditable as these incidents may be, they are
the exact counterparts of the counter-display of relics by the rival
monasteries of the Middle Ages—such as we have already noticed
in the endeavours of the Westminster monks to outbid the legends
of the Cathedral of St. Paul (Chapter I.), and as may be seen in the
still more precise parallel of the artifices of the Abbey of St. August-
tine to outshine the Cathedral at Canterbury. (See ' Memorials of
' Canterbury,' p. 199.)⁴

¹ *Westminster Abbey and its Cu-
riosities* (1783), p. 47.

² The original fee had been a
penny. (See Peacham's *Worth of a
Penny*.)

³ *Westminster Abbey and its Cu-
riosities*, p. 51.

⁴ Many of the facts and references
in this note I owe to the kindness of
Mr. William Thoms, F. S. A.

CHAPTER V.

THE ABBEY BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

The approach to the Abbey through these gloomy monastic remains prepares the mind for its solemn contemplation. The Cloisters still retain something of the quiet and seclusion of former days. The grey walls are discoloured by damp, and crumbling with age: a coat of hoary moss has gathered over the inscriptions of the several monuments, and obscured the death's-heads and other funereal emblems. The sharp touches of the chisel are gone from the rich tracery of the arches. The roses which adorned the keystones have lost their leafy beauty: everything bears marks of the gradual dilapidation of time, which yet has something touching and pleasing in its very decay. The sun was pouring down a yellow autumnal ray into the square of the Cloisters, beaming upon a scanty plot of grass in the centre, and lighting up an angle of the vaulted passage with a kind of dusky splendour. From between the arches the eye glanced up to a bit of blue sky or a passing clond, and beheld the sun-gilt pinnacles of the Abbey towering into the azure heaven.

Washington Irving's *Sketch Book*, i. 399.

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

The special authorities for this Chapter are :—

I. Flete's *History of the Monastery, from its Foundation to A.D. 1386*. MS. in the Chapter Library.

II. The fourth part of the *Consuetudines* of Abbot Ware [1258–1283], amongst the MSS. in the Cotton Library. It has evidently been much used by Dart in his *Antiquities of Westminster*. But since that time it was much injured in the fire of 1731, which damaged the Library in the Westminster Cloisters (see Chapter VI., p. 470), and was long thought to be illegible. Within the last two years, however, it has in great part been decyphered, by an ingenious chemical process, at the expense of the Dean and Chapter, and a transcript deposited in the Chapter Library.

III. Walcott's *Memorials of Westminster* (1849).

[For the general arrangements of an English Benedictine Monastery, I am glad to be able to refer my readers to the long-expected account of the best preserved and best explained of the whole class,—the description of the Monastery of the Canterbury Cathedral by Professor Willis.]

CHAPTER V.

THE ABBEY BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

WE have hitherto considered the Abbey in reference to the general history of the country. It now remains to track its connexion with the ecclesiastical establishment of which it formed a part, and which, in its turn, has peculiar points of contrast with the outer world. This enquiry naturally divides itself into the periods before and after the Reformation, though it will be impossible to keep the two entirely distinct. There is, however, one peculiarity which belongs almost equally to both, and which constitutes the main distinction both of the 'Monastery of the West' from other Benedictine establishments, and of the 'Collegiate Church' of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster from other cathedrals.

The Monastery and Church of Westminster were, as we have seen,¹ enclosed within the precincts of the Palace of Westminster, as completely as the Abbey of Holyrood² and Convent of the Escorial were united with those palaces of the Scottish and Spanish sovereigns. The Abbey was, in fact, a Royal Chapel on a gigantic scale. The King had a private entrance to it through the South Transept, almost direct from the Confessor's Hall.³ Even to this day, in official language, the coronations are said to take place in

Its connexion with the Palace.

¹ See Chapter I. p. 35.

² This was true even when Holyrood was on the site of the Castle rock, of which a trace remains in the fact that the Castle is still a part of the parish of Canongate. (Joseph

Robertson.)

³ See Chapter III. p. 152; *Gent. Mag.* [1828], pt. i. p. 421.—A fire in the Palace is described as reaching the Monastery. (Archives, A.D. 1334.)

‘Our Palace at Westminster,’¹ though the Sovereign never sets foot in the Palace strictly so called, and the whole ceremony is confined to the Abbey, which for the time passes entirely into the possession of the Crown and its officers.

Its inde-
pendence.

From this peculiar connexion of the Abbey with the Palace —of which many traces will appear as we proceed—arose the independence of its ecclesiastical constitution and its dignities from all other authority within the kingdom. Even in secular matters, it was made the centre of a separate jurisdiction in the adjacent neighbourhood. Very early in its history, Henry III. pitted its forces against the powerful citizens of London;² and though his son, Edward I., took away some of its privileges at the instance of the Londoners,³ yet the City of Westminster owes whatever shadow of independence it now possesses to a reminiscence of the same feeling. The Dean is still the shadowy head of a shadowy corporation; and in the rare pageants which traverse the whole metropolis, the Dean, with his High Steward and High Bailiff, succeed to the Lord Mayor at Temple Bar.⁴

In like manner the See of London, whilst it stretches on every side, has never but once penetrated the precincts of Westminster. The Dean, as the Abbot before him, still remains supreme under the Crown. The legend of the visit of St. Peter to the fisherman had for one express object the prevention of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.⁵ The claims to be founded on the ruins of a Temple of Apollo, and by King Sebert, have the suspicious appearance of being stories intended to counteract the claims of St. Paul’s Cathedral to the Temple of Diana, and of its claim to that

¹ See *London Gazette* of 1838.

² Matt. Paris, p. 678.

³ Ridgway, pp. 52, 207; Rishanger, A. D. 1277.

⁴ It was usual, down to the seventeenth century, for the Lord Mayors

of London, after they had been sworn into office in Westminster Hall, to come to the Abbey, and offer up their devotions in Henry VII.’s Chapel. (Widmore, p. 161.)

⁵ See Chapter I. pp. 10, 20.

royal patronage.¹ Even the haughty Dunstan was pressed into the service, and was made, in a spurious charter, to have relinquished his rights as Bishop of London. The exemption was finally determined in the trial between Abbot Humez and Bishop Fauconberg, in the thirteenth century, when it was decided in favour of the Abbey by a court of referees; whilst the manor of Sudbury was given as a compensation to the Bishop, and the church of Sudbury to St. Paul's Cathedral.²

An Archdeacon still exercises, under the Chapter of Westminster, the shadow of archidiaconal superintendence, with no regard to the circumjacent diocese of London. In the sacred services of the Abbey neither Archbishop nor Bishop, except in the one incommunicable rite of Coronation, was allowed to take part without the permission of the Abbot, as now of the Dean. When Anselm consecrated Bernard Bishop of St. David's, that Queen Maud might see it, probably in St. Catherine's Chapel, it was with the special concession of the Abbot.³ When Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln, presided at the funeral of Edward I., it was because the Abbot (Wenlock) had quarrelled with Archbishop Peckham.⁴ From the time of Elizabeth, the privilege of burying great personages has been entirely confined to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. From the first occasion of the assembling of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury within the precincts of Westminster, down to the present day, the Archbishop has always been met by a protest, as from the Abbot so from the Dean, against any infringement of the privileges of the Abbey.

The early beginnings of the Monastery have been already traced. Its distinct history first appears after the Conquest, and is concentrated almost entirely in the Abbots. As in all greater Benedictine convents, the Abbots were personages of

THE
ABBOTS.

¹ Wharton, *Ep. Lond.* p. 247; more, p. 38.
Widmore, p. 38.

² Eadmer, p. 116.

³ Wharton, *Ep. Lond.* p. 29; Wid-

⁴ Ridgway, pp. 103, 104; Wykes.

nearly episcopal magnitude, and in Westminster their increasing independence raised them to a yet higher level. The Abbots since the Conquest, according to the Charter of the Confessor, were, with two exceptions (Humez and Boston), all chosen from the Convent itself. They ranked, in dignity, next after the Abbots of St. Albans.¹ On their accession they dropped their own surnames, and took the names of their birthplaces, as if by a kind of peerage. They were known, like sovereigns, by their Christian names—as ‘Richard the First,’ or ‘Richard the Second’²—and signed themselves as ruling over their communities ‘by the grace of God.’ They were to be honoured as ‘Vicars of Christ.’ When the Abbot passed, every one was to rise. To him alone the monks confessed.³ A solemn benediction answered in his case to an episcopal consecration. If, after his election, he died before receiving this, he was to be buried like any other monk; but otherwise, his funeral was to be on the most sumptuous scale, and the anniversary of his death to be always celebrated.⁴

Edwin,
1049–72.

Edwin, the first Abbot of whom anything is known, was probably, through his friendship with the Confessor, the secret founder of the Abbey itself. He, though as long as he lived he faithfully visited the tomb of his friend, accommodated himself with wonderful facility to the Norman Conqueror, and in that facility laid the foundation of the most regal residence in England. Amongst the Confessor’s donations to Westminster, there was one on which the Conqueror set his affections, for his retreat for hunting, ‘by reason of the pureness of the air, ‘the pleasantness of the situation, and its neighbourhood to ‘wood and waters.’ It was the estate of ‘the winding shore’ of the Thames—‘Windsor.’⁵ This the Abbot conceded to

Origin of
Windsor
Castle.

¹ Harpsfield. (Weever’s *Monuments*, p. 232.)

² Ware, p. 403.

³ Archives of St. Paul’s, A.D. 1261.

⁴ Ware, p. 10.—The MS. is here very

imperfect, but the Islip Roll gives the details of a funeral; and for the general privileges, see *Chronicle of Abingdon*, ii. 336–350.

⁵ Neale, i. 29.

the King, and received in return some lands in Essex, and a mill at Stratford; in recollection of which the inhabitants of Stepney, Whitechapel, and Stratford used to come to the Abbey at Whitsuntide.¹

To Edwin succeeded a series of Norman Abbots—Geoffrey, Vitalis, Gislebert, Herbert, and Gervase, the natural son of King Stephen. In Vitalis's time the first History of the Abbey was written by one of his monks, Sulcard. Then followed Laurence, who procured from the Pope the canonisation of the Confessor, and with it the exaltation of himself and his successors to the rank of mitred Abbot.

Down to the time of Henry III., the Abbots had been buried in the eastern end of the South Cloister, in graves dug at a shorter or longer distance from the great convent dinner-bell. Three gravestones still remain, with the rude effigies of these as yet unmitred dignitaries.² But afterwards—it may be from the more sepulchral character given to the Church itself by the interment of the Kings, or from the increasing importance of the Abbots themselves—the Cloisters were left to the humbler denizens of the monastery. Abbot Papillon, though degraded from his office nine years before, was buried in the Nave. Abbot Berking was buried in a marble tomb before the High Altar in the Lady Chapel,³ then just begun at his instigation. Crokesley, who succeeded, had been the first Archdeacon of Westminster, and in his time the Abbey was exempted from all jurisdiction of the See of London. After a very varied career—sometimes so enraging the King as to cause the exclamation, 'It repenteth me that

Geoffrey,
1068–74.
Vitalis,
1076–82.
Gislebert,
1082–
1114.
Crispin
Herbert,
1121–40.
Gervase,
1140–60.
Laurence,
1160–91.
Postard,
1191–
1200.

Papillon,
1200–14,
died 1223.
Humez,
1214–22.
Berking,
1222–46.
Crokesley,
1246–58.

¹ Akermann, i. 74.

² Fleete MS.—The names have been inscribed in comparatively modern times, but all wrongly. That, for example, of Gervase, who was buried under a small slab, is written on the largest gravestone in the Cloisters. Geoffrey is buried at his original

Abbey of Jumieges.

³ It was removed when Henry VII.'s Chapel was built, and his grave is now at the steps leading to it. The grey stone and brass were visible till late in the last century. (Crull, p. 117; Seymour's *Stow*, ii. 613.)

'I have made the man ;'¹ sometimes, by undue concessions to him, enraging the other convents—he died at a Winchester Parliament, and was buried first in a small Chapel of St. Edmund, near the North Porch, and afterwards moved to St. Nicholas's Chapel, and finally, in Henry VI.'s time, to some other place not mentioned.²

Lewisham,
1258.

Ware,
1258–84.

The exemption from the jurisdiction of the See of London led to one awkward result. It placed the Abbey in immediate dependence on the Papal See, and the Abbots accordingly (till a commutation and compensation was made in the time of Edward IV.) were obliged to travel to Rome for their confirmation, and even to visit it once every two years. The inconvenience was instantly felt, for Crokesley's successor, Peter of Lewisham, was too fat to move, and before the matter could be settled he died. The journey, however, was carried out by the next Abbot, Richard de Ware—the first, probably, who had ever seen the Imperial City—and with material results, which are visible to this day. On his second journey, in 1267, he brought back with him the mosaic pavement—such as he must have seen freshly laid down in the Church of San Lorenzo—to adorn the Choir of the Church, then just completed by the King. It remains in front of the Altar, with an inscription, in part still decypherable, recording the date of its arrival, the name of

¹ 'Pœnitet me fecisse hominem.'

² On July 12, 1866, in making preparations for a new Reredos, the workmen came upon a marble coffin under the High Altar. Fragments of a crozier in wood and ivory, and of a leaden paten and chalice, proved the body to be that of an Abbot; whilst the absence of any record of an interment on that spot, and the fact that the coffin was without a lid, and that the bones had been turned over in their place, show that this was not

the original grave. These indications point to Abbot Crokesley. From a careful examination of the bones, he appears to have been a personage of tall stature, slightly halting on one leg, with a strong projecting brow; and the knotted protuberances in the spine imply that he had suffered much from chronic rheumatism. See a complete account and drawing of the whole, by George Scharf, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, vol. iii. No. 5, pp. 354–357.

the workman who put it together (Oderic), 'the City' from whence it came, and the name of himself the donor. He was buried underneath it,¹ on the north side. As, in the history of England at large, the reign of Henry III. was an epoch fruitful of change, so also was it in the internal regulations of the Abbey. To us the thirteenth century seems sufficiently remote. But, at the time, everything seemed 'of modern use,' so startling were the 'innovations' begun by Abbot Berking, when compared with the ancient practices of the first Norman Abbots, 'Gislebert,' and his brethren 'of venerable memory.'² To Abbot Ware, accordingly, was due the compilation of the new Code of the Monastery, known as his *Consuetudines* or 'Customs.' Opposite to Ware, on the south side, lies Abbot Wenlock, who lived to see the completion of the work of Henry III., and who shared in the disgrace (shortly to be told) of the robbery of the Royal Treasury. The profligate manners of the reign of Edward II. were reflected in the scandalous election of Kydyngton,³ ultimately secured by the influence of Piers Gaveston with the King. He was succeeded by Curtlington, who was a rare instance of a unanimous election of an Abbot by Pope, King, and Convent. His grave began the interments in the Chapel of the patron saint of their order—St. Benedict. But his successor, Henley, lies under the lower pavement of the Sacrarium, opposite Kydyngton. Then occurs the one exception of a return to the Cloister. The Black Death fell heavily on Westminster. Abbot Byrcheston and twenty-six monks were its victims. He was buried in the Eastern Cloister, which he had built; and they probably⁴ lie beneath the huge slab in the Southern Cloister, which has

Wenlock,
1284—
1308.

Kydyng-
ton, 1308—
1315.
Curtling-
ton, 1315—
1334.

Henley,
1334-44.

Byrches-
ton, 1314—
1349.

¹ His stone coffin was seen there in 1866.

² Ware, pp. 257, 258, 261, 264, 291, 319, 344, 359, 495, 500.

³ He was buried before the Altar,

under the southern part of the lower pavement where the Easter candle stood, with a figure in brass. (Flete.)

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 114.

for many years borne the false name of 'Gervase,' or more popularly 'Long Meg.' That vast stone¹ is the footmark left in the Abbey by the greatest plague that ever visited Europe.

Simon
Langham,
1349-62,
died 1376;
Bishop of
Ely, 1362-
66; Arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury,
1366-69;
Cardinal,
1369;
Lord High
Treasurer,
1361-63;
Lord
Chan-
cellor,
1363-67.

Langham lies by the side of Curtlington. The only Abbot of Westminster who rose to the rank of Cardinal, and to the See of Canterbury—and whose departure from each successive office (from Westminster to Ely, and from Ely to Canterbury) was hailed with joy by those whom he left, and with dread by those whom he joined—is also the first in whom, as far as we know, a strong local affection for Westminster had an opportunity of showing itself. His stern and frugal administration in Westminster, if it provoked some enmity from the older monks, won for him the honour of a second founder of the monastery. To the Abbey, where he had been both Prior and Abbot, his heart always turned. The Nave, where his father was buried, had a special hold upon him, and through his means it first advanced towards completion. In the Chapel of St. Nicholas he was confirmed in the Archiepiscopal See; and to the Chapel of St. Benedict, at the close of his many changes, he begged to be brought back from the distant Avignon, where he died, and was there laid under the first and grandest ecclesiastical tomb that the Abbey contains. It was from the enormous bequest which he left, amounting in our reckoning to 200,000*l.*, that his successor, Nicholas Littlington, rebuilt or built the Abbot's house (the present Deanery), the Southern and Western Cloisters (where his initials are still visible), and many other parts of the conventual buildings since perished. He also gave the splendid Missal still preserved in the Chapter Library. His unmarked grave is before the altar of St. Blaize's Chapel.

Littling-
ton, 1362-
1386.

We trace the history of the next Abbots in the Northern Chapels. In that of St. John the Baptist was laid the

¹ From the quarries of Reigate. (Archives, Parcel 40, Item 9.)

‘grand conspirator,’¹ William of Colchester, who was sent by Henry IV., with sixty horsemen, to the Council of Constance,² and died twenty years after Shakspeare reports him to have been hanged for his treason; Kyrton lies in the Chapel of St. Andrew, which he adorned for himself; Milling—raised by Edward IV. to the See of Hereford, but returning to his old haunts to be buried³—and Esteney,⁴ the successive guardians of Elizabeth Woodville and her royal children, with Fascet, the obscure successor of Esteney, in the Chapels of the two St. Johns. During this time Flete, the Prior of the Monastery, wrote its meagre history.⁵ Finally Islip, who had witnessed the completion of the east end of the Abbey by the building of Henry VII.’s Chapel, himself built the Western Towers as high as the roof, filled the vacant niches outside with the statues of the Sovereigns, and erected the apartments and the gallery against the south side of the Abbey by which the Abbot could enter and overlook the Nave. He had intended to attempt a Belfry Tower over the central lantern.⁶ In the elaborate representation which has been preserved of his obsequies, we seem to be following to their end the funeral of the Middle Ages. We see him standing amidst the ‘slips’ or branches of the bower of moral virtues, which, according to the fashion of the fifteenth century, indicated his name; with the words, significant of his character,⁷ ‘Seek peace and pursue it.’ We see him, as he last appeared

Colchester,
1386–
1420.
Hawerden,
1420–40.
Kyrton,
1440–66.
Norwich,
1466–69.
Thomas
Milling,
1469–74,
died 1492.
Esteney,
1474–98.
Fascet,
1498–
1500.
Islip,
1500–32,
died
May 12.

¹ Widmore, p. 102; Shakspeare’s *Richard II.* Act v. sc. 6. See p. 373.—The Prior of Westminster had already had a vision of the fall of Richard II. (French’s *Chronicles of Richard II.*, pp. 139–224.)

² Widmore, p. 111; Rymer, v. 95.

³ Milling’s coffin was moved from the centre of the Chapel, to make room for the Earl of Essex’s grave (see Chapter IV.), to its present place on the top of Fascet’s tomb. In 1711 it was erroneously called Humphrey de Bohun’s. (Crull, p. 148.)

⁴ Esteney lay at the entrance of the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist, behind an elaborate screen. The body was twice displaced—in 1706 (when it was seen) and in 1778, when the tomb was demolished for the erection of Wolfe’s monument. (Neale, ii. 195.) The fragments were reunited in 1866.

⁵ The graves of Hawerden and Norwich are not known.

⁶ Dart, ii. 34.

⁷ ‘A good old father.’ Henry VIII. (*State Papers*, vii. 30.)

in state at the Coronation of Henry VIII., assisting Warham in the act, so fraught with consequences for all the future history of the English Church—amidst the works of the Abbey, which he is carrying on with all the labour and the exorcisms of the age which was drawing to its close. We see him on his deathbed, in the old manor-house of Neate, surrounded by the priests and saints of the ancient Church; the Virgin standing at his feet, and imploring her Son's assistance to John Islip—'*Islip, O Fili veniens, succurre Johanni!*'—the Abbot of Bury administering the last sacraments. We see his splendid hearse, amidst a forest of candles, before the High Altar, with its screen, for the last time, filled with images, and surmounted by the crucifix with its attendant saints. We see him, as his effigy lay under the tomb in the little chapel which he built, like a king, for himself, recumbent in solitary state—the only Abbot who achieved that honour.¹ The last efflorescence of monastic architecture coincided with its imminent downfall; and as we thus watch the funeral of Islip, we feel the same unconsciousness of the coming changes as breathes through so many words and deeds and buildings of the eve of the Reformation.

Such were the Abbots of Westminster. It seems ungrateful to observe, what yet is the fact, that in all their line there is not one who can aspire to higher historical honour than that of a munificent builder and able administrator: Gislebert alone left theological treatises famous in their day. And if from the Abbots we descend to the Monks, their names are still more obscure. Here and there we catch a trace of their burials. Amundisham, Thomas Brown, Humphrey Roberts,² and John Selby³ of Northumberland (known as a civilian), are interred near St. Paul's Chapel; Vertue in the Western Cloister.⁴ Five of them—Sulcard, John of Reading,

¹ See the Islip Roll, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iv. plate 16-20; and Widmore, p. 206.

² Crull, p. 211.

³ Weever, p. 265.

⁴ See Chapter IV.

Flete the Prior, Richard of Cirencester,¹ and (on a somewhat larger scale) the so-called Matthew of Westminster—have slightly contributed to our historical knowledge of the times. Through one or two we catch a glimpse into the motives which brought them hither. Owen Tudor, son of the first Owen, and uncle of Henry VII., escaped from the troubles of his family into monastic life, and lies in the Chapel of St. Blaize. Sir John Stanley, natural son of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely—the unworthy stepson of Margaret of Richmond—took the same course to escape from his wife, whose formal separation from him is recorded in a deed still extant. In Abbot Littlington's time, a gigantic brother, of the name of John of Canterbury, emerges into view for a moment, having engaged to accompany the aged Abbot to the seacoast, to meet a threatened invasion which never took place. His armour was sold in London, 'so big that no person could be found of a size that it would fit.'²

1420.
1508.

The insignificance or the inactivity of this great community, without any supposition of enormous vices, explains the easy fall of the monasteries when the hour of their dissolution arrived. The garrulous reminiscences of Abbot Ingelram 'of venerable memory,' in Scott's 'Monastery,' exactly reproduce the constant allusions in the thirteenth century to the Norman Abbots of like memory at Westminster. The trivial matters which engross the attention of Abbot Ware or Prior Flete will recall, to anyone who has ever visited the sacred peninsula of Mount Athos, the disputes concerning property and jurisdiction which occupy the whole thought of those ancient communities. At this moment the public indignation of Europe is stirred on behalf of Monte Cassino, because it furnishes so bright an exception to the general tenor of monastic life. Those who have witnessed the last days of Vallombrosa must confess with a sigh that, like the

¹ Seymour's *Stow*, ii. 607.² Widmore, p. 107.

THE MONASTERY.

ancient Abbey of Westminster, its inmates had contributed nothing to the general intelligence of Christendom. It is to the buildings and the institutions of the monastery that the interest of its mediæval history attaches; and these, therefore, it must be our endeavour to recall from the dead past.

Its possessions on the north-west.

The mighty city had not, even in the time of Henry VIII., encroached on the almost rural character of the monastic precincts. Their southern boundary was the stream which ran down what is now College Street, then 'the dead wall'¹ of the gardens behind. The Abbots used to take boat on this stream to go to the Thames,² but the property and the

The Mill.

grounds extended far beyond. The Abbot's Mill stood on the farther bank of the brook, called the Mill Ditch, as the bank itself was called *Millbank*. In the adjacent fields

The Orchard, Vineyard, Bowling Alley, and Gardens.

were the Orchard, the Vineyard, and the Bowling-alley, which have left their traces in *Orchard Street*, *Vine Street*, and *Bowling Street*.³ Farther still were the Abbot's Gardens and the Monastery Gardens, reaching down to the river,

The Pass of the Knights' Bridge.

and known by the name of the *Minster Gardens*, which gradually faded away into the *Monster Tea Gardens*.⁴ Two bridges marked the course of the Eye or Tyburn across the fields to the north-west. One was the Eye Bridge, near the Eye Cross; another was a stone bridge, which was regarded as a military pass,⁵ against the robbers who infested the deep morass and wild heath which are now Belgravia and Vincent Square. On that desolate heath—the 'Smithfield' of Western London—took place the burnings of witches, the tournaments, judicial combats, fairs, beargardens, and the

Tothill Fields.

¹ *Gleanings*, p. 229; see *Gent. Mag.* 1836.—The wall was pulled down in 1776.

² Archives: Parcel 31, Item 16. There was a large pond close by.

³ *Gleanings*, p. 239.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 229.

⁵ Hence 'Knightsbridge,' either from the Knights who escorted the Abbot, or from Sir H. Knyvet, Knight, who there valiantly defended himself, there being assaulted, 'and slew the master-thief with his own hands.' (Walcott, p. 300.)

interment of those who had been stricken by plague.¹ Amongst these streams the ducks disported themselves, which gave their name to *Duck Lane*,² now swept away by Victoria Street. Water was conveyed to the Convent in leaden pipes, from a spring in the manor of Hyde (now Hyde Park), which until the Dissolution belonged to the Monastery. The manor of Neate, not far off, was a favourite country-seat of the Abbots. There Littlington and Islip died.

Hyde
Water.

On the north-east, separated from the Abbey by the long reach of meadows, in which stood the country village of Charing, was another enclosure, known by the name of the Convent Garden—or rather, in Norman-French, the Couvent Garden, whence the present form, *Covent Garden*—with its grove of *Elms* and pastures of *Long Acre*, and of the *Seven Acres*.³ For the convenience of the conventual officers going from Westminster to this garden, a solitary oratory or chapel was erected in the adjacent fields, dedicated to St. Martin.⁴ This was ‘St. Martin-in-the-fields.’ The Abbot had a special garden on the banks of the river, just where the precincts of the City of Westminster succeeded to those of London, opposite to the town residences of the Bishops of Carlisle and Durham, near the church of St. Clement Danes, called the ‘Frere Pye Garden.’⁵ Beyond this, again, was the dependency (granted by Henry VII.) of the collegiate church of St. Martin’s-le-Grand, which, in consequence of this connexion, long after it had become the seat of the General Post Office, sent its inhabitants to vote in the Westminster elections.⁶

Posses-
sions on
the north-
east.

Covent
Garden.

S. Martin’s-
le-Grand.

From this side the Monastery itself was, like the great temples of Thebes, approached by a continual succession of gateways. First were the two arches of Whitehall Place.

Walcott, p. 325.

Ibid. p. 284.

Brayley’s *Londiniana*, iv. 207.

Gent. Mag. [1826], part i. p. 30.

¹ See Archives: Parcel 31, Item 5.

² This continued till the Reform Act of 1832.

The GATE-
HOUSE.

Then followed the humbler gateway which opened into the courtyard of the Palace, and farther west, at what is now the entrance of Tothill Street, the Gatehouse of the Monastery¹; and within each of these, again, a separate gateway led to the Abbey itself. Of these the Gatehouse was the most remarkable. It consisted of two chambers over two arches,² built in the time of Edward III., by Walter de Warfield the cellarer.³ It remained standing till 1776, when it was pulled down at the instigation of Dr. Johnson. Its history, though later than the mediæval period, must be given here. It was after the changes of the Reformation that one of the chambers became the Bishop of London's prison for convicted clergy; the other the public prison of Westminster. In it was confined Raleigh, on the night before his execution in Old Palace Yard and his interment in St. Margaret's Church, when, after parting with his wife, he took farewell of life—

The
Prison.

Raleigh,
executed
Oct. 29,
1618.

Ev'n such is Time, that takes on trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust,
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.⁴

Lovelace.

In it the Royalist Lovelace wrote his beautiful lines—

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage.
If I have freedom in my love,
And in my soul am free,
Angels alone that soar above
Enjoy such liberty.

Hampden
and Elliot.

In it both Hampden and Sir John Elliot endured their first

¹ There is a drawing of it in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. (See also Walcott, p. 273.)

² Cooper's Plans, 1808. (Soc. Ant.

Lond.)

³ Stow, p. 176.

⁴ See Walcott, p. 275.

sufferings on behalf of constitutional freedom.¹ In it Sir Hudson. Geoffrey Hudson, the dwarf, died, at the age of 63, under suspicion of complicity in the Popish Plot.² In it Col- Collier. lier, the nonjuring divine, and the poet Savage made their Savage. experience of prison life.³ In it, according to his own story, Captain Bell was incarcerated, and translated 'Luther's Capt. Bell. 'Table Talk,' having 'many times begun to translate the 'same, but always was hindered through being called upon 'about other businesses. Thus,' he writes, 'about six weeks 'after I had received the same book, it fell out that one night, 'between twelve and one of the clock . . . there appeared 'unto me an ancient man, standing at my bedside, arrayed 'all in white, having a long and broad white beard hanging 'down to his girdle, who, taking me by my right ear, 'spoke these words following to me: "Sirrah, will you not 'take time to translate that book which is sent you out of 'Germany? I will shortly provide for you both place and 'time to do it." And then he vanished away out of my 'sight. . . . Then, about a fortnight after I had seen that 'vision, I went to Whitehall to hear the sermon, after which 'ended, I returned to my lodging, which was then in King 'Street, Westminster; and sitting down to dinner with my 'wife, two messengers were sent from the Privy Council 'Board, with a warrant to carry me to the Keeper of the 'Gatehouse, Westminster, there to be safely kept until further 'order from the hands of the Council—which was done, 'without showing me any cause at all wherefore I was 'committed. Upon which said warrant I was kept there 'ten whole years close prisoner; where I spent five years 'thereof in translating the said book, insomuch that I found 'the words very true which the old man in the foresaid

¹ Forster's *Statesmen*, i. 18, 53.

Newgate.

² In Scott's 'Peveril of the Peak' the Gatehouse is confounded with³ Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, iii. 309.

‘vision did say unto me, “I will shortly provide for you
 “both place and time to translate it.”’¹

Keeper of
the Gate-
house.

Maurice
Pickering.

The office of Keeper of the Gatehouse was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter. The most remarkable ‘Keeper’ was Maurice Pickering, who, in a paper addressed to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in 1580, says: ‘My predecessor and my wief
 ‘and I have kept this offis of the Gatehouse this XXIII.
 ‘yeres and upwards.’ He was considered a great man in Westminster, and in official documents he was styled ‘Maurice
 ‘Pickering, gentleman.’ At one time he and his wife are mentioned as dining at a marriage-feast at His Grace the Lord Bishop of Rochester’s, in Westminster Close, and at another as supping with Sir George Peckham, Justice of the Peace. On another occasion, when supping with Sir George, he foolishly let out some of the secrets of his office in chatting with Lady Peckham (the Gatehouse at that time was full of needy prisoners for religion’s sake, whose poverty had become notorious). ‘He told her Ladyship, in answer to a question
 ‘she asked him, “Yea, I have many poor people for that
 ‘“cause (meaning religion), and for restraunte (poverty) of
 ‘“their friends; I fear they will starve, as I have no allowance
 ‘“for them.” For this Master Pickering was summoned before
 ‘the Lord Chancellor, examined by the Judges, and severely
 ‘reprimanded;’ upon which he sent a most humble and sorrowful petition to Lord Burleigh, ‘praying the comfort of his
 ‘good Lord’s mercy’ in the matter, and protesting that he had ever prayed for ‘the prosperous reign of the Queene, who
 ‘hath defended us from the tearing of the Devill the Poope
 ‘and all his ravening wollves.’ The Privy Council appears to have taken no further notice of the matter, except to require an occasional return of the prisoners in the Gatehouse to the Justices of the Peace assembled at Quarter Sessions.²

¹ Southey’s *Doctor*, vii. 354–356.

kindness of Mr. Trollope, Town Clerk

² I owe this information to the
of Westminster.

In the year of the Armada, Pickering presented to the Bur- 1588.
gesses of Westminster a fine silver-gilt 'standing cup,' which
is still used at their feasts, the cover being held over the
heads of those who drink, with the quaint inscription—

The Giver to his Brother wisheth peace,
With Peace he wisheth Brother's love on earth,
Which Love to seal, I as a pledge am given,
A standing Bowle to be used in mirth.

The gift of Maurice Pickering and Joan his wife, 1588.

Passing the Gatehouse and returning from this anticipa-
tion of distant times, we approach the Sanctuary. The right
of 'Sanctuary' was shared by the Abbey with at least thirty
other great English monasteries;¹ but probably in none did
the building occupy so prominent a position, and in none did
it play so important a part. The grim old Norman fortress,²
which was still standing in the seventeenth century, is itself
a proof that the right reached back, if not to the time of the
Confessor, at least to the period when additional sanctity
was imparted to the whole Abbey by his canonisation in
1198; and the right professed to be founded on charters of
King Lucius,³ and on the special consecration by St. Peter,
whose cope was exhibited as the very one which he had left
behind him on the night of his interview with Edric, and
as a pledge (like St. Martin's cope in Tours) of the inviolable
sanctity of his monastery.⁴ Close by was a Belfry Tower,⁵
built by Edward III., in which hung the Abbey Bells,
which remained there till Wren had completed the Western
Towers, and which rang for coronations and tolled for royal
funerals. 'Their ringings, men said, soured all the drink in

The Sanc-
tuary.

¹ *Arch.* viii. 41.

² Described in *Archæolog.* i. 35;
Maitland's *Lond.* (Entinck), ii. 134;
Gleanings, p. 228; Walcott, p. 81.

³ *Eulog.* iii. 346; More's *Life of*
Richard III., p. 40; Kennet, i. 491.

⁴ Neale, i. 55; Dart (app.), p. 17.
See Chapter I.

⁵ Where now stands the Guildhall,
built 1805. (Widmore, p. 11; *Glean-*
ings, p. 228; Walcott, p. 82.)

‘the town.’ The building, properly so called, included two churches, an upper and a lower, which the inmates were expected, as a kind of penance, to frequent. But the right of asylum rendered the whole precinct a vast ‘cave of Adullam’ for all the distressed and discontented of the metropolis who desired, according to the phrase of the time, to ‘take Westminster.’ Sometimes, if they were of higher rank, they established their quarters in the great Northern Porch of the Abbey, with tents pitched, and guards watching round, for days and nights together.¹ Sometimes they occupied St. Martin’s-le-Grand, which, by a legal fiction, was reckoned part of the Abbey.² Sometimes they darted away from their captors, to secure the momentary protection of the consecrated ground. ‘Thieving Lane’ was the name long attached to the winding street³ at the back of the Sanctuary, along which ‘thieves’ were conducted to the prison in the Gatehouse, to avoid these untoward emancipations—if they were taken straight across the actual precincts.⁴

Modern inhabitants of Westminster have sometimes lamented that the Abbey can never vie with the exciting interest attaching to Canterbury Cathedral, from its connexion with the greatest historical murder of our annals. But in those days the Chapter of Canterbury felt a kind of jealousy that the Sanctuary of Westminster had remained inviolate, whilst theirs had been so shamefully outraged; and there was a current prediction that the blood of Becket would never be avenged till a similar sacrilege had defiled the walls of Westminster.⁵ At last it came—doubtless in a very inferior form, but creating a powerful sensation at the time, and leaving permanent traces behind.

During the campaign of the Black Prince in the North

¹ Capgrave’s *Chron.* p. 298; Walsingham, ii. 285.

² Stow, p. 615.

³ Hence called Bow Street. (Wal-

cott, p. 70.)

⁴ Smith, p. 27.

⁵ Walsingham, ii. 378.

of Spain, two of his knights, Shackle and Hawle, had taken prisoner a Spanish Count. He returned home for his ransom, leaving his son in his place. The ransom never came, and the young Count continued in captivity. He had, however, a powerful friend at Court—John of Gaunt, who, in right of his wife, claimed the crown of Castille, and in virtue of this Spanish royalty demanded the liberty of the young Spaniard. The two English captors refused to part with so valuable a prize. John of Gaunt, with a high hand, imprisoned them in the Tower, whence they escaped and took sanctuary at Westminster. They were pursued by Boxhall, Constable of the Tower,¹ and Sir Ralph Ferrers with fifty armed men.² It was a day long remembered in the Abbey—the 11th of August, the festival of St. Taurinus. The two knights, probably for greater security, had fled not merely into the Abbey, but into the Choir itself. It was the moment of the celebration of High Mass. The Deacon had just reached the words of the Gospel of the day, ‘If the goodman of the house had ‘known what time the thief would appear——’³ when the clash of arms was heard, and the pursuers, regardless of time or place, burst in upon the service. Shackle escaped, but Hawle was intercepted. Twice he fled round the Choir, with his enemies hăcking at him as he ran; and, pierced with twelve wounds,⁴ he sank dead in front of the Prior’s Stall—that is, at the north side of the entrance of the Choir.⁵ His servant and one of the monks fell with him.⁶ He was regarded as a martyr to the injured rights of the Abbey, and obtained the honour (at that time unusual) of burial within its walls—the first who was laid, so far as we know, in the South Transept, to be followed a few years later by Chaucer, who was interred at his feet. A brass

Murder of
Hawle,
Aug. 11,
1378.

¹ Walsingham, ii. 378.

² Widmore, p. 104.

³ *Eulog. Hist.* vii. 343, 396.

⁴ Widmore, p. 104.

⁵ Brayley, p. 258.

⁶ Weever, p. 261.

effigy and a long epitaph marked, till within the last century, the stone where he lay,¹ and another inscription was engraved on the stone where he fell. The Abbey was shut up for four months,² and Parliament was suspended, lest its assembly should be polluted by sitting within the desecrated precincts.³ The whole case was heard before the King. The Abbot, William of Colchester, who speaks of 'the horrible crime'⁴ as an act which every one would recognise under that name, recited the whole story of St. Peter's midnight visit to the fisherman,⁵ as the authentic ground of the right of sanctuary; and carried his point so far as to procure from the Archbishops and Bishops an excommunication of the two chief assailants—which was repeated every Wednesday and Friday by the Bishop of London at St. Paul's—and the payment of 200*l.* from them (equal to at least 2,000*l.*) by way of penance to the Abbey. On the other hand, Shackle⁶ gave up his Spanish prisoner, who had waited upon him as his valet, but not without the remuneration of 500 marks in hand and 100 for life;⁷ and the extravagant claims of the Abbot led (as often happens in like cases) to a judicial sifting of the right of sanctuary, which from that time forward was refused in the case of debtors.⁸

This tremendous uproar took place in the early years of Richard II., and perhaps was not without its effect in fixing his attention on the Abbey, to which he afterwards showed so much devotion.⁹ Another sacrilege of the like kind took place nearly at the same time, but seems to have been merged in the general horror of the events of which it formed a part. At the time of the rebellion of Wat Tyler, John Mangett, marshal of the Marshalsea, had clung for

Outrage of
Wat Tyler,
1381.

¹ Neale, ii. 269.

² Widmore, p. 106.

³ Brayley, p. 259.

⁴ 'Illud factum horribile.' (Archives, Parcel 41.)

⁵ *Eulog.* iii. 346. See Chapter I.

⁶ He himself seems to have been buried in the Abbey, 1396. (Stow, p. 614.)

⁷ Widmore, p. 106.

⁸ Walsingham, i. 378.

⁹ See Chapter I.

safety to one of the slender marble pillars round the Confessor's Shrine, and was torn away by Wat Tyler's orders.¹ The King, with his peculiar feeling for the Abbey, immediately sent to enquire into the act. Within the precincts, close adjoining to St. Margaret's Church, was a tenement known by the name of the 'Anchorite's House.'² Here, as often in the neighbourhood of great conventual buildings, dwelt, apparently from generation to generation, a hermit, who acted as a kind of oracle to the neighbourhood. To him, as afterwards Henry V., so now Richard II. resorted, and encouraged by his counsels, went out on his gallant adventure to Smithfield, where his presence suppressed the rebellion.³

A more august company took refuge here in the next century. Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV., twice made the Sanctuary her home. The first time was just before the birth of her eldest son. On this occasion she, with her three daughters and Lady Scrope, took up their abode as 'sanctuary women,' apparently within the Sanctuary itself. The Abbot (Milling) sent them provisions—'half a loaf and 'two muttuns'—daily. The nurse in the Sanctuary assisted at the birth, and in these straits Edward V. first saw the light; and was baptised by the Subprior, with the Abbot as his godfather, and the Duchess of Bedford and Lady Scrope as his godmothers.⁴ The Queen remained there till her husband's triumphant entry into London.

The second occasion was yet more tragical. When Richard III.'s conspiracy against his nephews transpired, the Queen again flew to her well-known refuge—with her five daughters, and, this time, not with her eldest son (who was

First visit
of Elizabeth
Woodville,
Nov. 1,
1470.

Birth of
Edward V.
April 9,
1471.

Second
visit of
Elizabeth
Woodville,
April,
1483.

¹ Brayley, p. 266.

² Chapter Book, May 10, 1604.—It occurs in other entries as the *Anchor's House*. There was a hermit of the

same kind in the precincts at Norwich.

³ Howe's *Chronicle*, p. 284.

⁴ Strickland, iii. 328.

already in the Tower), but with her second son, Richard Duke of York. She crossed from the Palace at midnight, probably through the postern-gate, into the 'Abbot's Place.' It was in one of the great chambers of the house, probably the Dining-hall (now the Collège Hall) that she was received by Abbot Esteney.¹ There the Queen 'sate alone on the 'rushes, all desolate and dismayed,' and all 'about her 'much heaviness, rumble, haste, and business; carriage and 'conveyance of her stuff into Sanctuary; chests, coffers, 'packers, fardels, trussed all on men's backs; no man un- 'occupied—some lading, some going, some discharging, some 'coming for more, some breaking down the walls to bring 'in the next way.' In this scene of confusion appeared Rotheram, Archbishop of York, who deposited with her the Great Seal, 'and departed hence again, yet in the dawning 'of the day. By which time he might, in his chamber window' [from his palace on the site of the present Whitehall] 'see 'all the Thames full of boats of the Duke of Gloucester's 'servants, watching that no man should pass to the Sanctuary.' The Queen, it would seem, had meantime withdrawn into the fortress of the Sanctuary itself, where, as she said, 'her other 'son, now King, was born and kept in his cradle;' and there she received the southern Primate, Cardinal Kemp. It is instructive to observe how powerful the terrors of the Sanctuary were in the eyes both of besiegers and besieged. The King would have taken his nephew by force from the Sanctuary, but was met by the two Archbishops with the never-failing argument of St. Peter's visit to the fisherman, 'in proof whereof 'they have yet in the Abbey St. Peter's cope to show.'² At last, however, even this was turned by the casuistry of some ingenious lawyer or ecclesiastic, who argued that, as the child was incapable of such crimes as needed sanctuary,

¹ His effigy, copied from his tomb, now hangs in the Hall.

² More's *Life of Edward V.*, p. 40; Kennett, i. 491; Neale, ii. 94.

so he was incapable of receiving sanctuary. The Queen resisted, with all the force of a woman's art and a mother's love. 'In what place could I reckon him secure if he be not secure in this Sanctuary, whereof was there never yet tyrant so devilish that durst presume to break? . . . But, you say, my son can deserve no sanctuary, and therefore he cannot have it. Forsooth he hath found a goodly gloss, by which that place that may defend a thief may not save an innocent. . . . I can no more, but, whosoever he be that breaketh this holy sanctuary, I pray God shortly send him need of sanctuary, when he may not come to it! For taken out of sanctuary I would not my mortal enemy were.'

The Archbishop, however, at last prevailed. 'And therewithal she said to the child "Farewell, mine own sweet son; " "God send you good keeping! Let me kiss you once, ere you go; for God knoweth when we shall kiss one another again." And therewith she kissed him and blessed him, turned her back, and went her way, leaving the child weeping as fast.'¹ She never saw her sons again. She was still in the Sanctuary when she received the news of their death, and ten months elapsed before she and the Princesses left it. The whole precinct was strictly guarded by Richard; so that the solemn Church of Westminster and all the adjacent region was changed after the form of a camp or fortress.'

At the same moment, another child of a princely house was in the monastery, also hiding from the fury of the 'Boar.' Owen Tudor, the father of Henry VII., had himself been sheltered in the Sanctuary in the earlier days of the York dynasty; and now his second son, Owen, was growing up there as a monk, and was buried in St. Blaize's Chapel.

The two
Tudors.

The last eminent person who received the shelter of the Sanctuary fled thither from the violence, not of Princes, but of Ecclesiastics. Skelton, the earliest known Poet Laureate, Skelton.

¹ Strickland's *Queens*, iii. 331, 348, 355, 377; Green's *Princesses*, iii. 413.

from under the wing of Abbot Islip, poured forth against Cardinal Wolsey those furious invectives, which must have doomed him to destruction but for the Sanctuary, impregnable even by all the power of the Cardinal at the height of his grandeur. No stronger proof can be found of the sacredness of the spot, or of the independence of the institution. He remained here till his death,¹ and, like Le Sueur in the Chartreuse at Paris, rewarded his protectors by writing the doggrel epitaphs which were hung over the royal tombs, and which are preserved in most of the older antiquarian works on the Abbey.

Fall of the
Sanctuary,
1566.

This was the close of the history of the Sanctuary. Its rights, with considerable modifications, lingered on for some time after the dissolution of the Abbey, under the vigilant supervision of the Dean and the Archdeacon. But at last even the privilege of debtors was attacked. On that occasion, Dean Goodman pleaded the claims of the Sanctuary before the House of Commons, and, abandoning the legend of St. Peter, rested them on the less monastic but not less apocryphal charters of King Lucius.² Whatever there might be in other arguments, there was 'one strong especial reason for its continuance here. This privilege had 'caused the houses within the district to let well.'³ For a time the Dean's arguments, fortified by those of two learned civilians, prevailed. But Elizabeth added sterner and sterner restrictions, and James I. at last suppressed it with all other Sanctuaries.⁴ Unfortunately, the iniquity and vice which gathered round the neighbourhood of the Abbey, and which has only in our own time been cleared away, was the not unnatural result of this 'City of Refuge,'—a striking instance of the evils which, sooner or later,

1602.

¹ He was buried in St. Margaret's Churchyard, 1529.

² Strype's *Annals*, i. 528.

³ Widmore, p. 141; Walcott, p. 80.

⁴ Widmore, p. 141; 1 Jas. I. c. 25, § 34; 21 Jas. I. c. 28.

is produced by any attempt to exalt local or ecclesiastical sanctity above the claims of law, and justice, and morality. The 'Sanctuaries' of mediæval Christendom may have been necessary remedies for a barbarous state of society; but when the barbarism of which they formed a part disappeared, they became almost unmixed evils; and the National Schools and the Westminster Hospital, which have succeeded to the site of the Westminster Sanctuary, may not unfairly be regarded as humble indications of the dawn of a better age.

Not far from the Sanctuary was another natural appendage of all mediæval monasteries—the Almonry, or 'Ambrey,'^{The Almonry.} founded by Henry VII. for thirteen poor men,¹ and another for women, by his mother, Margaret of Richmond. In connexion with it was St. Anne's Chapel, which gave its name to St. Anne's Lane,² now destroyed, but of which the fame is perpetuated in Sir Roger de Coverley's youthful adventure there:—

This worthy knight, being then but a stripling, had occasion to inquire which was the way to *St. Anne's Lane*, upon which the person whom he spoke to, instead of answering his question, called him 'a young Popish cur,' and asked him who had made Anne a saint? The boy, being in some confusion, inquired of the next he met, which was the way to *Anne's Lane*; but was called a 'prick-eared cur' for his pains, and, instead of being shown the way, was told that she had been a saint before he was born, and would be one after he was hanged. 'Upon this,' says Sir Roger, 'I did not think fit to repeat the former question, but going into every lane in the neighbourhood, asked what they called the name of that lane.' By which ingenious artifice, he found out the place he inquired after, without giving offence to any party.³

The inner arch of the Gatehouse led into an irregular square, which was the chief court of the monastery, corresponding to what is at Canterbury called the 'Green Court,'

¹ Stow, p. 634.—Twelve of the almsmen still continue, bearing the badge of Henry VII.'s Portcullis.

² In this lane was Purcell's house. (Novello's *Life of Purcell*, p. x.)

³ *Spectator*, No. 125.

'The
'Elms',
in Dean's
Yard.

The
Granary.

'The
'Abbot's
'Place',
Cheyney
Gate
Manor.
(THE
DEANERY).

The
Dining
Hall.

and which at Westminster, in like manner (from the large trees planted round it), was known as 'The Elms.' Amongst them grew a huge oak, which was blown down in 1791.¹ Across this court ran the long building of the Granary. It was of two storeys, and was surmounted by a large central tower. Near it was the Oxstall, or stable for the cattle, and the Barn adjoining the milldam.² Its traces were still visible in the broken ground at the beginning of this century. At right-angles to it were the Bakehouse and Brewhouse.

The Abbot's Place (or Palace), built by Littlington, with a slight addition by Islip, occupied the southern side of the Abbey, and stood round an irregular quadrangle, into which, for the most part (as in all houses of that age) its windows looked. Only from the Grand Dining-hall and its parlour there were windows into the open space before the Sanctuary. It was commonly called 'Cheyney Gate Manor,' from the conspicuous chain³ which was drawn across the entrance of the Cloisters. This house—the present Deanery—was the scene, already in the Middle Ages, of many striking events. The reception of Elizabeth Woodville in its Hall has been already told. In it, before that time, was concerted the conspiracy⁴ of Abbot William of Colchester, which Shakspeare has incorporated into the last scenes of the play of 'Richard II.'—

¹ Malcolm, p. 256.—The green of Dean's Yard was first made in 1753. (*Gleanings*, p. 229.)

² See the document quoted in *Gleanings*, p. 224; and *Gent. Mag.* [1815], part i. p. 201. See Chapter VI. p. 455.

³ *Gleanings*, p. 222.—So the approach to the Deanery of St. Paul's is called 'St. Paul's Chain,' for a like reason.

⁴ The authorities for this story are Hollinshed and Hall, but in much more minute and authentic detail the French Chronicle (published by the Master of the Rolls) on the Betrayal

of Richard II., pp. 228, 229, 258, 260. According to this, the Abbot and the two prelates were sent to the Tower, but afterwards released. According to Hall, when the conspiracy was discovered, 'the Abbot, "going between his monastery and " mansion for thought [*i.e.*, for anxiety], fell into a sudden palsy, and " shortly after, without speech, ended " his life.' This, however, is certainly fabulous, as Colchester long outlived the conspiracy. (See Widmore, p. 110; *Archæologia*, xx. 217.)

Aumerle.—You holy clergymen, is there no plot
To rid the realm of this pernicious blot?

Abbot of Westminster.—Before I freely speak my mind herein,
You shall not only take the sacrament
To bury mine intents, but to effect
Whatever I shall happen to devise.

Come home with me to supper ; I will lay
A plot, shall show us all a merry day.

The Abbot had been entrusted with 'the charge of the three Dukes and two Earls who were suspected by Henry IV. 'You shall be entertained honourably,' he said, 'for King Richard's sake;' and he took the opportunity of their presence in his house to concert the plot with Walden the deposed Primate, Wells 'the good Bishop of Carlisle' (who had formerly been a monk at Westminster), Maudlin the priest (whose likeness to Richard was so remarkable), and two others attached to Richard's Court. They dined together, evidently in the Great Hall, and then withdrew into what is called, in one version 'a secret chamber,'¹ in another 'a side council-chamber,' where six deeds were prepared by a secretary, to which six of the number affixed their seals, and swore to be faithful to the death to King Richard. The 'secret chamber' may have been that which exists behind the wall of the present Library of the Deanery, and which was opened, after an interval of many years, in 1864.² But the 'side council-chamber' rather indicates the first of the long line of associations which attaches to a spot immediately adjoining the Hall. 'There is an old, low, shabby wall, 'which runs off from the south side of the great west doorway into Westminster Abbey. This wall is only broken 'by one wired window, and the whole appearance of the wall 'and window is such, that many strangers and inhabitants

Conspiracy of William of Colchester, Oct. 17, 1399.

¹ Hollinshed,

² See Chapter VI. p. 458.

⁸ See Widmore, p. 110; and *Archæologia*, xx. 217.

‘have wondered why they were allowed to encumber and deform this magnificent front. But that wall is the JERUSALEM CHAMBER, and that guarded window is its principal light.’

The
Jerusalem
Chamber.

So a venerable church-reformer¹ of our own day describes the external appearance of the Chamber which has witnessed so many schemes of ecclesiastical polity—some dark and narrow, some full of noble aspirations—in the later days of our Church, but which even in the Middle Ages had become historical. In the time of Henry IV. it was still but a private apartment—the withdrawing-room or guest-chamber of the Abbot, opening on one hand into the Abbot’s refectory, on the other into his yard or garden—just rebuilt by Nicholas Littlington, and deriving the name of Jerusalem, probably, from older tapestries or pictures of the history of Jerusalem, as the Antioch Chamber² in the Palace of Westminster was so called from pictures representing the history of Antioch.³ This, which probably was the scene of the conspiracy against the first Lancastrian king, was also the scene of his death.

Death of
Henry IV.,
March 20,
1413.

Henry IV., as his son after him, had been filled with the thought of expiating his usurpation by a crusade. His illness, meanwhile, had grown upon him during the last years of his life, so as to render him a burden to himself and to those around him. He was covered with a hideous leprosy, and was almost bent double with pain and weakness. In this state he had come up to London for his last Parliament. The galleys were ready for the voyage. ‘All haste and possible speed

¹ W. W. Hull’s *Church Inquiry*, p. 244.

² Walpole’s *Anecdotes of Painting*, i. 20.—‘Galilee’ was the name for the chamber between the Great and Little Hall in the Palace of Westminster. (*Vet. Mon.* iv. 2.)

³ The fragments of painted glass

—chiefly subjects from the New Testament, but not specially bearing on Jerusalem—in the northern window are of the time of Henry III., perhaps adapted from the original Chamber—‘a certain chamber called of old time ‘Jerusalem.’ (*Rev. Angl. Script. Vet.* i. 499.)

‘ was made.’ It was apparently soon after Christmas that the King was making his prayers at St. Edward’s Shrine, ‘ to take there his leave, and so to speed him on his journey,’ when he became so sick, that such as were about him feared ‘ that he would have died right there ; wherefore they for his comfort bore him into the Abbot’s Place, and lodged him in a Chamber, and there upon a pallet laid him before the fire, where he lay in great agony a certain time.’ He must have been brought through the Cloisters, the present ready access from the Nave not being then in existence.¹ ‘ The fire ’ was doubtless where it now is, for which the Chamber then, as afterwards in the seventeenth century, was remarkable amongst the parlours of London, and which, as afterwards,² so now, was the immediate though homely occasion of the historical interest of the Chamber. It was the early spring, when the Abbey was filled with its old deadly chill, and the friendly warmth naturally brought the King and his attendants to this spot. ‘ At length, when he was come to himself, not knowing where he was, he freined (asked) of such as were about him, what place that was. The which showed to him that it belonged to the Abbot of Westminster ; and, for he felt himself so sick, he commanded to ask if that Chamber had any special name. Whereto it was answered that it was named “ Hierusalem.” Then said the King, Laud be to the Father of Heaven ! for now I know that I shall die in this Chamber, according to the prophecy made of me beforesaid, that I should die in Hierusalem.’³ All through his reign his mind had been filled with predictions of this sort. One especially had run through Wales, describing that the son of the eagle ‘ should conquer Jerusalem.’⁴ The prophecy was of the same kind as that which

¹ This was probably added in Islip’s time, with the passage communicating directly into the Abbot’s House.

² See Chapter VI. pp. 437, 469.

³ Fabyan, pp. 388, 389.

⁴ *Arch.* xx. 257.

misled Cambyses at Ecbatana, on Mount Carmel, when he had expected to die at Ecbatana in Media; and (according to the legend) Pope Sylvester II., at 'Santa Croce in Gerusalemme,' when he had expected to avoid the Devil by not going to the Syrian Jerusalem; and Robert Guiscard, when he found himself unexpectedly in a convent called Jerusalem in Cephalonia.¹

With this predetermination to die, the King lingered on—

Bear me to that Chamber; theré I'll lie—
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die;

Conver-
sion of
Henry V.

and it was then and there that followed the scene of the Prince's removal of the Crown, which Shakspeare has immortalised,² and which, though first mentioned by Monstrelet, is rendered probable by the frequent discussions which had been raised in Henry's last years as to the necessity of his resigning the Crown: ³—

Ceux qui de luy avoient la garde un certain iour, voyans que de son corps n'issoit plus d'alaine, cuidans pour vray qu'il fut transis, luy avoient couvert le visage. Or est ainsi que comme il est accoutumé de faire en pays, on avoit mis sa couronne Royal sur une couch assez près de luy, laquelle devoit prendre presentement apres son trepas son dessusdit premier fils et successeur, lequel fut de ce faire assez prest: et print la dicte couronne, & emporta sur la donner à entendre des dictes gardes. Or advint qu'assez tost apres le Roy ieeta un soupir si fut decouvert, & retourna en assez bonne mémoire: & tant qu'il regarda où auoit esté sa couronne mise: & quand il ne la veit demanda où elle estoit, & ses gardes luy répondirent, Sire, monseigneur le Prince vostre fils l'a emporté; & il dit qu'on le fait venir devers luy & il y vint. Et adonc le Roy lui demanda pourquoi il avoit emporté sa couronne, & le Prince

¹ Palgrave's *Normandy*, iv. 479.—A convent bearing the name of 'Jerusalem' exists now on Mount Par-nassus, and another near Moscow.

² It is perhaps too much to suppose that Shakspeare paid any attention to the actual localities, as he evidently represents the whole affair as taking place in the Palace. But it is curious that, if the King be supposed

to remain in the Jerusalem Chamber, the Lords may have been 'in the other 'room'—the Dining Hall, where the music would play. Prince Henry might thus pass not 'through the 'chamber where they stayed,' but through the 'open door' of the Chamber itself into the adjacent court.

³ Pauli. v. 72.

dit : Monseigneur, voicy en presence ceux qui m'avoient donné à entendre & affirmé, qu'estiez trespasé, et pour ce que suis vostre fils aîné, et qu'à moy appartiendra vostre couronne & Royaume apres que serez allé de vie à trepas, l'avoie prise. Et adonc le Roy en soupirant luy dit : Beau fils—comment y auriez vous droit car ie n'en y euz oncques point, & se sçauéz vous bien. Monseigneur, respondit le Prince, ainsi que vous l'avez tenu et gardé à l'éspée, c'est mon intention de la garder & deffendre toute ma vie; & adonc dit le Roy, or en faictes comme bon vous semblera : ie m'en rapporte à Dieu du surplus, auquel ie prie qu'il ait mercy de moy. Et bref apres sans autre chose dire, alla de vie à trepas.¹

The English chroniclers speak only of the Prince's faithful attendance on his father's sick-bed; and when, as the end drew near, the King's failing sight² prevented him from observing what the ministering priest was doing, his son replied, with the devotedness characteristic of the Lancastrian House, 'My Lord, he has just consecrated the body of Our Lord. I entreat you to worship Him, by whom kings reign and princes rule.' The King feebly raised himself up, and stretched out his hands; and, before the elevation of the cup, called the Prince to kiss him, and then pronounced upon him a blessing,³ variously given, but in each version containing an allusion to the blessing of Isaac on Jacob—it may be from the recollection of the comparison of himself to Jacob on his first accession,⁴ or from the likeness of the relations of himself and his son to the two Jewish Patriarchs. 'These were the last words of the victorious Henry.'⁵ The Prince, in an agony of grief, retired to an oratory, as it would seem, within the monastery; and there, on his bare knees, and with floods of tears, passed the whole of that dreary day, till nightfall, in remorse for his past sins. At night he secretly went to a holy hermit in the

¹ Monstrelet, p. 163.—He speaks of the King's being buried 'à l'Eglise de Vaste moustier auprès ses prédécesseurs.' The burial (see Chapter III. p. 145) was really at Canterbury.

² Elmham, c. vii.

³ Ibid. Capgrave's *De Henricis*, p. 110.

⁴ See Chapter II. p. 69.

⁵ Elmham, c. vii.

Precincts (the successor, probably, of the one whom Richard II. had consulted), and from him, after a full confession, received absolution. Such was the tradition of what, in modern days, would be called the 'conversion of Henry V.'

Sir
Thomas
More,
1534.

The last historical purpose to which the Abbot's House was turned before the Dissolution was the confinement of Sir Thomas More, under charge of the last Abbot, who strongly urged his acknowledgment of the King's Supremacy.

The
Priors and
Subpriors.

On leaving the Abbot's House, we find ourselves in the midst of the ordinary monastic life. Close adjoining to it was a long line of buildings, now forming the eastern side of Dean's Yard, which were occupied by the five lesser dignitaries of the Abbey—the Prior, the Subprior, the Prior of the Cloister, and the two inferior Subpriors, or spies of the Cloister, whose duty it was to keep guard over the behaviour of the monks.¹

THE
CLOISTERS.

The Cloisters had been begun by the Confessor, and were finished shortly after the Conquest. The northern and western sides were rebuilt by Henry III., the eastern by Abbot Byrcheston² under Edward III., and the southern by Abbot Littlington under Richard II. These Cloisters were to the monastic community, doubtless, the focus of their life—their place of recreation and gossip, of intercourse and business. In the central plot of grass were buried the humbler brethren; in the South and East Cloisters, as we have seen, the earlier Abbots. In the North Cloister, close by the entrance of the Church, where the monks usually walked, sate the Prior. In the Western—the one still the most familiar to Westminster scholars—sate the Master of the Novices, with his disciples. This was the first beginning

¹ Ware, p. 275.

² A fragment, bearing the names of William Rufus and Abbot Gislebert, is said to have been found in 1831. (*Gent. Mag.* [1831], part ii. p. 545.)

A capital, with their joint heads, was found in the remains of the walls of the Westminster Palace. (*Vet. Mon.* vol. v. plate xevii. p. 4.)

of Westminster School. Ingulph of Croyland describes that he was educated at Westminster, before he went to Oxford, in the time of the Confessor and Queen Edith :—

The
School in
the West
Cloister.

Frequently have I seen her when, in my boyhood, I used to visit my father, who was employed about the Court; and often when I met her, as I was coming from school, did she question me about my studies and my verses, and most readily passing from the solidity of grammar to the brighter studies of logic, in which she was particularly skilful, she would catch me with the subtle threads of her arguments. She would always present me with three or four pieces of money, which were counted out to me by her handmaiden, and then send me to the royal larder to refresh myself.¹

These novices or disciples at their lessons were planted, except for one hour in the day, each behind the other.² No signals or jokes were allowed amongst them.³ The ancient Norman rule was still kept up in the thirteenth century, so far as to prohibit absolutely the use of any language but French in their communications with each other. Neither English nor Latin were permitted.⁴ The utmost care was to be taken with their writings and illuminations.⁵

Besides these occupations, many others less civilised were carried on in the same place. Under the Abbots 'of venerable memory' before Henry III.'s changes, the Cloister was the scene of the important act of shaving, an art respecting which the most minute directions are given. Afterwards the younger monks alone underwent the operation thus publicly. Soap and hot water were to be always at hand; and if any of the monks were unable to perform their duty in this respect, they were admonished 'to revolve in their minds that saying of the Philosopher, "*For learning what is needful no age seems to me too late.*"'⁶

Shaving.

¹ *Ingulph's Chronicle*, A. D. 1043–1051.—Its genuineness is much disputed, but it testifies to the tradition of a monastic school.

² Ware, p. 268.

³ *Ibid.* p. 277.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 280, 375, 388, 404, 422, 423.—The form of admission is given in Latin, French, and English, *ib.* p. 407.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 275, 281.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 291, 292, 293–296.

In the stern old days, before the time of Abbot Berking 'of happy memory,' these Claustal shavings took place once a fortnight in summer, and once in three weeks in winter,¹ and also on Saturdays the heads and feet of the brethren were duly washed. The Lavatory, with its columns for the towels and its holes for the pipes, is still visible in the South Cloister.

If during any part of this conventual stir the Abbot appeared, every one rose and bowed, and kept silence till he had gone by.² He passed on, and took his place in solitary grandeur in the Eastern Cloister.

THE RE-
FECTORY.

Along the whole length of the Southern Cloister extended the Refectory of the Convent, as distinguished from that where, as we have seen, the Abböt dined alone in lordly state. It was a magnificent chamber, of which the lower arcades were of the time of the Confessor or of the first Norman Kings; the upper storey, which contained the Hall itself, of the time of Edward III. It was approached by two doors, which still remain in the Cloister. The towels for wiping their hands hung over the Lavatory outside, between the doors, or at the table or window of the Kitchen,³ which, with the usual Buttery in front (still in part remaining), was at the west end of the Refectory. The regulations for the behaviour of the monks at dinner are very precise. No one was to sit with his hand on his chin, or his hand over his head, as if in pain, or to lean on his elbows.⁴ The arrangements of the pots of beer were gratefully traced to Abbot Crokesley, 'of blessed memory.'⁵ The usual reading of Scripture took place, after which was the service called *Tu autem, Domine*.⁶

¹ Ware, p. 290.

² Ibid. pp. 278, 282.

³ Ibid. p. 263.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 206, 207.

⁵ Ibid. p. 303.

⁶ Ibid. p. 218.—Two particles of this Benedictine service are still preserved

in the Hall of Christ Church, Oxford, on days when the Dean and Chapter dine. A single verse is recited, in Greek, from the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, which is cut short by the Dean saying, '*Tu autem*.'

The candles were to be carefully lit at dusk. Two scandals connected with this practice were preserved in the recollections of the monastery—one of a wicked cook, who had concealed a woman in the candle-cupboard; another of ‘an irrational and impetuous sacrist,’ who had carried off the candles from the Great Refectory to the Lesser Dining-hall or ‘Misericord.’¹ To what secular uses the Refectory was turned will appear as we proceed.

Over the East Cloister, approached by a stair which still in part remains, was the Dormitory.² In the staircase window leading up to it was a crucifix. The floor was covered with matting. Each monk had his own chest of clothes, and the like, carefully limited, as in a school or ship-cabin.³ They were liable to be waked up by the sounding of the gong or bell, or horn, or knocking of a board, at an alarm of fire, or of a sudden inundation of the Thames.⁴

The
Dor-
mitory
of the
monks.

We pass abruptly from this private and tranquil life of the monks in their Dormitory to three buildings which were entered from beneath, and which, by the inextricable connexion of the Abbey with the Crown and State of England, brings us into direct contact with the outer world—the Treasury, the Chapter House, and the Jewel House or Parliament Office. In the Eastern Cloister is a solid door, which never can be opened except in the joint presence of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Comptroller of the Exchequer, or their representatives, bearing the six huge keys that alone can admit to the chamber within. That chamber, which belongs to the Norman substructions underneath the original monastic Dormitory, is no less than the Treasury of England—a grand

THE
TREASURY.

¹ Ware, pp. 233, 235.

³ Ware, pp. 253, 255, 257.

² The Dormitory still exists, divided between the Chapter Library and the Great School. (See Chapter VI. p. 418.)

⁴ Ibid. pp. 25, 241.—Such a flood took place in 1294. (Matthew of Westminster.)

word, which, whilst it conveys us back to the most primitive times, is yet big with the destinies of the present and the future; that sacred building, in which were hoarded the treasures of the nation, in the days when the public robbers were literally thieves or highwaymen; that institution, which is now the keystone of the Commonwealth, of which the Prime Minister is the 'First Lord,' the Chancellor of the Exchequer the administrator, and which represents the wealth of the wealthiest nation in the world. Here it was that, probably almost immediately after, perhaps even before, the Conquest, the Kings determined to lodge their treasure, under the guardianship of the inviolable Sanctuary which St. Peter had consecrated, and the bones of the Confessor had sanctified. So, in the cave hewn out of the rocky side of the Hill of Mycenæ, is still to be seen, in the same vault, at once the Tomb and the Treasury of the House of Atreus. So, underneath the cliff of the Capitoline Hill, the Treasury of the Roman Commonwealth was the shrine of the most venerable of the Italian gods—the Temple of Saturn. So, in this 'Chapel of the Pyx,' as it is now called, the remains of an altar seem to indicate its original sanctity; if it be not, as tradition loved to point out, the tomb of one who may well be called the genius of the place—the first predecessor of our careful Chancellors of the Exchequer—Hugolin, the chamberlain of the Confessor, whose strict guardianship of the royal treasure kept even his master in awe.¹ Even if not there, he lies hard by, as we shall presently see. Hither were brought the most cherished possessions of the State: the Regalia of the Saxon monarchy; the Black Rod of St. Margaret ('the Holy Cross of Holyrood') from Scotland;² the 'Crocis Gneyth' (or Cross of St. Neot) from Wales, deposited here by Edward I.;³ the Sceptre or Rod of Moses;

Tomb of
Hugolin.

¹ See Chapter I. p. 14.

³ Palgrave's *Calendars*, i. p. cxvi.

² See Chapter II. p. 63.

the Ampulla of Henry IV.; the sword with which King Athelstane cut through the rock at Dunbar;¹ the sword of Wayland Smith,² by which Henry II. was knighted; the sword of Tristan, presented to John by the Emperor;³ the dagger which wounded Edward I. at Acre; the iron gauntlet worn by John of France when taken prisoner at Poitiers.⁴

In that close interpenetration of Church and State, of Palace and Abbey, of which we have before spoken, if at times the Clergy have suffered from the undue intrusion of the Crown, the Crown has also suffered from the undue intrusion of the Clergy. The summer of 1303 witnessed an event which probably affected the fortunes of the Treasury ever afterwards. The King was on his Scottish wars, and had reached Linlithgow, when he heard the news that the immense hoard, on which he depended for his supplies, had been carried off. The chronicler of Westminster records, as matters of equal importance, that in that year ‘Pope Boniface VIII. was stripped of all his goods, and a most audacious robber by himself secretly entered the Treasury of the King of England.’⁵ The chronicler vehemently repudiates ‘the wicked suspicion’ that any of the monks of Westminster were concerned in the transaction. But the facts are too stubborn. The chief robber, doubtless, was one Richard de Podlicote, who had already climbed by a ladder near the Palace Gate through a window of the Chapter House, and broken open the door of the Refectory, whence he carried off a considerable amount of silver plate. The more audacious attempt on the Treasury, whose position he had then ascertained, he concerted with friends partly within, partly without the Precincts.⁵ Anyone

The
Robbery,
1303.

¹ Malmesbury, p. 149.

² *Hist. Gaufridi Ducis*, p. 520.

³ Rymer, i. 99; iii. 174.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 197.—It may be as a memorial of this accumulation of sacred and secular treasures together,

that at the Coronations the Lord Treasurer, with the Lord Chancellor, carried the sacred vessels of the altar. (Taylor's *Regality*, p. 172.)

⁵ Matthew of Westminster, A.D. 1303.

who had passed through the Cloisters in the early spring of that year, must have been struck by the unusual appearance of a crop of hemp springing up over the grassy graves, and the gardener who came to mow the grass and carry off the herbage was constantly refused admittance. In that tangled hemp, sown and grown, it was believed, for this special purpose, was concealed the treasure after it was taken out. In two large black panniers it was conveyed away across the river, to the 'King's Bridge,' or pier, where now is Westminster Bridge, by the monk Alexander of Pershore, and others, who returned in a boat to the Abbot's Mill, on the Mill Bank. The broken boxes, the jewels scattered on the floor, the ring with which Henry III. was consecrated, the privy seal of the King himself, revealed the deed to the astonished eyes of the royal officers when they came to investigate the rumour. The Abbot and the eighty monks were taken to the Tower, and a long trial took place.¹ The Abbot and the rest of the fraternity were released, but the charge was brought home to the Subprior and the Sacrist. The architecture still bears its protest against the treason and the boldness of the robbers. The approach from the northern side was walled off, and the Treasury thus reduced by one-third. Inside and outside of the door by which this passage is entered is nailed the skin of a fair-haired, ruddy-complexioned man. The same terrible lining is also affixed to the door of the Sacristy in the South Transept of the Abbey. These fragments of human skin are generally said to belong to a Dane; but, in fact, there is no period to which they can be so naturally referred as to this; and they doubtless conveyed the same reminder to the clergy who paced the Cloisters or mounted to the Dormitory door, as the seat on which the Persian judges sate, formed out of the skin of their unjust

¹ Dr. Burt's paper in *Gleanings*, pp. 282-288.

predecessor, with the inscription, ‘Remember whereon thou sittest.’ They are, doubtless, ‘the marks of the nails, and the hole in the side of the wall,’ to which the Westminster chronicler somewhat irreverently appeals, to persuade ‘the doubter’ not to be faithless but ‘believing in the innocence of the monks.’¹ Relics of a barbarous past, they contain a striking instance of terrific precautions against extinct evils. The perils vanish—the precautions remain. From that time, however, the charm of the Royal Treasury was broken, and its more valuable contents were removed elsewhere. Thenceforth the Westminster Treasury was employed only for guarding the Regalia, the Relics, the Records of Treaties,² and the Box or Pyx containing the die of the coin. One by one these glories have passed from it. The Relics doubtless disappeared at the Reformation; the Treaties as we shall presently see. Except on the eve of the Coronations—when they are deposited in the Dean’s custody, either in the Jerusalem Chamber, or in one of the private closets in his Library—the Regalia have, since the Restoration, been transferred to the Tower.³ The Pyx alone remains, to be visited once every five years by the officers before-mentioned, for the ‘Trial of the Pyx.’⁴ But it continues, like the enchanted cave of

¹ Matthew of Westminster, p. 1303.

² Palgrave, i. p. lxxvi.

³ Down to the time of the Commonwealth, the Treasury, as containing the Regalia, had been in the custody of the Chapter. On January 23, 1643, a motion was made in the Commons that the Dean, Subdean, and Prebendaries should be required to deliver up the keys; and the question put whether, upon the refusal of the keys, the door of that place should be broken open. So strong was the deference to the ancient rights of the Chapter that, even in that excited time, the question was lost by 58 against 37; and when the doors were finally forced open, it was only on the

express understanding that an inventory be taken, new locks put on the doors, and nothing removed till upon further order of the House; and even this was carried only by 42 against 41. (Cobbett’s *Parliamentary History*, iii. 118. See Chapter VI.)

⁴ The Pyx is the *box of box-tree*. The Trial is the examination of the coins contained in the Pyx. See an account of it in Brayley’s *Londiniana*, iv. 145–147; and in the ‘Report to the Controllor-General of the Exchequer upon the Trial of the Pyx, &c., dated February 10, 1866; by Mr. H. W. Chisholm, Chief Clerk of the Exchequer.’

Toledo or Covadonga, the original hiding-place of England's gold—the one undoubted relic of the Confessor's architecture—the one solid block of the fabric of the monarchy—overshadowed, but not absorbed, by the ecclesiastical influences around it, a testimony at once to the sacredness of the Abbey, and to the independence of the Crown.

THE
CHAPTER
HOUSE.

The Chapter House has a more complex history than the Treasury, and in some respects it epitomises the vicissitudes of the Abbey itself. Its earliest period, doubtless, goes back to the Confessor. But of this no vestiges remain, unless it be in the thickness of the walls in the Crypt beneath.¹ It was, however, consecrated from this early time, and became the first nucleus of the burials of the Abbey. Here, at least during the rebuilding of the Church by Henry III., if not before, on the south side of the entrance, were laid Edwin, first Abbot and friend of the Confessor, in a marble tomb;² and close beside and with him, moved there from the Cloister, Sebert, the supposed founder of Westminster, St. Paul's, and Cambridge, till the removal of the bones into the Abbey;³ Ethelgoda, his wife, and Rricula, his sister; Hugolin, the chamberlain of the Confessor; and Sulcard, the first historian of the Abbey. At a later period it contained two children of Edward III., who were subsequently removed to the Chapel of St. Edmund.⁴

Tombs in
the Chap-
ter House.

¹ See Mr. Scott's Essay on the Chapter House in *Old London*, pp. 146, 156.

² The tomb was still visible in the time of Flete, from whose manuscript account this is taken. He also gives the epitaph and verses, written on a tablet above the tomb of Edwin:—

Iste locellus habet bina cadavera
claustro;

Uxor Seberti, prima tamen mi-
nima;

Defractâ capitis testâ, clarus Hu-
golinus

A claustro noviter hic translatus
erat;

Abbas Edvinus et Sulcardus cæ-
nobita;

Sulcardus major est.—Deus assit
eis.

From these lines it may be inferred that Ethelgoda's was less than Hugolin's, and Edwin's than Sulcard's, and that Hugolin's had had its head broken.

³ See Chapter I. p. 11.

⁴ It has been sometimes said that Eleanor, the youngest daughter of

We have already seen the determination of Henry III. that the Abbey Church should be of superlative beauty. In like manner the Chapter House was to be, as Matthew Paris expressively says—meaning, no doubt, that the word should be strictly taken—‘incomparable.’ John of St. Omer was ordered to make a lectern for it, which was to be, if possible, more beautiful than that at St. Albans.¹ Its structure implies the extraordinary care and thought bestowed upon it.² It has three peculiarities, each shared by only one other building of the kind in England. It is, except Salisbury, the largest Chapter House in the kingdom. It is, except Wells, the only one which has the advantage of a spacious Crypt underneath, to keep it dry and warm. It is, except Worcester, the only instance of a round or octagonal Chapter House, in the place of the rectangular or longitudinal buildings usually attached to Benedictine monasteries.³ The approach to it was unlike that of any other. The Abbey itself was made to disgorge, as it were, one-third of its Southern Transept to form the Eastern Cloister, by which it is reached from the Chancel. Over its entrance, from a mass of sculpture, gilding, and painting, the Virgin Mother looked down, both within and without.⁴ The vast windows, doubtless, were filled with stained-glass.⁵ Its walls were painted with a series of frescoes from the Apocalypse, commencing with four scenes from the legendary life of St. John,⁶ and ending with a large group of

Its peculiarities.

Edward I., by his second wife Margaret, but called after his lamented Eleanor, was buried in the Chapter House (1311). But she appears (*Green's Princesses*, iii. 64) to have been taken to Beaulieu.

¹ *Vet. Mon.* vi. 4, 25.

² The mathematical proportions are strictly observed. The tiles on the floor are of the most elaborate patterns; one is a miniature of the original rose window of the South

Transept. (G. G. Scott.)

³ All the other octagonal Chapter Houses are attached to cathedrals.

⁴ Ware, pp. 283, 419.

⁵ The exact date of the progress of the building is given by the accounts for the canvas to fill up the empty windows (1253).

⁶ These are of the fifteenth century. See Eastlake's *History of Oil Painting*, p. 180.

figures, of which it is difficult to decypher the design. At the eastern end are five stalls, more richly ornamented than the others, occupied by the Abbot, the Subprior, and the three Priors.

Its monastic purposes.

The original purposes of the Chapter House are well and quaintly defined by Abbot Ware immediately after its erection. 'It is the "Little House," in which the Convent meets ' to consult for its welfare. It is well called the *Capitulum* ' (Chapter House), because it is the *caput litium* (the head of ' strifes), for there strifes are ended. It is the workshop of ' the Holy Spirit, in which the sons of God are gathered ' together. It is the house of confession, the house of obedi- ' ence, mercy, and forgiveness, the house of unity, peace, and ' tranquillity, where the brethren make satisfaction for their ' faults.'¹

These uses seem to be indicated in the scrolls on the Angels' wings above the Abbot's stall, on which are written *confessio*, *satisfactio*, *munditia carnis*, *punitus mentis*, and the other virtues arranged beneath.

Capitular meetings.

To this, at least once a week, the whole Convent came in procession. They marched in double file through the vestibule, of which the floor still bears traces of their feet. They bowed, on their entrance, to the Great Crucifix, which rose, probably, immediately before them over the stall at the east end, where the Abbot and his four chief officers were enthroned.

When they were all seated on the stone seats round, perfect freedom of speech was allowed. Now was the opportunity of making any complaints, and for confessing of faults. A story was long remembered of the mistake made by a foolish Prior in Abbot Radulph's time, who confessed out of his proper turn.² The warning of the great Benedictine oracle, Anselm, against the slightest violation of rules, was emphati-

¹ Ware, p. 311.

² Ibid. p. 316.

cally repeated.¹ No signals were to be made across the building.² The guilty parties were to acknowledge their faults at the step before the Abbot's Stall. Here, too, was the scene of judgment and punishment. The details are such as recall a rough school rather than a grave ecclesiastical community. The younger monks were flogged elsewhere.³ But the others, naked⁴ or stripped from the waist upwards, were scourged in public here, by the 'mature brothers,' who formed the Council of the Abbot—probably before the central pillar, which was used as a judgment-seat or whipping-post.⁵

In this stately building the chief ceremonials of the Abbey were arranged, as now in the Jerusalem Chamber. Here were fixed the preliminary services of the anniversaries of Henry VII.; and the Chantry monks, and the scholars to be sent at his cost to the universities, were appointed.⁶

It has been well observed,⁷ that the Chapter House is an edifice and an institution almost exclusively English. One cause of the small importance attached to this feature in Continental churches, was that in the original Basilica the Apse was the assembly-place, where the Bishop sate in the centre of his clergy, and regulated ecclesiastical affairs. Such an arrangement was well suited for the delivery of a pastoral address, and was all that was required in a despotic hierarchy, like the French or Italian Church; but it was by no means in accordance with the Anglo-Saxon idea of a deliberative assembly, which should discuss every question as a necessary preliminary to its being promulgated as a law. It was therefore, by a natural sequence of thought, that the Council

Chamber
of the
House of
Commons.

¹ Ware, pp. 318, 331.

² Ibid. p. 321.

³ Ibid. pp. 348, 366, 383.

⁴ Ibid. p. 380.

⁵ Fosbrooke's *Monachism*, p. 222; *tecture*, ii. 53.

Matt. Paris, p. 848; *Piers Plowman*, 2819.

⁶ Malcolm, p. 222.

⁷ Fergusson's *Handbook of Archi-*

Chamber of the Abbey of Westminster became the Parliament House of the English nation.

At the very time when Henry III. was building the Abbey—nay, in part as the direct consequence of the means which he took to build it—a new institution was called into existence, which first was harboured within the adjoining Palace, and then rapidly became too large for the Palace to contain. As the building of the new St. Peter's at Rome, by the indulgences issued to provide for its erection, produced the Reformation, so the building of this new St. Peter's at Westminster, by the enormous sums which the King exacted from his subjects, to gratify his artistic or his devotional sentiment, produced the House of Commons. And this House of Commons found their first home in the incomparable Chapter House of Westminster. Whatever may be the value of Wren's statement, that 'the Abbot lent it to the King for 'the use of the Commons, on condition that the Crown should 'repair it,'¹ there can be no question that, from the time of the separation of the Commons from the Lords, it became their habitual meeting-place.² The exact moment of the separation cannot perhaps be ascertained. In the first instance, the two Houses met in Westminster Hall. But they parted as early as the eleventh year of Edward I.³ From that time the Lords met in the Painted Chamber in the Palace, known also as St. Edward's Chamber, the room where the Confessor died; and the Commons, whenever they sate in London, henceforward met within the precincts of the Abbey. On a few occasions they were assembled in the vast oblong hall of the Refectory. There, in a chamber only

¹ Elmes's *Life of Wren*, Appendix, p. 110.

² It is conjectured by Carter (*Ancient Sculptures*, p. 75), that the Jerusalem Chamber of the Abbot was the Antioch Chamber of Henry III.

(p. 343), and made over by the Crown in exchange for the Chapter House. But there is no sufficient ground for this supposition.

³ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, iii. 54.

inferior in beauty and size to Westminster Hall, was impeached Piers Gaveston. There, in an assembly, partly of laity, partly of clergy¹ (but, apparently, chiefly the latter) Edward I. insisted on a subsidy of a half of their possessions. The consternation had been so great, that the Dean of St. Paul's had, in his endeavour to remonstrate, dropped down dead at King Edward's feet. But 'the King passed 'over this event with indifferent eyes,' and persisted the more vehemently in his demands. 'The consequence was that . . . 'after eating sour grapes, at last, when they were assembled in 'the Refectory of the monks of Westminster, a knight, John 'Hasing by name, rose up and said, "My venerable men, "'this is the demand of the King—the annual half of the "'revenues of your chamber. And if anyone objects to this, "'let him rise up in the middle of this assembly, that his "'person may be recognised and taken note of, as he is "'guilty of treason against the King's peace." There was silence at once. 'When they heard this, all the prelates 'were dispirited, and immediately agreed to the King's 'demands.'² In the same place they were convened several times during the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V.³ But their usual resort was 'in their ancient place 'the House of the Chapter in the Great Cloister of the Abbey 'of Westminster.'⁴ It was in the middle of Edward III.'s reign—the period when we have our first certain notice of these meetings of the House of Commons within its walls—that they were decorated with the frescoes which can still in part be traced. There seems to have been a belief that

Meetings
of the
House of
Commons.

occasionally in the
Refectory,

usually in the
Chapter
House.

¹ It may have been the Convocations of 'York and Canterbury,' September 21. (Parry's *Parliaments*, p. 56.)

² Matthew of Westminster, 1294.

³ 18 Richard II. *Parliament Rolls*, ii. 329; 20 Richard II. *ibid.* iii. 338; 5 Henry IV. *ibid.* 523; 2 Henry V.

ibid. iv. 34; 3 Henry V. *ibid.* 70.

⁴ 25 Edward III. *Parl. Rolls*, ii. 237; 50 Edward III. *ibid.* 322, 327; 51 Edward III. *ibid.* 363; 1 Richard II. *ibid.* iii. 5; 2 Richard II. *ibid.* 33; 8 Richard II. *ibid.* 185. Coke's *Institutes*, iv. 1.

such richly decorated buildings were specially appropriated for Chambers of Parliament. To be 'like a Parliament House painted about' was the mark, in the fourteenth century, of a highly-finished mansion.¹ The seraphs that adorn the chief stalls, the long series of Apocalyptic pictures which, at a somewhat later date, were added to the lesser stalls, were doubtless thought the fitting accompaniments of the Chamber to which the burgesses and knights came up, reluctantly, from the country to the unwelcome charge of their public business. The Speaker, no doubt, took his place in the Abbot's Stall facing the entrance. The members must have sat round the building—those who had the best seats, in the eighty stalls of the monks, the others arranged as best they could. To the central pillar were attached placards, libellous or otherwise, to attract the attention of the members.³

One of the earliest political acts that took place in the Chapter House was the consent of John Balliol, in 1292, to withdraw his claims on the Crown of Scotland. The Black Rod of Scotland must have been brought from the adjacent Treasury, and over this his oath was sworn.⁴ The Acts of Parliament which the Chapter House witnessed derive a double significance from the locality. There is a strange irony, if indeed it be not rather a profounder wisdom, in the thought that within this consecrated precinct were passed those memorable statutes which restrained the power of that very body under whose shelter they were discussed. Here the Commons must have assented to the dry humour of the Statute *Circumspecte Agatis*, which, whilst it appears to grant the lesser privileges of the clergy,

Oath of
John Balliol,
1292.

Statutes.

Statute
Circumspecte
Agatis,
1285.

¹ *Piers Plowman*; *Gent. Mag.* 1866.

² The first authentic Speaker, Peter de la Mare, was elected in 1377.

³ See the libel, of which two copies

were so affixed, against Alexander Nevile, Archbishop of York in the time of Richard II. (*Arch.* xvi. 80.)

⁴ *Vet. Mon.* iii. 24.

virtually withholds the larger.¹ Here also was enacted the Statutes of Provisions and of Præmunire,² which, as Fuller says, first ‘pared the Pope’s nails to the quick, and ‘then cut off his fingers.’ These ancient walls heard ‘the ‘Commons aforesaid say the things so attempted be clearly ‘against the King’s crown and regality, used and approved ‘of the time of all his progenitors, and declare that they and ‘all the liege Commons of the same realm will stand with ‘our Lord the King and his said crown and his regality in the ‘cases aforesaid, and in all other cases attempted against ‘him, his crown, and his regality, in all points to live and ‘to die.’ Here also was convened the Assembly, half secular and half ecclesiastical, when Henry V. summoned the chief Benedictine ecclesiastics to consider the abuses of their order, consequent on the number of young Abbots who had lately succeeded, after an unusual mortality amongst their elders. The King himself was present, with his four councillors. He entered humbly enough (*satis humiliter*), and with a low bow to the assembly sate down, doubtless in the Abbot’s Chair, and heard a discourse on the subject by Edmund Lacy, Bishop of Exeter. Sixty Abbots and Priors were there, seated, we may suppose, in the stalls, and more than 300 monks in the body of the house. The King then recommended the needful reforms, and assured them of his protection.³ Here, in order to be out of the reach of the jurisdiction of his brother Primate, Wolsey, as Cardinal Legate, held his Legatine Court, employing Tonstal, Bishop of London, as his commissary.⁴ Here, finally, were enacted the

Statute of Provisions, 1350.

Statute of Præmunire, 1393.

Convention of Henry V., 1421.

Wolsey’s Legatine Court, 1527.

¹ Hallam’s *Middle Ages*, ii. 317; Fuller’s *Church History*, A. D. 1285.

² Hallam’s *Middle Ages*, ii. 339, 356; Fuller’s *Church History*, A. D. 1350; Statutes, 25 Edward III. c. 6, 16 Richard II. c. 5.

³ Walsingham, p. 337; Tyler, ii. 67; Harleian MS., No. 6064. (Malcolm’s *Londinium*, p. 230.)

⁴ Strype’s *Ecc. Mem.*, i. 109. See Chapter VI.

scenes in which, during the first epoch of the Reformation, the House of Commons took so prominent a part:—

The Acts
of the Re-
formation.

The Lords had ceased to be the leaders of the English people; they existed as an ornament rather than a power; and, under the direction of the Council, they followed as the stream drew them, when individually, if they had so dared, they would have chosen a far other course. The work was done by the Commons; by them the first move was made; by them and the King the campaign was carried through to victory. And this one body of men, dim as they now seem to us, who assembled on the wreck of the administration of Wolsey, had commenced and had concluded a revolution which had reversed the foundations of the State. They found England in dependency upon a foreign Power; they left it a free nation. They found it under the despotism of a Church Establishment saturated with disease, and they had bound the hands of that establishment; they had laid it down under the knife, and carved away its putrid members; and stripping off its Nessus robe of splendour and power, they had awakened in it some forced remembrance of its higher calling. The elements of a far deeper change were seething—a change not in the disposition of outward authority, but in the beliefs and convictions which touched the life of the soul. This was yet to come; and the work, so far, was but the initial step or prelude leading up to the more solemn struggle. Yet where the enemy who is to be conquered is strong, not in vital force, but in the prestige of authority, and in the enchanted defences of superstition, those truly win the battle who strike the first blow, who deprive the idol of its terrors by daring to defy it.¹

The Act of
Submission.

Within the Chapter House must have been passed the first Clergy Discipline Act, the first Clergy Residence Act, and, chief of all, the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Submission. Here, to acquiesce in that Act, for the only time in their exist-

The Act of
Suppression.

ence, met the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.² On the table in this Chapter House must have been placed the famous Black Book, which sealed the fate of all the monasteries of England, including the Abbey of Westminster

¹ Froude, ii. 455, 456.

² Wake's *State of the Church*, App. pp. 219, 220. See Chapter VI. p. 462.

close by, and which struck such a thrill of horror through the House of Commons when they heard its contents.¹

The last time that the Commons sate in the building was on the last day of the life of Henry VIII. The last Act passed was the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk; and they must have been sitting here when the news reached them that the King had died that morning, and while those preparations for the coronation of Prince Edward—whom King Henry had designed should be crowned before his own death, in order to secure his succession—were going on in the Abbey, which were summarily broken off when the news came that the King himself was dead.²

In the year 1540, when the Abbey was dissolved, the Chapter House became, what it has ever since continued to be, absolutely public and national property. It is uncertain where the Dean and Chapter, created on their present footing by Queen Elizabeth, held their first meetings. But they never could have entered the ancient Chapter House by right, in the performance of any portion of their duties; and the Jerusalem Chamber, for all practical purposes, soon became 'our Chapter House.'³ In 1547, in the first year of Edward VI., the Commons moved to the Chapel of St. Stephen,⁴ in the

Transfer of the Capitular meetings to the Jerusalem Chamber, and of the House of Commons to St. Stephen's.

¹ Froude, iv. 520.

² See Chapter II. p. 29.

³ The date of the earliest Chapter Order Book is 1542. The Chapters are there said to be held, and the Deans to be installed, 'in the Chapter House,' as Cox was in 1549. But this was probably the Jerusalem Chamber. There is no express indication of any change till 1637, when it is said, 'a Chapter 'was holden, in the usual place of 'meeting, for the Collegiate Church 'of St. Peter in Westminster;' on December 13, 1638, 'a Chapter is 'holden in Hierusalem Chamber;' in February 16, 1638(39), 'at the 'accustomed place.' The clauses in all leases, as far back as can be

traced, and to the present day, is, 'Given in the Chapter House of the 'Dean and Chapter at Westminster.'

⁴ The Chapel of St. Stephen was founded by King Stephen. It was rebuilt by Edward III., as a thank-offering after his victories, on a yet more splendid scale than St. George's at Windsor. Its Canons gave their name to Canon Row, sometimes also called St. Stephen's Alley. After the Dissolution it became the property of the Crown (by 2 Edward VI. c. 14), and was granted for other purposes, probably from the ruin into which Westminster Palace had then recently fallen from fire.

The Chapter House used as a Record Office, 1547-1863.

Palace of Westminster. This splendid edifice had become vacant in consequence of the suppression of the collegiate Chapter of St. Stephen, which occupied the same position in regard to Westminster that the Chapel of St. George occupied to Windsor. From this period we enter on the third stage of the history of the Chapter House,¹ when the Government appropriated it to the preservation of the Public Records. These Records were afterwards still further augmented in the middle of the last century. An alarming fire, which in 1731 broke out in the Cloisters, so terrified the guardians of the documents of the Treasury, which were kept in the Pyx Chapel, that these, with other Public Records, were removed, for safety, into the Chapter House²; and in order to fit the building for this purpose, an upper storey was formed, and the groined roof taken down. But even this period is not without interest in itself, and invests the Chapter House with another series of delightful historical associations. The unsightly galleries, which long obstructed it, once contained all the treasures of English History. Here the curious used to visit the Domesday Book and the ancient Charters, which connected the Chapter House with three names for ever dear to English archæology—Arthur Agarde, Thomas Rymer, and Francis Palgrave.³

Arthur Agarde, died 1619.

Arthur Agarde was ‘a man known to Selden to be most ‘painful, industrious, and sufficient in things of this nature,’ and to Camden as ‘*antiquarius insignis*.’ He was one of the original members of the Society of Antiquaries, and there

¹ The only connexion of the Chapter with the Chapter House was retained in two adjoining offices. These were erected by the Government, on ground belonging to the Dean and Chapter, who granted a lease for forty years, from Michaelmas 1800, to W. Chinnery, Esq. (as nominee on

behalf of the Treasury). This lease expired on Michaelmas Day 1840. Since that time the Office of Works has paid a yearly rent of 10*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* to the Dean and Chapter.

² Palgrave's *Calendars*, vol. i. pp. cxxv.-xxix. See Chapter VI.

³ *Biog. Brit.* i. 66, 347; xiv. 164.

laboured in company with Archbishop Parker, Sir Robert Cotton (who became his intimate friend), two whom he must often have met in the Cloisters, Lancelot Andrewes as Dean, and Camden as Headmaster of Westminster School. Here he toiled over the Domesday Book and the Antiquities of the Parliament which had assembled in the scene of his labours. Here he composed the 'Compendium' of the Records in the adjacent Treasury, where some of the chests still remain inscribed as he left them; and here, in the Cloisters, by the door of the Chapter House, he caused the monument to himself and his wife to be erected before his death, in 1619, in his eightieth year — '*Recordorum Regiorum hic prope depositorum diligens scrutator.*'

Thomas Rymer, the historiographer of King William III., was a constant pilgrim to the Chapter House for the compilation of his valuable work on the Treaties of England. So carefully closed was the Record Office itself, that he had to sit outside in the vestibule; and there, day after day, out of the papers and parchments that were doled out to him, formed the enormous folios of '*Rymer's Fœdera.*'¹

Thomas
Rymer,
died 1713.

Sir Francis Palgrave—who can forget the delight of exploring under his guidance the treasures of which he was the honoured guardian? So dearly did he value the connexion which, through his Keepership of the Records, he had established with this venerable edifice, that, lest he should seem to have severed the last link, he insisted, even after the removal of the Records, on the replacement of the direction outside the door, which there remained long after his death—'*All letters and parcels addressed to Sir F. Palgrave are to be sent to Rolls Court, Chancery Lane.*'

Francis
Palgrave,
died July
6, 1861,
aged 72.

On the night of the fire which consumed the Houses of

¹ See an interesting article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October 1850, by Mr. Joseph Burt.

Parliament in 1834—when multitudes were gathered below, watching the progress of the flames—when all the passion for our ancient national monuments seemed to be revived in that crisis of their fate—when, as the conflagration was driven by the wind towards Westminster Hall, the innumerable faces of that vast multitude, lighted up by the broad glare with more than the light of day, were visibly swayed by the agitation of the devouring breeze, and one voice, one prayer seemed to go up from every upturned countenance, ‘O save the Hall!’—on that night two small figures might have been seen standing on the roof of the Chapter House overlooking the terrific blaze, parted from them only by the narrow space of Old Palace Yard. One was the Keeper of the Records, Sir F. Palgrave; the other was Dean Ireland. They had climbed up through the hole in the roof to witness the awful scene. Suddenly a gust of wind swept the flames in the direction of the Chapter House. Palgrave, with all the enthusiasm of the antiquarian and of his own eager temperament, turned to the Dean, and suggested that they should descend into the Chapter House, and carry off its most valued treasures into the Abbey for safety. Dean Ireland, with the caution belonging at once to his office and his character, answered that he could not think of doing so without applying to Lord Melbourne, the First Lord of the Treasury.

The Restoration of the Chapter House.

It was a true, though grotesque, expression of the actual facts of the case. The Government were the masters of the Chapter House. On them thus devolved the duty of its preservation. Its peculiarly monastic character came to an end when it became, under Edward I., the seat of the House of Commons. Its Parliamentary and its Capitular character ceased when it became, under Edward VI., the Record Office. Its official character ceased when, under Queen Victoria, the Records were removed to the Rolls House. Its

fourth period, as a monument of the revival of archæological tastes in modern days, began from the year 1866, when, under the auspices of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cowper, at the request of the Society of Antiquaries, Parliament voted a sum adequate to its restoration.

Not far from the Chapter House and Treasury, and curiously following their path, is an ancient square 'Tower,' which, it has been conjectured, may once have served the purpose of a monastic prison, but which was sold by the Abbey to the Crown in the last year of Edward III.¹ It bears in its architecture the marks of the great builder of that time—Abbot Littlington.² It was first devoted to the purposes, and for many years bore the name, of the King's Jewel House. It then became 'the Parliament Office,'—that is, the depository of the Acts of Parliament, which had been passed either in the adjacent Chapter House or Chapel of St. Stephen, and which there remained till 1864,³ when they were transferred to the far grander Tower, bearing the name of Queen Victoria, and exhibiting the same enlarged proportions to the humble Tower of the Plantagenet, that the Empire of our gracious Sovereign bears to the small kingdom ruled by Edward III. or Richard II. If, comparing the concentration of English historical edifices at Westminster with those at Rome under the Capitol, the Temple of Saturn finds its likeness in our ancient Treasury, and the Temple of Concord (where the Senate assembled) in the Chapter House and Refectory, the massive walls of the Tabularium, where the decrees of the Senate were carefully guarded, correspond to the square fortress of the

The Jewel
House.

The Par-
liament
Office.

¹ Widmore.

² For the architectural description of it, see *Gleanings*, p. 226. It is now used for the trial of the coin.

³ By this removal was recovered the long-lost Prayerbook of 1662, which

had been detached from the Act of Uniformity, and had lain hid in some obscure corner of the Tower. It was in 1864 deposited in the Chief Clerk's Office in the House of Lords, where it was found in 1867.

Parliament Office, overlooking the garden of the Precincts from which it has long been parted.

The Infirmary.

That garden is the chief trace of the institution which once formed almost a second monastery, the Infirmary for the sick monks, with its capacious chapel, hall, and pleasure-ground. These belonged to the original establishment of the Confessor. Hither came the processions of the Convent to see the sick brethren;¹ and were greeted by a blazing fire in the Hall, and long rows of candles in the Chapel.² Here, although not only here, were conducted the constant bleedings of the monks.³ Here, in the Chapel, the young monks were privately whipped. Here the invalids were soothed by music.⁴ Here also lived the seven 'playfellows'⁵ (*sympectæ*), the name given to the elder monks, who, after the age of 50, were exempted from all the ordinary regulations, were never told anything unpleasant, and themselves took the liberty of examining and censuring anything.⁶ In the spacious garden of the Infirmary, corresponding to what at Canterbury is now called 'the Oaks,' the sick monks took exercise. Two towers stood at its eastern side—one, which still remains (as we have seen), the ancient Jewel House; the other, which has long since disappeared, the tall steeple of Abbot Littlington's belfry.

Chapel of St. Catherine.

Of the Infirmary itself, there are to be discerned only a fragment of the Hall, and a few arches of the Chapel dedicated to St. Catherine. But the vast ruins of the Canterbury Infirmary give a notion of the proportions to which these buildings reached. It was in this Chapel, probably, that Bernard^{*} was consecrated to the see of St. David's by Anselm, and the Bishop of Lincoln and Worcester, in 1186,⁷ and of

¹ Ware, pp. 479, 483.

² Ibid. pp. 264, 265.

³ Ibid. pp. 425, 438, 440, 444.

⁴ Ibid. p. 475.

⁵ Ibid. p. 343.

⁶ Ingulph, A. D. 974; Ducange's *Sempecta*; Fosbrooke's *Monachism*.

⁷ Benedict's *Richard I.*, Sept. 21, 1186.

Winchester and Salisbury, by Baldwin, in 1189,¹ who had himself been elected to the See of Canterbury in the Chapter-house of Westminster.² Here were held the twenty-four provincial Councils of Westminster.³ Here, in 1123, Anselm held the mixed council of lords spiritual and temporal, to issue canons against simony, against marriage of the clergy, against the long Saxon hair of laymen, against untrained clergy, against archdeacons who were not deacons, as well as other graver offences. Here, but with a far more dubious character, Cardinal John of Crema carried on the denunciations of Anselm.⁴ At one of these Councils took place the celebrated contest between Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, and Roger Archbishop of York, in the struggle for the superior precedence of the two sees, which had just caused the death of Becket, and which, by its violence on this occasion, placed them in the same relative position which they have occupied ever since. 'The Pope's Legate' was present, on whose right hand sate Richard of Canterbury, as in his proper place; when in springs Roger of York, and, finding Canterbury so seated, fairly sits him down on Canterbury's lap—a baby too big to be danced thereon; yea, Canterbury's servant dandled this large child with a witness, who plucked him from thence, and buffeted him to purpose.⁵ Walter Humez was present, for the first time, in his full insignia of mitred Abbot. Here also was the trial between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the

Councils of Westminster, under Anselm, 1123.

Under John of Crema, 1124. Struggle of the Primates, 1176.

1195

¹ Eadmer, p. 116; Akermann, i. 101.

² Benedict's *Richard I.* Dec. 16, 1184.

³ The list of the twenty-four Councils of Westminster is thus given in Moroni's *Dizionario della Erudizione* (Westminster):—(1), 1066; (2), 1077; (3), 1125; (4), 1126; (5), 1127; (6), 1136; (7 and 8), 1138; (9 and 10), 1142; (11), 1173; (12), 1176; (13), 1177 (?); (14), 1190; (15), 1199;

(16), 1213; (17), 1225; (18), 1226; (19), 1229; (20), 1253; (21), 1265; (22), 1316; (23), 1325; (24), 1413.

⁴ Fuller's *Church History*, A.D. 1102; Eadmer, iii. 67; Florence of Worcester. See the authorities quoted in Robertson's *History of the Church*, iii. 234.

⁵ Fuller's *Church History*, A.D. 1176.

Abbot, before the Privy Council. Here Henry III. strove to maintain the privileges of the Church, in the presence of the Archbishops and Bishops, who dashed their candles, stinking and smoking, on the ground, with an anathema on any who should violate them.¹

We have now traversed the monastic precincts. The Church itself we have sufficiently seen in watching the growth of the Tombs round which it was entwined. We would fain know what led to the dedication of each of the several Chapels which sprang up round the Shrine, or the general appearance of the worship. Through the faint allusions in Abbot Ware's regulations we catch, here and there, the gleam of a lamp burning at this or that altar, in the corners of the Cloisters and in the Chapter-house, for some particular devotion or anniversary. By permission of the Papal Court—in virtue of their special connexion with St. Peter and the Roman Church, the Convent obtained the privilege of chanting the 'Gloria in Excelsis' in English on the Feasts of the Purification, of the Annunciation, and of St. Benedict.² Through edicts of kings³ and abbots, we discern the difficulty of restraining the monks from galloping over the country away from conventual rulers, or, in the popular legends, engaged in brawls with a traditionary giantess and virago of the place in Henry VIII.'s reign—Long Meg of Westminster.⁴ A lofty Crucifix met the eyes of those who entered through the North Transept; another, with images of St. Peter and St. Paul⁵, rose above the High Altar. Another, deeply venerated, was in the Chapel of St. Paul.⁶ Only through the Bohemian travellers in the fifteenth century we learn the admiration inspired by the golden sepulchre of 'St. Kenhard,'

¹ Matt. Paris, p. 576; *Gent. Mag.* [1797], p. 670.

² Archives (Miscellaneous Parcel 37).

³ Ibid. See Appendix.

⁴ Tract on Long Meg of Westminster, in *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana*.

⁵ Islip Roll.

⁶ Ware.

or 'St. Sigmund.' The ceiling more delicate and elegant than they had seen elsewhere; the musical service lovely to hear; and above all, the unparalleled number of relics, so numerous that two scribes writing for two weeks could hardly make a catalogue of them.¹ But no Chaucer has told us of the pilgrimages to St. Edward's Shrine, whether few or many: no record reveals to us the sentiments which animated the inmates of the Convent, or the congregations who worshipped within its walls, towards the splendid edifice.

One power, however, was meanwhile springing up within the Precincts which was to throw Councils and Abbots into the shade, and to bring out into a new light all that was worthy of preservation in the Abbey itself. 'William Caxton, who first introduced into Great Britain the art of printing, exercised that art A.D. 1477, or earlier, in the Abbey of Westminster.'² So speaks the epitaph, designed originally for the walls of the Abbey, now erected by the Roxburgh Club near the grave in St. Margaret's Church, which received his remains in 1491. His press was near the house which, according to tradition, he occupied in the Almonry, by the Chapel of St. Anne. And this ecclesiastical origin of the first English Printing-press is perpetuated in the name of 'the Chapel,' given by printers to a congress or meeting of their body.³ Victor Hugo, in a famous passage of his romance of 'Notre Dame de Paris,' describes how 'the Book killed the Church.' The connexion of Caxton with the Abbey gives to this thought another and a kindlier turn

Caxton's
printing-
press,
1477.

¹ See Appendix.

² The words 'in the Abbey of Westminster' are taken from the title-pages of Caxton's books in 1480, 1481, and 1484. The special locality, near the Almonry, is given in Stow, p. 476; Walcott, p. 279. The only Abbot with whom he had any relations was Esteney. (*Life of Caxton*, i. 62-66.)

³ In a hole in the Triforium were found, a few years ago, the skeletons of a colony of rats, who had carried off from the Precincts fragments of paper ranging from mediæval copy-books, through Caxton's first printed books, down to the time of Queen Anne.

—‘The Church (or the Chapel) has given life to the Book.’ In this sense, if in no other, Westminster Abbey has been the source of enlightenment to England, beyond any other spot in the Empire; and the growth of this new world within the walls of the Abbey opens the way to the next stage in its history.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ABBEY SINCE THE REFORMATION.

Something ere the end,
Some work of noble note may yet be done;
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will,
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.
Tennyson's *Ulysses*.

SPECIAL AUTHORITIES.

The special authorities for this period are :—

- I. The Chapter Books, from 1542 to the present time.
- II. Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*.
- III. Carter's Articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1799–1800.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ABBEY SINCE THE REFORMATION.

THE Dissolution of the Abbey and Monastery of St. Peter, like all the acts of the first stage of the Reformation, was effected with a silence only explicable by the long expectation with which their approach was prepared. The first book, containing the orders of the new Dean and Chapter, which begins in 1542, quietly opens with the usual record of leases and meetings for business. The services of the Roman Catholic Church continued unchanged through the remaining years of Henry VIII. Three masses a day were still said—in St. John's Chapel, the Lady Chapel, and at the High Altar. The dirge still sounded, and the waxlights still burned, on Henry VII.'s anniversaries. And in the reign of Edward VI. the change is only indicated by an order to sell the brass lecterns, and copper-gilt candlesticks, and angels, 'as monuments of idolatry,' with an injunction, which one is glad to read, that the proceeds are to be devoted 'to the Library and 'buying of books.'¹ In like manner, the fall of the ancient Liturgy is only represented by the silent substitution of 'Communion' for 'Mass,' and of 'surplices and hoods' for the ancient vestments.²

The Dissolution of the Monastery.

The institution passed into its new stage at once, and its progress is chiefly marked by the dismemberment and reconstruction of the mighty skeleton,³ which was to be slowly

¹ Chapter Book, 1547.

² Ibid. 1549.

³ Amongst the buildings thus mentioned, are 'the old Dovehouse,' 'the

'Hall wherein the Tomb is,' 'Patch's House' (*qu.* for Wolsey's Fool), 'Row's House,' 'Canterbury,' 'door from the Plumbery into the Abbey,'

reanimated with a new life. Here, as at Canterbury and elsewhere, in the newly-constructed Chapters, a School was founded, of which the scholarships were, in the first instance, given away by ballot of the Dean and Prebendaries.¹ Twenty Oxford and Cambridge scholars, and the payment of the Royal Professorships, were charged on the Chapter.²

The Abbot was converted into a Dean. The Monks were succeeded by twelve Prebendaries, each to be present daily in the Choir, and to preach once a quarter.³ Every Saturday in the year there was to be a meeting in the Chapter House.⁴ But now, for the first and only time in the history of the Abbey, the head of the Chapter was subjected to a Bishop of Westminster, who resided in the ancient Abbot's House, the Dean living in the remoter part of the monastery. The diocese included the whole of Middlesex, except Fulham; so that the Bishop was, in fact, the chief prelate of the metropolis. But the one solitary episcopate of Westminster is not of good omen for its revival. Thirlby was a man of feeble character, and the diocese, after two years, was merged, including the Dean and Chapter, in the See of London.⁵ Thirlby was translated, first to Norwich⁶ in 1550, and then to Ely in 1554; and after the accession of Elizabeth lived in a humble condition at Lambeth, where he lies buried in the chancel of the Archbishop's Chapel.⁷

It was on this occasion that, out of the appropriation of the estates of Westminster to fill up the needs of the See of London, the proverb arose of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul,'⁸ a

and 'the Long House,' adjoining to the Cloisters. This last was probably the line of buildings on the east side of Dean's Yard. (Chapter Book, 1542-1552.)

¹ Chapter Book, 1547.

² Ibid. 1549.

³ Ibid. 1547.

⁴ Ibid. 1549. See Chapter V.

⁵ The title of 'Cathedral' lasted

through Queen Elizabeth's reign. (See the programme of her funeral.)

⁶ When Bishop of Norwich, he had a house in the Westminster Precincts, afterwards occupied by Sir R. Cotton. (Chapter Book, 1552.)

⁷ Neale, ii. 105, 107.

⁸ Collier, ii. 324; Widmore, p. 133.—So afterwards, 'the City wants to bury 'Lord Chatham in St. Paul's, which,

The Cathedral under the Bishop of Westminster, Dec. 17, 1540.

Thirlby, 1540-50.

Under the Bishop of London.

proverb which, indeed, carried with it the full significance that the words can bear. The old, original, venerable Apostle of the first ages had lost his hold, and the new independent Apostle of the coming ages was riding on the whirlwind. The idea of a Church where the Catholic Peter and the Reforming Paul could both be honoured, had not yet entered into the mind of man. Let us hope that the coexistence of St. Peter's Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral, each now so distinct not only in origin but in outward aspect, is a pledge that the dream has been in part realised.

Robbing
Peter to
pay Paul.

It was by a hard struggle in those tempestuous times that the Abbey was saved from destruction. Its dependency of the Priory of St. Martin's-le-Grand¹ was torn to pieces, and let out to individuals.² Its outlying domains to the east of Westminster were sacrificed to the Protector Somerset, to induce him to forbear from pulling down the Abbey itself for the sake of building the Palace of Somerset House.³ The Chapter Book of these years is filled with grants and entreaties to the Protector himself, to his wife, to his brother, and to his servant. Twenty tons of Caen stone, evidently from the dilapidated monastery, were made over to him, 'if there 'could be so much spared,' 'in the hope that he would be 'good and gracious.'⁴ This is the nearest approach which the English Reformation made to the French Revolution, or to the Reformation in Scotland. This also contains the first striking proof of the deepseated affection of the English people for the Abbey, if it be true that, in spite of the headlong enthusiasm of the times, in spite of the austere Puritanism of the King, and the overweening power of the Protector, the inhabitants of Westminster rose in a body,

The dangers of the
Abbey.

'as a person said to me, would literally 'be "robbing Peter to pay Paul." I 'wish it could be so, that there might 'be some decoration of that nudity.' (Walpole, vii. 69. See Chapter IV. p. 259.)

¹ See Chapter V.

² Chapter Book, 1549.

³ The 'orchard' was pulled up at that time. (Dart, p. 66.)

⁴ Chapter Book, 1546, 1547.

and prevented the workmen from attempting the demolition of their beloved church.¹

On the extinction of the Bishopric, the Abbot's House was sold to Lord Wentworth. The Dean—who had been the last Abbot—occupied the buildings (now covered by the Little Cloister) where the Misericorde or Smaller Refectory had stood, adjoining the garden.² The Great Refectory was pulled down 'by his servant Guy Gaskell,'³ and the vacant ground granted to one of the Prebendaries (Carleton, also Dean of Peterborough), who was allowed to take the lead from St. Catherine's Chapel. A Library was set up in the North Cloister. The 'Smaller Dormitory'⁴ was cleared away, to open a freer passage to the Dean's House by the Oak Cemetery. The old conventual Granary was portioned out for the corn of the Dean and Prebendaries.⁵ The Plumbery and Waxchandlery were transferred to its vaults. The 'Anchorite's House'⁶ was leased to a bellringer appointed by the little Princess Elizabeth.

Benson,
1539-41.

Cox, 1550
-1553.

In the midst of these changes Dean Benson⁷ died, it is said, of vexation over the financial difficulties of his house,⁸ and was buried at the entrance of St. Blaize' Chapel. His successor, Richard Cox, who was duly installed in 'the Chapter House,' had been one of the three tutors of Edward VI., and was accordingly transferred from a canonry at Windsor to the Deanery of Westminster. After four years he was compelled to fly, from his complicity in the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne. Almost immediately on his return from Germany, on the accession of Elizabeth, he was appointed

¹ The tradition is given in *Gent. Mag.* [1799], vol. lxix. pt. i. p. 447.

² Chapter Book, 1545.—It was long called the 'Dean's House.'

³ Chapter Book, Nov. 5, 1544.

⁴ A name well known to mediæval antiquaries.

⁵ Chapter Book, 1546.

⁶ See Chapter V. p. 367.

⁷ His surname as Abbot had been, from his birthplace, *Boston*.

⁸ The loss from the fall of money made it necessary to sell plate and stuff. (Chapter Book, 1552.)

to succeed Thirlby at Ely in 1559,¹ where he died in extreme old age in 1581. His venerable white beard renders him conspicuous among the portraits of the Bishops of Ely, in the Library of Trinity Hall at Cambridge.

Hugh Weston (a man, it is said, of very questionable character) succeeded, but was removed, after three years, to

Weston,
1553-56.

Windsor, to make way for the change which Mary had so much at heart. It was gradually effected. The Prebendaries, one by one, conformed to her faith. Philip's father-confessor was lodged in the Precincts. But the College dinners became somewhat disorderly. 'Forks' and 'knives' were tossed freely to and fro, and 'Hugh Price breaks John Wood's head 'with a pot.'² The Chapter Book here abruptly closes, and a few blank leaves alone indicate the period of the transition.

The revival of the
Abbacy.

In that interval the Chapter was dissolved, and, almost alone of the monastic bodies, the Convent of Westminster was restored. John Howman,³ of the Forest of Feckenham in Worcestershire, the last mitred Abbot⁴ of England ('a short 'man of a round visage, fresh colour, affable and pleasant') is one of the few characters of that age who, without any powerful abilities, commands a general respect from his singular moderation and forbearance. Some hasty words against Ridley, and a quarrel with a young man at the Bishop of Winchester's table about fasting,⁵ are the only indications that his life furnishes of the harsh temper of those times.

Abbott
Feck-
enham,
1556-60.

His early life had been spent in Evesham Abbey, and then, after disputes with Cranmer and Hooper which lodged him in the Tower, he was raised by Mary first to the Deanery

¹ For Cox's conduct at Ely, see Aikin's *Elizabeth*, i. 154; Strype's *Annals*, ii. pt. ii. p. 267; iii. pt. i. p. 37.

² Chapter Book, 1554.—Against the names of Hugh Griffiths and T. Reynolds is written, in a later hand, 'turncoats;' and against six others, 'new Prebendaries of the Romish

'persuasion.'

³ He is the last instance of an Englishman taking his name from his birthplace. (Fuller's *Worthies*.)

⁴ Harpsfeld. (Seymour's *Stow*, ii. 611.) He was to be re-elected every three years. (Neale, i. 111.)

⁵ Strype's *Annals*, i. 111; ii. 179.

of St. Paul's, and then to the restored Abbacy of Westminster. It must have been a strange change—like that scene,¹ depicted by one who, almost alone of his time, was able to hold the balance between the conflicting parties of that age—for the new Abbot, when, with his fourteen monks (four from Glastonbury), he reoccupied the deserted buildings of the Monastery, and re-established the ancient worship in the Abbey itself.² The son of Lord Wentworth gave up to him the Abbot's House.³ The ruins of the Confessor's Shrine were repaired, so far as the taste of the age would allow. On the May 31, 1557, 5th of January, 1556, the anniversary of the Confessor's death, 'the Shrine was again set up, and the Altar with divers jewels 'that the Queen sent hither.' 'The body of the most holy 'King Edward, though the heretics had power on that where 'in the body was enclosed, yet on that sacred body had they 'no power,' but he found it and restored it to its 'ancient 'sepulture.'⁴ On the 20th of March, 1557, with a hundred lights, King Edward the Confessor 'was reverently carried 'from the place where he was laid when the Abbey was 'spoiled and robbed, and so he was carried, and goodly singing and chanting as has ever been seen, and mass sung.'⁵ The marks of this hasty restoration are still visible, in the displaced fragments, and plaster mosaic, and novel cornice. A wooden canopy was placed over it, perhaps intended as a temporary structure,⁶ to supply the place of its splendid tabernacle, but which has remained unaltered and unfinished to this day—a memorial the more interesting from the transient state of the Church which it represents. Above,

Jan. 5,
1556.

March 20,
1557.

¹ Compare the scene of the election of the last mitred Abbot of Scotland, in Scott's *Abbot*, c. xiii., xiv., xv.

² Widmore, p. 137.

³ Lord Wentworth got in exchange 'the Long House,' adjoining to his 'Tower.' (Chapter Book, 1554.)

⁴ I owe the sight of this speech

of Feckenham to the kindness of Mr. Froude.

⁵ Chronicle of Grey Friars, Machyn's *Diary*.

⁶ The Muscovite ambassador saw it, in its restored state, in 1557. (Malcolm, p. 237.)

and instead of the old inscription, was written a new one round the Shrine, and like inscriptions were added to each of the Royal Tombs.¹ Before the High Altar a large Paschal candle was once more installed, the Master and Wardens of the Waxchandlers' Company attending at the ceremony. The ancient Charters were, it was believed, preserved as if by a miracle, being found, by a servant of Cardinal Pole, in the hands of a child playing in the streets. And by appealing to these, as well as to Lucius's foundation and St. Peter's visit, the relics of the saints, the graves of kings, and 'the commodity of our ancestors,' he pleaded earnestly before the House of Commons for the Westminster right of sanctuary.²

It was a brief respite. Feckenham had hardly been established in the Abbot's House for more than a year, when the death of Mary dispersed the hopes of the Roman Church in England. It depended on the will of the sovereign of the time, and with her fall it fell. Over her grave in Henry VII.'s Chapel the Abbot preached two funeral sermons, which were remarkable for their moderation, on the text, 'I praised the 'dead more than the living' (Eccl. iv. 2).³ It was in the closing period of his rule in Westminster that the Abbey witnessed the first of those theological conflicts which have since so often resounded in its precincts. Then took place the pitched battle between the divines of the old religion and of the new.⁴

The Westminster Conference, 1559.

On the 31st of March, 1559, there was held in Westminster Abbey a theological tournament. Eight champions on either side were chosen for the engagement. Sir Nicholas Bacon and the Archbishop of

¹ See Chapter III. p. 136.—It may be observed that the inscription on Edward III.'s tomb—'Tertius Edvardus, 'famâ super æthera notus, pugna pro 'Patria'—is the same as that, written probably at the same date, under the statue of Edward III. on the inner gateway of Trinity College, Cam-

bridge.

² Speech from the Rolls' House. (See Appendix.)

³ Fuller's *Church History*, A.D. 1558.

⁴ Strype's *Annals*, i. 116, 128, 196; ii. 465 (No. 15); Fuller's *Church History*, ii. 447; *Worthies*, ii. 357.

York kept the lists ; the Lords and Commons were the audience—for whose better instruction the combat was to be conducted in English. The subjects of controversy were—1. The use of prayer in a tongue unknown to the people ; 2. The right of local churches to change their ceremonies, if the edification of the people required it ; and 3. The propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, said to be offered in the Mass.

As a limit to diffuseness, the arguments were to be produced in writing ; and to the Catholics, in affected deference to their rank, was given the honour and the disadvantage of precedence. On their side were four bishops—White, Baynes, Scot, and Watson ; with four doctors—Cole, who had preached at Cranmer's martyrdom ; Harpsfeld, Pole's delegate, the inquisitor of Canterbury ; Chedsey, Bonner's chaplain ; and Langdale, Archdeacon of Lewes.

The Protestants were returned refugees—men who had kept prudently out of the way while their opinions were dangerous to themselves, but had reappeared with security. The true battle on these great questions had been fought and won at the stake. The Aylmers, the Jewels, the Grindals, were not of the metal which makes martyrs ; but they were skilful talkers, admirable 'divines,' with sufficient valour for the sham fight in which they were required only to walk with decorum over the course. They had conviction enough—though Jewel, at least, had saved his life by apostacy—to be quite willing to persecute their adversaries ; they were as little capable as the Catholics of believing that Heaven's gatekeepers acknowledged any passport, save in terms of their theology ; and, on the whole, they were well selected for the work which they had to do.

It had been contrived that throughout the controversy the Protestants should have the last word. The bishops, either resenting the unfairness of the arrangement, or having, as they said, really misunderstood it, there was some confusion ; and when the moment came, they were unprepared to begin. After some hesitation, however, Cole was put forward to speak on the first point ; and, according to the account of Jewel, he stamped, frowned, raved, and snapped his fingers. . . . The counter-statements of the Protestants were then read by Horne. . . . With this the first day's proceedings ended ; the discussion was adjourned till Monday ; and the Catholics were requested to comply for the future with the prescribed form, that the second proposition might be argued more completely.

On Monday, however, things went no better. Bacon invited the bishops to commence. White answered that he desired first to reply

on the argument of the preceding day. He was told that he might reply on the whole subject when the three propositions had each had their separate consideration. Watson replied that they had mistaken the directions, and that on the first head they had not been heard at all; Doctor Cole had spoken extempore, and had given only his own private opinion. The Lord Keeper regretted their misconception, but was unable to permit the prescribed order to be interrupted; and, after some recrimination, the bishops agreed to proceed.

But here another difficulty arose. They had been assigned priority, and they preferred to follow; they protested, with some reason, that it was not for them to prove the Church's doctrine to be true. They professed the old-established faith of Christendom; and if it was attacked, they were ready to answer objections. Let the Protestants produce their difficulties, and they would reply to them.

They did not and would not understand that they were but actors in a play, of which the finale was already arranged; that they were spoiling its symmetry by altering the plan.

The Lord Keeper replied that they must adhere to their programme, or the performance could not go forward. He asked them, one by one, if they would proceed. They refused. He appealed to the Abbot of Westminster; and the Abbot of Westminster agreed with the bishops.

If that was their resolution, then, the Lord Keeper said, the discussion was ended—and ended by their fault. They had refused to accept the order prescribed by the Queen, and they should not make an order of their own. 'But forasmuch as,' he concluded significantly, 'ye will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps ' shortly hear of us.'¹

This was the last fight face to face between the Church of Rome and the Church of England. It was the direct preparation for the Liturgy as it now stands, as enjoined in Elizabeth's first Act of Uniformity. In the Parliament which met in the next year, Feckenham took his place in the House of Lords—the only Abbot, on 'the lowest place on the Bishop's ' form'—and delivered his protest against the Royal Supremacy and the English Liturgy.² The battle was however lost,

¹ Froude, vii. 73–76. See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, part ii. book iii. pp. 388–391; Cardwell's *Con-*

ferences, pp. 55–92.

² Strype's *Annals*, ii. 438, app. ix.; Cardwell's *Conferences*, p. 98.

Feck-
enham's
farewell
to the
College
Garden,
1560.

and it only remains, as far as Westminster is concerned, to tell, in Fuller's words, the closing scene of the good Abbot's sojourn in our precincts:—'Queen Elizabeth coming to the Crown, sent for Abbot Feckenham to come to her, whom the messenger found setting of elms in the orchard [the College Garden] of Westminster Abbey. But he would not follow the messenger till first he had finished his plantation, which his friends impute to his being employed in mystical meditations—that as the trees he then set should spring and sprout many years after his death, so his new plantation of Benedictine monks in Westminster should take root and flourish, in defiance of all opposition. . . . Sure I am those monks long since are extirpated, but how his trees thrive at this day is to me unknown. Coming afterwards to the Queen, what discourse passed between them, they themselves know alone. Some have confidently guessed she proffered him the Archbishopric of Canterbury on condition he would conform to her laws, which he utterly refused.'¹

His death,
1585; bu-
ried at
Wisbeach.

He was treated with more or less indulgence, according to the temper of the times—sometimes a prisoner in the Tower; sometimes a guest in the custody of Horne, Bishop of Winchester; afterwards in the same capacity in the palace of Coxe, his former predecessor at Westminster, and now the old Bishop of Ely; and finally in the castle of Wisbeach.² There he left a memorial of himself in a stone cross, and in the more enduring form of good deeds amongst the poor. His last expressions breathe the same spirit of moderation which had marked his life,³ and, contrasted with the violence of most of his coreligionists at that time, remind us of the forbearance and good sense of Ken amongst the Nonjurors.

¹ Fuller's *Church Hist.* ix. 6, 8, 38.
—The elms, or their successors, still remain.

² Seymour's *Stow*, p. 611.—The

monks had annuities granted them. (Chapter Book, 1569.)

³ Strype's *Annals*, ii. 528, No. xxxi.; pt. ii. pp. 177, 381, 678.

The change in Westminster Abbey was now complete. The stone altars were everywhere destroyed.¹ The massy oaken table which now stands in the Confessor's Chapel was substituted, probably at that time, for the High Altar,² and was placed, as it would seem, at the foot of the steps.³ St. Catherine's Chapel was finally demolished, and its materials used for the new buildings.⁴

The
change
under
Queen
Elizabeth.

The interest of Queen Elizabeth in the institution never flagged. Even from her childhood she had taken part in its affairs. A certain John Pennicott had been appointed to the place of bellringer at the request of the 'Lady Elizabeth, daughter of our Sovereign Lord the King,'⁵ when she was only thirteen. Almost always before the opening of Parliament she came to the Abbey, entering at the Northern, and leaving by the Southern Transept. Carpets and cushions were placed for her by the Altar.⁶ The day of her accession (November 17), and of her coronation (January 15), were long observed as anniversaries in the Abbey. On the first of these days the bells are still rung, and, till within the last few years, a dinner of persons connected with Westminster School took place in the College Hall.⁷ The two last centenaries of the foundation were celebrated with much pomp in 1760,⁸ and again in 1860. Under her auspices the restored Abbey and the new Cathedral both vanished away. And to her, as to a second Foundress,⁹ is

¹ Strype's *Annals*, i. 401. See Chapter III.

² Malcolm, p. 87.

³ Wiffin's *House of Russell*, ii. 514.

⁴ Chapter Book, 1571.

⁵ *Ibid.*, November 5, 1544.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1562, 1571, 1572, 1584, and 1597; Malcolm, p. 261; Strype's *Annals*, i. 438.

⁷ On one of these occasions took place the attack on Bentley. (Monk, p. 535.)

⁸ Chapter Book, June 3, 1760.—On this occasion the wax effigy of Elizabeth, now amongst the waxworks of the Abbey, was made by the 'gentlemen of the Choir.' (*Ibid.*)

⁹ Her portrait in the Deanery, traditionally said to have been given by her to Dean Goodman, was really (as appears from an inscription at the back) given to the Deanery by Dean Wilcocks.

The
Collegio.

ascribed the independent formation of the Chapter with the School, under the new title (which it has borne ever since) of the 'Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster.'

The
Chapter
Library.

Henceforth the institution became, strictly speaking, a great academical as well as an ecclesiastical body. The old Dormitory of the monks was divided into two compartments, each destined to a collegiate purpose. The smaller or northern portion was devoted to the 'Library,' to be formed by 'the contributions of such godly persons as will 'give thereto.'¹ Its present aspect is described in a well-known passage of Washington Irving:—

I found myself in a lofty antique hall, the roof supported by massive joists of old English oak. It was soberly lighted by a row of Gothic windows at a considerable height from the floor, and which apparently opened upon the roofs of the Cloisters. An ancient picture, of some reverend dignitary of the Church in his robes,² hung over the fireplace. Around the hall and in a small gallery were the books, arranged in carved oaken cases. They consisted principally of old polemical writers, and were much more worn by time than use. In the centre of the Library was a solitary table, with two or three books on it, an inkstand without ink, and a few pens parched by long disuse. The place seemed fitted for quiet study and meditation. It was buried deep among the massive walls of the Abbey, and shut up from the tumult of the world. I could only hear now and then the shouts of the schoolboys faintly swelling from the Cloisters, and the sound of a bell tolling for prayers, that echoed soberly along the roofs of the Abbey. By degrees the shouts of merriment grew fainter and fainter, and at length died away. The bell ceased to toll, and a profound silence reigned through the dusky hall.³

The
School-
room.

The southern or larger part of the Dormitory was devoted to the Schoolroom,⁴ which, though rebuilt, almost from the

¹ Chapter Book, October 3, 1570.—Dean Goodman gave the 'Complutensian Bible' and the 'Hebrew Vocabulary.' (Ibid., 1570.) These no longer exist.

² Dean Williams. (See p. 425.)

³ Irving's *Sketch Book*, i. 227-29.

See Botfield's *Cathedral Libraries of England* (pp. 430-464), which gives a general account of the contents of the Westminster Library.

⁴ I have forborne here, as elsewhere, to go at length into the history of the School. It opens a new field,

floor, in more modern times, still covers the same space. Its conchlike termination has given the name of 'shell' to a particular division of all the Public Schools in England. The monastic Granary, which under Dean Benson had still been retained for the corn of the Chapter, now became, and continued to be for nearly two hundred years, the Scholars' Dormitory. The Abbot's Refectory became the Hall of the whole collegiate establishment. The Dean and Prebendaries continued to dine there, at least on certain days, till the middle of the seventeenth century;¹ and then, as they gradually withdrew from it to their own houses, it became the Dining-hall of the Scholars. The great tables of chestnutwood were, according to tradition, presented by Elizabeth from the fragments of the Spanish Armada, still bearing in their solid planks the round marks of the cannon-balls of the English ships.

The old
School
Dormi-
tory.
The Col-
lege Hall.

The collegiate character of the institution was still further kept up, by the close connexion which Elizabeth fostered between the College of Westminster and the two great collegiate houses of Christ Church and Trinity, founded or refounded by her father, at Oxford and Cambridge. Together they formed 'the three Royal Colleges.' The heads of the three were together to preside over the examinations of the School. The oath of the Dean of Westminster was almost identical with that of the Master of Trinity College; couched in the magnificent phraseology of that first age of the Reformation, that he 'would always prefer truth to custom, 'the Bible to tradition'—(*vera consuetis, scripta non*

Its con-
nexion
with Christ
Church,
Oxford,
and
Trinity
College,
Cam-
bridge.

which one not bred at Westminster has hardly any right to enter, and which has been elaborately illustrated by Westminster scholars themselves in the '*Census Alumnorum Westmonasteriensium*,' and '*Lusus Alteri Westmonasterienses*.' For a brief and lively account of its main features,

I may refer to two articles on 'Westminster School' (by an old school-fellow of my own), in *Blackwood's Magazine* for July and September 1866.

¹ Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. part ii. (No. 10).

‘*scriptis, semper antehabitorum*’¹)—‘that he would embrace with his whole soul the true religion of Christ.’ The whole constitution was that not so much of a Cathedral as of a College. The Dean was in the position of ‘the Head;’ the Masters in the position of the College Tutors or Lecturers. In the College Hall the Dean and the Prebendaries dined, as the Master and Fellows, or as the Dean and Chapter at Christ Church, at the High Table; and below sate all the other members of the body. If the Prebendaries were absent, then, and seemingly not otherwise, it was the duty of the Headmaster to be present.² The Garden of the Infirmary, which henceforth became ‘the College Garden,’ was, like the spots so called at Oxford and Cambridge, the exclusive possession of the Chapter, as there of the Heads and Fellows of the Colleges.³ So largely was the scholastic element blended with the ecclesiastical, that the Dean, from time to time, seemed almost to supersede the functions of the Headmaster. In the time of Queen Elizabeth he even took boarders into his house. In the time of James I., as we shall see, he became the instructor of the boys. ‘I have placed ‘Lord Barry,’ says Cecil, ‘at the Dean’s at Westminster. I ‘have provided bedding and all of my own, with some other ‘things, meaning that for his diet and residence it shall cost ‘him nothing.’

As years have rolled on, the union, once so close, between the different parts of the Collegiate body, has gradually been disentangled; and at times the interests of the School may have been overshadowed by those of the Chapter. Yet it may be truly said that the impulse of that first impact has never entirely ceased. The Headmasters of Westminster have again and again been potentates of the first magnitude

¹ The words are also found in the Statutes of Queen’s College, Cambridge. They are, curiously enough, omitted in the otherwise ‘similar oath

of the Master of St. John’s College.

² Chapter Book, 1563.

³ Ibid., 1564 and 1606.

in the collegiate circle. The names of Camden and of Busby were, till our own times, the chief glories of the great profession they adorned; and of all the Schools which the Princes of the Reformation planted in the heart of the Cathedrals of England, Westminster is the only one which adequately rose to the expectation of the Royal Founders.

As in the Monastery, so in the Collegiate Church, the fortunes of the institution must be traced through the history, partly of its chiefs, partly of its buildings. William Bill, the first Elizabethan Dean, lived only long enough to complete the Westminster Statutes, which, however, were never confirmed by the Sovereign. He was buried, among his predecessors the Abbots, in the Chapel of St. Benedict. There also, after forty years, was laid his successor, Gabriel Goodman, the Welshman, of whom Fuller says, 'Goodman was his name, and goodness was his nature.' He was the real founder of the present establishment—the 'Edwin' of a second Conquest. Under him took place the allocation of the monastic buildings before described. Under him was rehabilitated the Protestant worship, after the interregnum of Queen Mary's Benedictines. The old copes were used up for canopies. The hangings were given to the College.¹ A waste place found at the west end of the Abbey was to be turned into a garden.² A keeper was appointed for the monuments.³ The order of the Services was, with some slight variations, the same that it has been ever since. The early prayers were at 6 A.M. in Henry VII.'s Chapel, with a lecture on Wednesdays and Fridays. The musical service was, on weekdays, at 9 A.M. to 11 A.M. and at 4 P.M., and on Sundays at 8 A.M. to 11 A.M., and from 4 P.M. to 5 P.M. The Communion was administered on the Festivals, and on the first Sunday in the month. To the sermons to

THE
DEANS.

William
Bill,
1560-61;
buried in
the Chapel
of St.
Benedict.

Gabriel
Goodman,
1561-
1601;
buried in
the Chapel
of St.
Benedict.

¹ Chapter Book, 1566 and 1570.

² Ibid., 1593.

Ibid., 1607.

be preached by the Dean at Christmas, Easter, and All Saints, were added Whitsunday and the Purification.

His occupation of the Deanery was, long after his death, remembered by an apartment known by the name of 'Dean ' Goodman's Chamber.'¹ He addressed the House of Commons in person to preserve the privileges of sanctuary to his Church, and succeeded for a time in averting the change. He was the virtual founder of the Corporation of Westminster, of which the shadow still remains in the twelve Burgesses and the High Steward of Westminster—the last relic of the 'temporal power' of the ancient Abbots. His High Steward was no less a person than Lord Burleigh.²

The Pest
House at
Chiswick.

To the School he secured 'the Pest House' or 'Sanatorium' on the river-side at Chiswick,³ and planted with his own hands a row of elms, some of which are still standing in the adjacent field. It is on record that Busby resided there, with some of his scholars, in the year 1657. A few years ago, when this house was in the tenure of Mr. Berry and his two celebrated daughters, the names of Montague Earl of Halifax, John Dryden, and many other of Busby's pupils, were to be seen on the walls. Dr. Nicolls was the last Master who frequented the house. But, as long as it remained in possession of the Chapter, a piece of ground was reserved for the games of the Scholars. Of late years its use has been superseded by the erection of a Sanatorium in the College Garden.

Nowell,
Head-
master,
1543.

Already Goodman might well be proud of the School, which had for its rulers Alexander Nowell and William Camden. Nowell, whose life belongs to St. Paul's, of which he afterwards became the Dean, was remarkable at West-

¹ Archives.—Hegavetwo of the bells, which still bear the inscription, '*Patrem laudate sonantibus cultum. Gabriel Goodman Decanus, 1598.*'

² Strype's *Mem. of Parker*. See

Chapter IV. p. 205.

³ There had before been a house for the 'children' at Putney. (Chapter Book, 1515.)

minster as the founder of the Terence Plays.¹ The illustrious Camden, after having been first Librarian and Second Master,² was then, though a layman, by the Queen's request, appointed Headmaster, with a special salary and maintenance in the College Hall.³ 'I know not,' he proudly writes, 'who may say I was ambitious, who contented myself in Westminster School when I writ my "*Britannia*."' ⁴

Camden,
Head-
master,
1593-99.

Lancelot Andrewes, the most devout and, at the same time, the most honest⁵ of the nascent High Church party of that period, lamented alike by Clarendon and by Milton, was Dean of Westminster for five years. The close connexion of the Abbey with the School reached its climax under his rule. Dean Williams, in the next generation, 'had heard much what pains Dr. Andrewes did take both day and night to train up the youth bred in the Public School, chiefly the *alumni* of the College so called;' and in answer to his questions, Hacket, his future biographer, who had been one of these scholars—

Lancelot
Andrewes,
1601-5.

told him how strict that excellent man was to charge our masters that they should give us lessons out of none but the most classical authors; that he did often supply the place both of the head-schoolmaster and usher for the space of an whole week together, and gave us not an hour of loitering-time from morning to night: how he caused our exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him, to examine our style and proficiency; that he never walked to Chiswick for his recreation without a brace of this young fry; and in that wayfaring leisure had a singular dexterity to fill those narrow vessels with a funnel. And, which was the greatest burden of his toil, sometimes thrice in a week, sometimes oftener, he sent for the uppermost scholars to his lodgings at night, and kept them with him from eight till eleven, unfolding to them the best rudiments

¹ *Alumni Westmonast.*, p. 2.

² Chapter Book, 1587.

³ *Ibid.*, January 29, 1593.

⁴ *Alumni Westmonast.*, p. 13. (For Camden's tomb see Chapter IV. p. 289.)

⁵ See his conduct to Abbot in his

misfortunes, and his rebuke to Neale. Andrewes was appointed Bishop of Chichester 1605, translated to Ely 1609, and to Winchester 1619; died September 25, 1626; buried in St. Saviour's, Southwark.

of the Greek tongue and the elements of the Hebrew Grammar; and all this he did to boys without any compulsion of correction—nay, I never heard him utter so much as a word of austerity among us.¹

Richard
Neale.
1605–10.

‘The Monastery of the West’ (τὸ ἐπιξέφύριον) was faithfully remembered in the ‘Devotions’ which he has left as his best legacy to the English Church. He was succeeded by Neale, who thence ascended the longest ladder of ecclesiastical preferments recorded in our annals.² Years afterwards they met, on the well-known occasion when Waller the poet heard the witty rebuke which Andrewes gave to Neale as they stood behind the chair of James I. Neale was educated at Westminster, and pushed forward into life by Dean Goodman and the Cecils. He was installed as Dean on the memorable 5th of November 1605; and after he had left the Deanery for the See of Lichfield and Coventry, he was deputed by James I. to preside once more in the Abbey over the reinterment of Mary Queen of Scots.³ It was in his London residence, as Bishop of Durham, that he laid the foundation of the fortunes of his friend Laud.

George
Montaigne,
1610–17.
Richard
Tounson,
1617–20.

The two Deans who succeeded him, Montaigne⁴ (or Montain) and Tounson,⁵ leave but little materials for the Westminster records. But on Tounson’s death succeeded the man who has left more traces of himself in the office than any of his predecessors, and than most of his successors. The last churchman who held the Great Seal—the last great dignitary who occupied at once an Archbishopric and a Deanery—one of the

¹ Hacket’s *Life of Archbishop Williams*; Russell’s *Life of Bishop Andrewes*, pp. 90, 91.—Brian Duppa, who ultimately succeeded Andrewes in the See of Winchester, learned Hebrew from him at this time. (Duppa’s Epitaph in the Abbey.)

² Neale was appointed to the See of Rochester in 1608, and was thence translated to Lichfield and Coventry 1610, to Lincoln 1614, to Durham 1617, to Winchester 1627, and to

York 1631. He was buried in All Saints’ Chapel, in York Minster, 1640.

³ Le Neve’s *Lives*, ii. 143. See Chapter III. p. 173.

⁴ Montaigne was appointed Bishop of Lincoln 1617, translated to London 1621, Durham 1627, York 1628. Died and buried at Cawood, 1628.

⁵ Tounson was appointed Bishop of Salisbury 1620. Buried at the entrance of St. Edmund’s Chapel, 1621.

few eminent Welshmen who have figured in English history, John WILLIAMS also carried all his energy into the precincts of Westminster. His own interest in the Abbey was intense. Abbot Islip and Bishop Andrewes were his two models amongst his predecessors—the one from his benefits to the Abbey, the other to the School:—

John
Williams,
1620–50.

The piety and liberality of Abbot Islip to this domo came into Dr. Williams by transmigration; who, in his entrance into that place, found the Church in such decay, that all that passed by, and loved the honour of God's house, shook their heads at the stones that dropped down from the pinnacles. Therefore, that the ruins of it might be no more a reproach, this godly Jehoiada took care for the Temple of the Lord, to repair it, 'set it in its 'state, and to strengthen it.' He began at the south-east part, which looked the more deformed with decay, because it was coupled with a later building, the Chapel of King Henry VII., which was tight and fresh. The north-west part also, which looks to the Great Sanctuary, was far gone in dilapidations: the great buttresses, which were almost crumbled to dust with the injuries of the weather, he re-edified with durable materials, and beautified with elegant statues (among whom Abbot Islip had a place), so that 4,500*l.* were expended in a trice upon the workmanship. All this was his cost: neither would he impatronise his name to the credit of that work which should be raised up by other men's collatitious liberality.¹ For their further satisfaction, who will judge of good works by visions and not by dreams, I will cast up, in a true audit, other deeds of no small reckoning, conducing greatly to the welfare of that college, church, and liberty, wherein piety and beneficence were reluctant in despite of jealousies. First, that God might be praised with a cheerful noise in His sanctuary, he procured the sweetest music, both for the organ and for the voices of all parts, that ever was heard in an English choir. In those days that Abbey, and Jerusalem Chamber, where he gave entertainment to his friends, were the volaries of the choicest singers that the land had bred. The greatest masters of that delightful faculty frequented him above all others, and were never nice to serve him; and some of the

His benefactions to the Abbey.

To the Choir.

¹ A Chapter account, signed by the Dean and eight of the Canons, repudiates the calumny that the Dean

had made the repairs 'out of the diet 'and bellies of the Prebendaries.' (Chapter Book, December 8, 1628.)

To the
Library.

most famous yet living will confess he was never nice to reward them: a lover could not court his mistress with more prodigal effusion of gifts. With the same generosity and strong propension of mind to enlarge the boundaries of learning, he converted a waste-room, situate in the east side of the Cloisters, into Plato's Portico, into a goodly Library;¹ modelled it into decent shape, furnished it with desks and chairs, accoutred it with all utensils, and stored it with a vast number of learned volumes; for which use he lighted most fortunately upon the study of that learned gentleman, Mr. Baker of Highgate, who, in a long and industrious life, had collected into his own possession the best authors of all sciences, in their best editions, which, being bought at 500*l.* (a cheap pennyworth for such precious ware), were removed into this storehouse. When he received thanks from all the professors of learning in and about London, far beyond his expectations, because they had free admittance to suck honey from the flowers of such a garden as they wanted before, it compelled him to unlock his cabinet of jewels, and bring forth his choicest manuscripts. A right noble gift in all the books he gave to this Serapeum, but especially the parchments. Some good authors were conferred by other benefactors, but the richest fruit was shaken from the boughs of this one tree, which will keep green in an unfading memory in despite of the tempest of iniquity. I cannot end with the erection of this Library; for this Dean gratified the College with many other benefits. When he came to look into the state of the house, he found it in a debt of 300*l.* by the hospitality of the table. It had then a brotherhood of most worthy Prebendaries—Mountford, Sutton, Laud, Cæsar, Robinson, Darell, Fox, King, Newell, and the rest; but ancient frugal diet was laid aside in all places, and the prices of provisions in less than fifteen years were doubled in all markets, by which enhancement the debt was contracted, and by him discharged. Not long after, to the number of the forty scholars, he added four more, distinguished from the rest in their habit of violet-coloured gowns, for whose maintenance he purchased lands.² These were adopted children; and in this diverse from the natural children, that the place to which they are removed, when they deserve it by their learning,

To the
School.

¹ For the first formation of this Library, see p. 418.—Richard Coulard, for his pains in arranging the books which Williams gave to the Library, was made Librarian, with a place and 'diet' at the Dean and Prebendaries'

table in the College Hall. (Chapter Book, January 22, 1625.)

² Both here and at St. John's, the funds which he left for these purposes were wholly inadequate to maintain them.

is St. John's College, in Cambridge; and in those days, when good turns were received with the right hand, it was esteemed among the praises of a stout and vigilant Dean, that whereas a great limb of the liberties of the city (of Westminster) was threatened to be cut off by the encroachments of the higher power of the Lord Steward of the King's Household, and the Knight-Marshal with his tipstaves, he stood up against them with a wise and confident spirit, and would take no composition to let them share in those privileges, which by right they never had; but preserved the charter of his place in its entire jurisdiction and laudable immunities.¹

To the
Burgesses.

In 1621 Williams was appointed Lord Keeper. It is in this capacity that he is known to us in his portraits, with his official hat on his head, and the Great Seal by his side. The astonishment produced by this unwonted elevation—his own incredible labours to meet the exigencies of the office—must be left to his biographer. For its connexion with Westminster, it is enough to record that on the day when he took his place in Court, 'he set out early in the morning ' with the company of the Judges and some few more, and, ' passing through the Cloisters, he carried them with him ' into the Chapel of Henry VII., where he prayed on his ' knees (silently but very devoutly, as might be seen by his ' gesture) almost a quarter of an hour; then rising up very ' cheerfully, he was conducted with no other train to a ' mighty confluence that expected him in Westminster Hall, ' whom, from the Bench of the Court of Chancery [then ' at the upper end of the Hall], he greeted ' with his opening speech.²

Lord
Keeper,
July 10,
1621; re-
signed the
seal, Oct.
30, 1625;

In that same Chapel he had, a short time before, been consecrated Bishop—not (as usual) at Lambeth, because of the scruple which he professed to entertain at 'receiving that 'solemnity' from the hands of Archbishop Abbot, who had just shot the gamekeeper at Bramshill. It was the See of Lincoln which was bestowed on him—'the largest diocese in

Bishop of
Lincoln,
Nov. 16,
1621.

¹ Hacket, pp. 45, 46.

² Ibid., p. 71.

‘ the land, because this new elect had the largest wisdom to
 ‘ superintend so great a circuit. Yet, inasmuch as the
 ‘ revenue of it was not great, it was well pieced out with a
 ‘ grant to hold the Deanery of Westminster, into which he
 ‘ shut himself fast, with as strong bars and bolts as the law
 ‘ could make.’ In answer to the obvious objections that
 were made to this accumulation of dignities, the locality of
 Westminster plays a considerable part:—

The port of the Lord Keeper’s place must be maintained in
 some convenient manner. Here he was handsomely housed, which,
 if he quitted, he must trust to the King to provide one for him. . . .
 Here he had some supplies to his housekeeping from the College
 in bread and beer, corn and fuel. . . . In that College he needed
 to entertain no under-servants or petty officers, who were already
 provided to his hand. . . . And it was but a step from thence to
 Westminster Hall, where his business lay; and it was a lodging
 which afforded him marvellous quietness, to turn over his papers, and
 to serve the King. He might have added (for it was in the bottom
 of his breast) he was loth to stir from that seat where he had the
 command of such exquisite music.¹

These arguments were more satisfactory to himself than to
 his enemies, in whose eyes he was a kind of ecclesiastical
 monster, and who ironically describe him as having thus
 became ‘ a perfect diocese in himself ’²—Bishop, Dean, Pre-
 bend, Residentiary, and Parson.³

The scene which follows introduces us to a new phase
 in the history of the Jerusalem Chamber—its convivial
 aspect, which, from time to time, it has always retained
 since:—

¹ Hacket, p. 62.—He also kept the
 Rectory of Walgrave, which he justi-
 fied to Hacket by the examples of
 ‘ Elijah’s commons in the obscure vil-
 ‘ lage of Zarepheth, Anselm’s Cell at
 ‘ Bec, Gardiner’s Mastership of Trinity
 ‘ Hall, Plautus’s fable of the Mouse
 ‘ with many Holes.’ ‘ Walgrave,’ he

said, ‘ is but a mousehole; and yet it
 ‘ will be a pretty fortification to enter-
 ‘ tain me if I have no other home to
 ‘ resort to.’

² He was dispensed by the Chapter
 from all residence for a year. (Chapter
 Book, January 27, 1625.)

³ Heylin’s *Cyprianus*, p. 86.

When the conferences about the marriage of Prince Charles with Henrietta Maria were gone so far, and seemed, as it were, to be over the last fire, and fit for projection, his Majesty would have the Lord-Keeper taken into the Cabinet; and, to make him known by a mark of some good address to the French gallants, upon the return of the Ambassadors to-London, he sent a message to him, to signify that it was his pleasure that his Lordship should give an entertainment to the Ambassadors and their train on Wednesday following—it being Christmas Day with them, according to the Gregorian præ-occupation of ten days before our account. The King's will signified, the invitement at a supper was given and taken: which was provided in the College of Westminster, in the room named Hierusalem Chamber;¹ but for that night it might have been called Lucullus his Apollo. But the ante-past was kept in the Abbey; as it went before the feast, so it was beyond it, being purely an episcopal collation. The Ambassadors, with the nobles and gentlemen in their company, were brought in at the north gate of the Abbey, which was stuck with flambeaux everywhere, both within and without the Quire, that strangers might cast their eyes upon the stateliness of the church. At the door of the Quire the Lord Keeper besought their Lordships to go in, and to take their seats there for a while, promising, on the word of a bishop, that nothing of ill relish should be offered before them, which they accepted; and at their entrance the organ was touched by the best finger of that age—Mr. Orlando Gibbons. While a verse was played, the Lord Keeper presented the Ambassadors, and the rest of the noblest quality of their nation, with our Liturgy, as it spake to them in their own language; and in the delivery of it used these few words, but pithy: 'That their Lordships at leisure might read in that book in what form of holiness our Prince worshipped God, wherein he durst say nothing savoured of any corruption of doctrine, much less of heresy, which he hoped would be so reported to the Lady Princess Henrietta.' The Lords Ambassadors and their great train took up all the stalls, where they continued about half an hour; while the quiremen, vested in their rich copes,² with their

Entertainments in the Jerusalem Chamber.

The first Musical Festival in the Abbey.

¹ The first distinct notice of the Jerusalem Chamber being used for the Chapter is in Williams's time. (Chapter Book, December 13, 1638.) It was probably in commemoration of this French entertainment that Williams put up the chimneypiece of cedar-wood in the Chamber, which has his arms

and the heads of King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria.

² The mention of the rich copes of the 'quiremen' (*i. e.*, of the lay vicars) is worth noting, as showing in what sense these vestments were then applied in the Abbey.

choristers, sang three several anthems with most exquisite voices before them. The most honourable and the meanest persons of the French all that time uncovered with great reverence, except that Secretary Villoclore alone kept on his hat. And when all others carried away the Books of Common Prayer commended to them, he only left his in the stall of the Quire, where he had sate, which was not brought after him (*Ne Margarita, &c.*) as if he had forgot it.¹

Another scene, which brings before us Christmas Day as then kept in the Abbey and in the College Hall, belongs to this time. Amongst the guests was a French abbot, 'but a gentleman that held his abbacy in a lay capacity.' He expressed a desire to be present upon our Christmas Day in the morning:—

Christmas
Day with
the French
Abbot.

The Abbot kept his hour to come to church upon that High Feast; and a place was well fancied aloft, with a lattice and curtains to conceal him. Mr. William Boswell, like Philip riding with the treasurer of Queen Candace in the same chariot, sate with him, directing him in the process of all the sacred offices performed, and made clear explanation to all his scruples.² The church-work of that ever-blessed day fell to the Lord Keeper to perform it, but in the place of the Dean of that Collegiate Church. He sung the service,³ preached the sermon, consecrated the Lord's Table, and, (being assisted with some of the Prebendaries) distributed the elements of the Holy Communion to a great multitude, meekly kneeling upon their knees. Four hours and better were spent that morning before the congregation was dismissed with the episcopal blessing. The Abbot was entreated to be a guest at the dinner provided in the College Hall, where all the members of that incorporation feasted together, even to the Eleemosynaries, called the Beadsmen of the Foundation; no distinction being made, but high and low eating their meat with gladness together upon the occasion of Our Saviour's Nativity, that it might not be forgotten that the poor shepherds were admitted to worship the Babe in the Manger as well as the potentates of the East, who brought rich presents to offer up at the shrine of His cradle. All having had their comfort,

¹ Bernard's *Heylin*, pp. 162, 194.

² Probably in the organ-loft.
Boswell was Williams's secretary.

³ The 'singing' of the service was,

doubtless, from Williams's own musical proficiency. The whole service is, on the great festivals, read by the Deans at Canterbury and Oxford.

both in spiritual and bodily repast, the Master of the Feast and the Abbot, with some few beside, retired into a gallery.¹

This 'Gallery' was doubtless that above the Hall, and in it we must conceive the conversation, as carried on between the Lord Keeper and 'his brother Abbot,' on the comparison, suggested by what the Frenchman had seen, between the Church of England and the Continental Churches, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. Let them part with the concluding remark of the Lord Keeper:—'I use to say it 'often that there ought to be no secret antipathies in Divinity 'or in Churches for which no reason can be given. But let 'every house sweep the dust from their own door. We 'have done our endeavour, God be praised, in England to 'model a Churchway which is not afraid to be searched into 'by the sharpest critics for purity and antiquity. But, as 'Pacatus said in his panegyric in another case, *Parum est 'quando cœperit, terminum non habebit*. Yet I am confident 'it began when Christ taught upon earth, and I hope it 'shall last till He comes again.' 'I will put my attestation 'thus far to your confidence' (said the Abbot), 'that I think 'you are not far from the Kingdom of Heaven.' So, with mutual smiles and embraces, they parted.

As long as King James lived, Williams was the most rising ecclesiastic of the day. He attended the King on his death-bed, and at his funeral in the Abbey preached the famous sermon, on the text (2 Chron. ix. 31), 'Solomon slept with his 'fathers, and he was buried in the city of David his father,' and (as his biographer adds) '*no farther*' (*i.e.*, with a studious omission of 'Rehoboam his son'). 'He never studied any- 'thing with more care, taking for his pattern Fisher's sermon 'at the funeral of Henry VII., and Cardinal Peron's sermon 'for Henry IV. of France,'

Funeral of
James I.
1625.

Then the power of Williams in Westminster suddenly

¹ Hacket, pp. 211, 212.

Quarrels
with the
Prebenda-
ries.

waned. The slight put upon him at the Coronation of Charles I. has been already mentioned, and henceforth he resided chiefly at his palace near Lincoln, only coming up to Westminster at the times absolutely required by the Statutes of the Abbey. His rival Laud, who had already been his bitter antagonist amongst the Prebendaries, was now Archbishop. Peter Heylin, Laud's chaplain, was still in the Chapter; and through him thirty-six articles of complaint were raised, many of which had direct reference to his Westminster life—such as, 'that he came too late for service,' 'came without his habit on,' &c. The 'articles,' says Hacket (speaking almost as if he had seen their passage over the venerable pinnacles), 'flew away over the Abbey, like a flock of wild geese, if you cast but one stone amongst them.'¹ Williams was also expressly told that 'the lustre in which he lived at Westminster gave offence to the King, and that it would give more content if he would part with his Deanery, his Majesty not approving of his being so near a neighbour to Whitehall.' One great prelate (evidently Laud) plainly said, in the presence of the King, 'that the Bishop of Lincoln lived in as much pomp as any Cardinal in Rome, for diet, music, and attendance.'² His enemies at last succeeded in procuring his fall and imprisonment, and a Commission still remains on the Chapter Books, authorising the Chapter to carry on the business in his absence. From the following letter of Laud to Ussher, it would seem that the Deanery was in part made over to the Irish Primate at this period. It also curiously connects the past history of Westminster with the well-known localities of the present day:—

His first
imprison-
ment,
1637-40.

Ussher at
the
Deanery.

As I was coming from the Star-Chamber this day se'nnight at night, there came to me a gentlemanlike man, who, it seems, some way belongs to your Grace. He came to inform me that he had received some denial of the keys of the Dean of Westminster's

¹ Hacket, pp. 91, 92.

² Fuller's *Church History*.

lodgings. I told him that I had moved his Majesty that you might have the use of these lodgings this winter-time, and that his Majesty was graciously pleased that you should have them; and that I had acquainted Dr. Newell, the Subdean of the College, with so much, and did not find him otherwise than willing thereunto. But, my Lord, if I mistake not, the error is in this: the gentleman, or somebody else to your use, demanded the keys of the lodging, if I misunderstood him not. Now the keys cannot be delivered, for the King's scholars must come thither daily to dinner and supper in the Hall, and the butlers and other officers must come in to attend them. And to this end there is a porter, by office and oath, that keeps the keys. Besides, the Prebends must come into their Chapter House, and, as I think, during the Chapter-time have their diet in the Hall. But there is room plentiful enough for your Grace besides this. I advised this gentleman to speak again with the Subdean, according to this direction, and more I could not possibly do. And by that time these letters come to you, I presume the Subdean will be in town again. And if he be, I will speak with him, and do all that lies in me to accommodate your Grace. Since this, some of the Bishop of Lincoln's friends whisper privately that he hopes to be in Parliament, and, if he be, he must use his own house. And whether the Subdean have heard anything of this or no, I cannot tell. Neither do I myself know any certainty, but yet did not think it fit to conceal anything that I hear in this from you.¹

On the meeting of the Long Parliament Williams was released, and 'conducted into the Abbey Church, when 'he officiated, it being a day of humiliation, as Dean of 'Westminster, more honoured at the first by Lords and 'Commons than any other of his order.'

Williams
return.

The service at which he attended was, however, disturbed by the revival of an old feud between himself and his Prebendaries. There had been a long contention between them on the right of possession to what was called 'the great pew,' which was on the north side of the Choir, near the pulpit, and immediately under the portrait of Richard II.² The Prebendaries claimed this as their own—the Dean by virtue of his

¹ *Ussher's Works*, xvi 536, 537; ² See Chapter III. p. 142.
Letter ccccxix.

Peter
Heylin in
the pulpi'.

being Lord Keeper. In this pew he sate on the occasion of his triumphant return. It so chanced that his old enemy Peter Heylin was 'preaching his course,' and when, at a certain point, the Royalist Prebendary launched out into his usual invectives against the Puritan party, the Dean, 'sitting in 'the great pew,' and inspired, as it were, by that old battle-field of contention, knocked aloud with his staff on the adjacent pulpit, saying, 'No more of that point—no more of 'that point, Peter.' 'To which the Doctor readily answered, 'without hesitation, or without the least sign of being put 'out of countenance, "I have a little more to say, my Lord, "' and then I have done.'" He then continued in the same strain, and the Dean afterwards sent for the sermon.

Con-
ferences in
the
Jerusalem
Chamber.

The tide of events which flowed through Westminster Hall in the next year constantly discharged itself into the Abbey. The Subcommittees; composed partly of Episcopalians, partly of Presbyterians, to report on the question of Episcopacy, sate, under Williams's presidency, in his beloved Jerusalem Chamber, now for the first time passing into its third phase, that of the scene of ecclesiastical disputations. But the vehemence of the Presbyterians against Deans and Chapters broke up their labours, and meantime the fury of the London populace rose to such a pitch, that Williams was now as much in danger from the Parliamentary mob as he had been a year before from Laud and Strafford.

Attack on
the Abbey.

Eyewitnesses have thus informed me of the manner thereof. Of those apprentices who coming up to the Parliament cried, 'No 'bishops!—No bishops!' some, rudely rushing into the Abbey church, were reprov'd by a verger for their irreverent behaviour therein. Afterwards quitting the church, the doors thereof, by command from the Dean, were shut up, to secure the organs and monuments therein against the return of the apprentices. For though others could not foretell the intentions of such a tumult, who could not certainly tell their own, yet the suspicion was probable, by what was uttered amongst them. The multitude presently assault the church

(under pretence that some of their party were detained therein), and force a pane out of the north door, but are beaten back by the officers and scholars of the College. Here an unhappy tile was cast by an unknown hand, from the leads or battlements of the church, which so bruised Sir Richard Wiseman, conductor of the apprentices, that he died thereof, and so ended that day's distemper.¹

All the Welsh blood in Williams's veins was roused, and, as afterwards he defended Conway Castle, so now he maintained the Abbey in his own person, 'fearing lest they should seize 'upon the Regalia, which were in that place under his custody.'² The violence of the mob continued to rage so fiercely, that the passage from the House of Lords to the Abbey became a matter of danger. Williams was with difficulty protected home by some of the lay lords, as he returned by torch-light.³ He was accompanied by Bishop Hall, who lodged in Dean's Yard. In a state of fury at these insults, he once more had recourse to the Jerusalem Chamber. Twelve of the Bishops, with Williams at their head, met there to protest against their violent exclusion from the House of Lords, and were in consequence committed to the Tower. Williams, —who meantime had just received from the King the prize so long coveted, but now too late for enjoyment, of the See of York—was released after the abolition of the temporal jurisdiction of the clergy. The Chapter Book contains only two signatures of Williams as Archbishop of York—one immediately before his imprisonment, December 21, 1641; one immediately after his release, May 18, 1642. This must have been his last appearance, in the scene of so many interests and so many conflicts, in Westminster. He left the capital to follow the King to York, and never returned.⁴

The volume in which these signatures are recorded bears witness to the disorder of the times. A few hurried entries

Meeting of
Bishops
in the
Jerusalem
Chamber.

Elevation
to York,
1641.

Williams's
second
imprison-
ment,
1642.

¹ Fuller, iii. 431.

worth's *Ecccl. Biog.* pp. 318, 324.

² Hacket, p. 176.

⁴ Buried at Llandegay Church,
1650.

³ Hall's *Hard Measure*; Words-

on torn leaves are all that mark those eventful years, followed by a series of blank pages, which represent the interregnum of the Commonwealth. During this interregnum the Abbey itself still, as we have seen, not only retained its honour, as the burialplace of the great,¹ but received an additional impulse in that direction, which since that time it has never lost. Many a Royalist, perhaps, felt at the time what Waller expressed afterwards—

When others fell, this, standing, did presage
The Crown should triumph over popular rage;
Hard by that 'House' where all our ills were shap'd,
The auspicious Temple stood, and yet escap'd.²

Puritan
changes.

But the religious services were entirely changed, and, whilst the monuments and the fabric received but little injury, the ornaments of the Church suffered materially. The Altar, if indeed it ever had been since the Reformation at the east end of the Choir, had in Williams's time been brought into the centre of the Church, for the Communion of the House of Commons.³ The copes, which had been worn at the Coronations by the Dean and Canons, and probably, on special occasions, by all the members of the Choir, were sold by order of Parliament, and the produce given to the poor of Ireland. The tapestries representing the history of Edward the Confessor were transferred to the Houses of Parliament. The plate belonging to the College was melted down, to pay for the servants and workmen, or to buy horses.⁴ The brass and iron in Henry VII.'s Chapel was sold.

Desecra-
tion of the
Abbey.

In July 1643 took place the only actual desecration to which the Abbey was exposed. It was believed in Royalist circles that soldiers⁵ were quartered in the Abbey, who

¹ See Chapter IV. p. 224.

² On St. James's Park.

³ Nalson, i. 563. (Robertson's *How shall we Conform to the Liturgy?* p. 160.)

⁴ Widmore, p. 156.

⁵ 'Some soldiers of Washborne and Cawood's companies, perhaps because there were no houses in Westminster.'

burnt the altar-rails, sate on benches round the Communion Table, eating, drinking, smoking, and singing—destroyed the organ, and pawned the pipes for ale in the alehouses—played at hare and hounds in the Church, the hares being the soldiers dressed up in the surplices of the Choir—and turned the Chapels and High Altar to the commonest and basest uses.¹

It is a more certain fact that Sir Robert Harley, who had the commission from the Parliament for the removal of monuments of idolatry, and who under it took down the crosses of Queen Eleanor at Charing and Cheapside, destroyed the only monument in the Abbey which totally perished in those troubles—the highly-decorated altar which served as the monument of Edward VI.,² and which doubtless attracted attention from Torrigiano's terra cotta statues. On a suspicion that Williams, with his well-known activity, had carried away the Regalia, the doors of the Treasury, which down to that time had been kept by the Chapter, were forced open,³ that an inventory of what was to be found there might be presented to the House of Commons. Henry Martin, such was the story, was entrusted with the welcome task; and England has never seen a ceremony so nearly approaching to the Revolutions of the Continent, as when the stern enthusiast, with the malicious humour for which he was noted, broke open the huge iron chest in the ancient Chapel of the Treasury, and dragged out the crown, sceptre, and robes, consecrated by the use of six hundred years; and put them on George Wither the poet, 'who did first trail about the town with a stately garb, and afterwards, with a thousand apish and ridiculous actions, exposed those sacred ornaments to contempt and laughter.'⁴ The English spirit of

Destruction of Edward VI.'s monument;

of the Regalia.

¹ Crull, vol. ii. app. ii. p. 14; *Mercurius Rusticus*, February 1643, p. 153.

² See Chapter III. and *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 154. Fragments of them were probably found in the Western

Tower in 1866.

³ See Chapter V. p. 385.

⁴ Wood's *Ath.* iii. 1239, col. 1817; Heylin.—Mr. Forster (*Statesmen*, vol. i.) doubts the story.

order still, however, so far presided over the scene, that, after this verification of their safety, they were replaced in the Treasury, and not sold till some time afterwards.

The
Commis-
sioners.

In like manner the general stability of the place was guaranteed. A special ordinance, in 1645, provided for the government of the Abbey, in default of the Dean and Chapter, who were superseded. The collegiate body, the school, the almoner, and the lesser offices still continued; and over it were placed Commissioners, consisting of the Earl of Northumberland and other laymen, with the Master of Trinity, the Dean of Christ Church, and the Headmaster of Westminster.¹

The Pres-
byterian
Preachers.

Seven Presbyterian ministers were charged with the duty of having a 'morning exercise' in place of the daily service. These were—Stephen Marshall, chief chaplain of the Parliamentary army, and (if we may use the expression) Primate of the Presbyterian Church²; William Strong, one of the most famous preachers of the day; Herle, the second Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly; Dr. Stanton, afterwards President of Corpus, Oxford, called the 'Walking Concordance'; Philip Nye, who, though an uncompromising Independent, was the chief agent in bringing the Presbyterian 'Covenant' across the Border; John Bond, a son of Denis Bond, who afterwards became Master of the Savoy Hospital, and of Trinity Hall at Cambridge. Of the remaining name, Wittaire, nothing is known.

Besides these regular lecturers, there were, on special occasions, sermons delivered in the Abbey by yet more remarkable men. It is said that Owen, Dean of Christ

¹ Stoughton's *Ecl. Hist.* i. 488.—The ordinance vesting the government of the Abbey in Commissioners is given in Widmore, p. 214.

² 'Without doubt the Archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an

'influence upon the counsels at Court 'as Dr. Burgess or Mr. Marshall had 'then upon the Houses.' (Clarendon.) Both Marshall and Strong were buried in the South Transept, and disinterred in 1661. (See Chapter IV.)

Church, preached on the day of Charles's execution. It is certain that his published sermon on 'God's work in Zion' (Isaiah xiv. 32) was preached here on the opening of Parliament in 1656. Goodwin, President of Magdalen College, Cambridge, preached in like manner before Oliver Cromwell's first Parliament,¹ and Howe, on 'Man's duty in Glorifying God,' before Richard Cromwell's last Parliament.² Here too was heard Baxter's admirable discourse, which must have taken more than two hours to deliver, on the 'Vain and Formal Religion of the Hypocrite.'

But the most remarkable ecclesiastical act that occurred within the precincts of the Abbey during this period, was the sitting of the Westminster Assembly. Its proceedings belong to general history. Here is only given enough to connect it with the two scenes of its operations. The first was in the Church itself.

There doubtless in the Choir of the Abbey, on July 1, 1643, the Assembly met. There were the 121 divines, including four actual and five future bishops. Some few only of these attended, and 'seemed the only Nonconformists for their conformity, whose gowns and canonical habits differed from all the rest.' The rest were Presbyterians, with a sprinkling of Independents, 'dressed in their black cloaks, skull-caps, and Geneva bands.' There were the thirty lay assessors,³ 'to overlook the clergy . . . just as when the good woman puts a cat into the milkhouse to kill a mouse, she sends her maid to look after the cat, lest the cat should eat up the cream.'⁴ Of these Selden was the most conspicuous, already connected with Westminster as Registrar of the College, an office which, apparently, had been created specially for him by Williams.⁵ Both Houses of Parliament assisted

Assembly
of Divines,
July 1,
1643.

¹ Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ii. 413.

² Ibid. ii. 252, 254.

The list is given in Hethering-

ton's *Westminster Assembly*, p. 109.

⁴ Selden's *Table Talk*.

⁵ Hacket, p. 69.

In Henry
VII.'s
Chapel,
1643,
July 6.

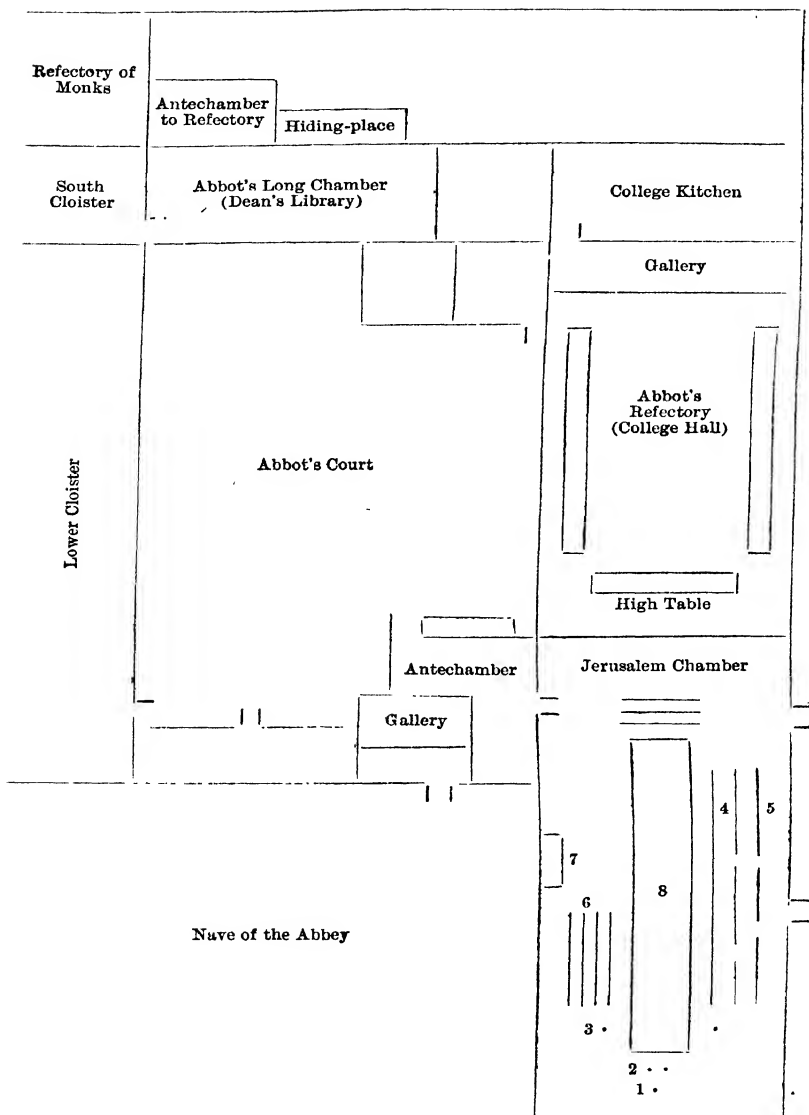
Sept. 25.

at the opening. So august an assembly had not been in the Abbey since the Conference which ushered in the re-establishment of the Protestant Church under Elizabeth. The sermon was preached by the Prolocutor, Dr. Twiss, on the text, 'I will not leave you comfortless.' On its conclusion the divines ascended the steps of Henry VII.'s Chapel. There the roll of names was called over. Out of the 140 members, however, only 69 were present.¹ On the 6th of July they assembled again, and received their instructions from the House of Commons. Then, from August to October, they discussed the Thirty-nine Articles, and had only reached the sixteenth when they were commanded by the Parliament to take up the question of the Discipline and Liturgy of the Church. For a single day they left the Abbey, to meet the Commons in St. Margaret's Church, and there sign the Solemn League and Covenant.² It was not till the end of September that the extreme cold of the interior of the Abbey compelled them to shift their quarters from Henry VII.'s Chapel to the Jerusalem Chamber: as before, so now, it was the warm hearth that drew thither alike the dying King and the grave Assembly. It is at this point that we first have a full picture of their proceedings from an eyewitness:—

On Monday morning we sent to both Houses of Parliament for a warrant for our sitting in the Assemblie. This was readilie granted, and by Mr. Hendersone presented to the Proloquitor, who sent out three of their number to convoy us to the Assemblie. Here no mortal man may enter to see or hear, let be to sitt, without ane order in wryte from both Houses of Parliament. When we were brought in, Dr. Twisse had ane long harangue for our welcome, after so long and hazardous a voyage by sea and land, in so unseasonable a tyme of the year. When he had ended, we satt down in these places, which since we have kepted. The like of that Assemblie I did never see, and, as we hear say, the like was never in England,

¹ This is about the average relative attendance of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury.

² Stoughton's *Eccles. Hist. of England*, i. 272, 294.



1. Prolocutor
2. The two Assessors
3. The two Scribes
4. The Scottish Divines

5. The M.P.'s
6. The English Divines
7. The Fireplace
8. The Table

PLAN OF THE 'ABBOT'S PLACE' AND OF THE JERUSALEM CHAMBER
AT THE TIME OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

Removal
to the Je-
rusalem
Chamber,
Nov. 17,
1543.

nor anywhere is shortlie lyke to be. They did sitt in Henry VII.'s Chappell, in the place of the Convocation;¹ but since the weather grew cold, they did go to Jerusalem Chamber,² a fair roome in the Abbey of Westminster, about the bounds of the Colledge fore-hall,³ but wyder. At the one end nearest the doore, and both sydes, are stages of seats, as in the new Assemblie-House at Edinburgh, but not so high; for there will be roome but for five or six score. At the upmost end there is a chair set on ane frame, a foot from the earth, for the Mr. Proloquutor, Dr. Twisse. Before it on the ground stands two chairs, for the two Mr. Assessors, Dr. Burgess and Mr. Whyte. Before these two chairs, through the length of the roome, stands a table, at which sitts the two scribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough. The house is all well hung, and has a good fyre, which is some dainties at London. Foranent the table, upon the Proloquutor's right hand, there are three or four rankes of formes. On the lowest we five doe sit; upon the other, at our backs, the members of Parliament deputed to the Assemblie.⁴ On the formes foranent us, on the Proloquutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the house to the chimney, and at the other end of the house and backsyde of the table, till it come about to our seats, are four or five stages of formes, whereupon their divines sitts as they please; albeit commonlie they keep the same place. From the chimney to the door there is no seats, but a voyd, about the fire. We meet every day of the week, but Saturday. We sitt commonlie from nine to one or two afternoon. The Proloquutor at the beginning and end has a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied, and very good, beloved of all, and highlie esteemed; but merelie bookish, and not much, as it seems, acquaint with conceived prayer, [and] among the unfittest of all the company for any action; so after the prayer, he sitts mute. It was the cannie convoyance of these who guides most matters for their own interest to plant such a man of purpose in the chaire. The

¹ For the Convocation, see p. 461.

² Fuller (*Church History*, iii. 449) says: 'And what place more proper for the building of Sion (as they pounded it) than the Chamber of Jerusalem (the fairest in the Dean's lodgings, where King Henry IV. died), where these divines did daily meet together?'

³ The Forehall of the College at Glasgow.

⁴ 'The Prince Palatine (Prince Rupert), constantly present at their debates, heard the Erastians with much delight, as welcoming their opinions for country's sake (his natives, as first born in Heidelberg), though otherwise in his own judgment no favourer thereof. But other Parliament-men listened very favourably to their arguments, &c. (Fuller, iii. 468.)

one assessour, our good friend Mr. Whyte, has kepted in of the gout since our coming; the other, Dr. Burgess, a very active and sharpe man, supplies, so farr as is decent, the Proloquutor's place. Ordinarilie, there will be present about threescore of their divines. These are divided in three committees, in one whereof every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleases to come to any of the three. Every committee, as the Parliament gives orders in wryte to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion; and in their afternoon meeting prepares matters for the Assemblie, setts doune their minde in distinct propositions, backs their propositions with texts of Scripture. After the prayer, Mr. Byfield, the scribe, reads the proposition and Scriptures, whereupon the Assemblie debates in a most grave and orderlie way. No man is called up to speak; bot who stands up of his own accord, he speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedlie calls on his name whom they desyre to hear first. On whom the loudest and maniest voices calls, he speaks. No man speaks to any bot to the Proloquutor. They harangue long and very learnedlie. They studie the questions well beforehand, and prepares their speeches; but withall the men are exceeding prompt, and well spoken. I doe marvell at the very accurate and extemporall replies that many of them usuallie doe make. When, upon everie proposition by itself, and on everie text of Scripture that is brought to confirme it, every man who will has said his whole minde, and the replies, and duplies, and triplies are heard; then the most part calls, 'To the question.' Byfield the scribe rises from the table, and comes to the Proloquutor's chair, who, from the scribe's book, reads the proposition, and says, 'As many as are in opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say I;' when I is heard, he says, 'As many as think otherwise, say No.' If the difference of I's and No's be cleare, as usuallie it is, then the question is ordered by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first Scripture alleadged for proof of the proposition. If the sound of I and No be near equall, then sayes the Proloquutor, 'As many as say I, stand up;' while they stand, the scribe and others number them in their minde; when they sitt doune, the No's are bidden stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a great deal of time, which we spend in reading our catalogue. When a question is once ordered, there is no more debate of that matter; but if a man will raige, he is quicklie taken up by Mr. Assessor, or many others, confusedlie crying, 'Speak to order—to order!' No man contradicts another expresslie by name, bot most discreetlie speaks to the

Proloquutor, and at most holds on the generall, ‘The Reverend brother ‘who latelie or last spoke,’ ‘on this hand,’ ‘on that syde,’ ‘above,’ or ‘below.’ I thought meet once for all to give you a taste of the outward form of their Assemblie. They follow the way of their Parliament. Much of their way is good, and worthie of our imitation : only their longsomenesse is wofull at this time, when their Church and Kingdome lyes under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped ; for being to establish a new platfforme of worship and discipline to their Nation for all time to come, they think they cannot be answerable if solidlie, and at leisure, they doe not examine every point thereof.¹

Here then took place those eager disputes between Selden and Gillespie:² here Selden would tell his adversaries, ‘Perhaps in your little pocket-bibles with gilt leaves (which ‘they would often take out and read) the translation may be ‘thus, but the Greek and Hebrew signifies thus and thus,’ and so would silence them. He came, ‘as Persians used, to ‘see wild asses fight.’ ‘When the Commons tried him with ‘their new law, these brethren refreshed him with their new ‘Gospel.’³ For five years, six months, and twenty-two days, through one thousand one hundred and sixty-three sessions, the Chapel of Henry VII. and the Jerusalem Chamber witnessed their weary labours. Out of these walls came the Directory, the Longer and Shorter Catechism, and that famous Confession of Faith which, alone within these Islands, was imposed by law on the whole kingdom ; and which, alone of all Protestant Confessions, still, in spite of its sternness and narrowness, retains a hold on the minds of its adherents to which its fervour and its logical coherence in some measure entitle it. If ever our Northern brethren are constrained by a higher duty to break its stringent obligation, they may perhaps find a consolation in the fact, that the ‘Westminster

Feb. 22,
1649.

¹ From the *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, &c.*, edited by David Laing (Edinburgh, 1841), vol. ii. pp. 107-109.

² Lightfoot, i. 68 ; Hetherington, p. 252.

³ Hetherington, p. 326.

'Confession' bears in its very name the sign that it came to them not from the High Church or Hall of Assembly in Edinburgh, but from the apartments of a prelatical dignitary at Westminster, under the sanction of an English Parliament, and under the occasional presence of the armies of an English king.

Whilst the Jerusalem Chamber was thus employed, the Deanery itself was inhabited by a yet more singular occupant. The office had, on Williams's retirement, been given by the King to Dr. Richard Stewart; but he never took possession, and died in exile at Paris, where he was buried in a Protestant cemetery near St. Germain des Près. The house, meantime, had been granted on lease to Bradshaw, President of the High Court of Justice. He belonged to a small Independent congregation, gathered in the Abbey under the ministry, first of Strong, and then of Howe. Here, as we have seen, according to tradition, he loved to climb by the small winding stair into the solitary chamber in the South-western Tower, long since inhabited only by hawks or pigeons, and haunted, as the Westminster boys used to believe, by his ghost. Here he and his wife died, shortly before the Restoration, and were carried into Henry VII.'s Chapel, to rest only for a few months, before their disinterment under Charles II.¹ The Prebendaries' houses were given to the seven preachers, and all members of the Capitular and Collegiate body who had not taken the Covenant were removed. Two persons alone remained. One was Lambert Osbaldiston, who had been for sixteen years Headmaster, and suffered alternately from Laud² and from the Puritans. But he was spared in the

Richard
Stewart,
1645-51.

John
Bradshaw,
1649-59.

Osbaldiston,
1622-
1638.

¹ See Chapter IV. p. 225.—The chamber, with its fireplace, still exists. During recent repairs, piles of skeletons of pigeons killed by the hawks were found there, as well as fragments of ordinary meals.

² He had narrowly escaped stand-

ing in the pillory in Dean's Yard, before his own door, for calling Laud 'Hocus Pocus' and the 'Little Vermin.' He was buried in the South Aisle of the Abbey, October 3, 1659. (See *Alumni Westmonast.*, p. 82.)

Busby,
1638-95.

general expulsion of the Prebendaries by the Long Parliament, and, probably through his influence, the School was spared also. In the School his successor was the famous Busby, a man not commonly suspected of too much compliance, but who, nevertheless, kept his seat unshaken during the contentions of Williams and Laud within the Chapter—through the fall of the monarchy and the ruin of the Church,—both whilst the Abbey was at its highest flight of Episcopal ritual, and whilst it was occupied by Presbyterian preachers—through the Restoration, and through the Revolution, into the reign of William III.; thus having served three dynasties, and witnessed three changes of worship. Dr. Busby's history belongs to that of the School, rather than of the Abbey; but some of the most striking incidents of his reign are closely connected with the localities of Westminster, and with the passions¹ which were heaving round the Cloisters through this eventful period. One of these is recalled by the bar which extends across the Great School, over which on Shrove-Tuesday it is the duty of the College cook to throw a pancake, to be scrambled for by the boys and presented to the Dean.² From this bar—

Glynne
and Wake.

Every one who is acquainted with Westminster School knows that there is a curtain which used to be drawn across the room, to separate the upper school from the lower. A youth happened, by some mischance, to tear the above-mentioned curtain. The severity of the Master [Busby] was too well known for the criminal to expect any pardon for such a fault; so that the boy, who was of a meek temper, was terrified to death at the thoughts of his appearance, when his friend who sat next to him bade him be of good cheer, for that he would take the fault on himself. He kept his word accordingly. As soon as they were grown up to be men, the Civil War broke out,

¹ For the long quarrel between Busby and Bagshawe, see *Narration of the Difference between Mr. Busby and Mr. Bagshawe* (1659); also *Alumni Westmonast.*, p. 125.

² This curious practice is well commemorated in a humorous Greek poem, *Mageiropedomachia*, published in 1864.

in which our two friends took the opposite sides; one of them followed the Parliament, the other the Royal party.

As their tempers were different, the youth who had torn the curtain endeavoured to raise himself on the civil list, and the other, who had borne the blame of it, on the military. The first succeeded so well that he was in a short time made a judge under the Protector. The other was engaged in the unhappy enterprise of Penraddock and Groves in the West. I suppose, sir, I need not acquaint you with the event of that undertaking. Every one knows that the Royal party was routed, and all the heads of them, among whom was the curtain champion, imprisoned at Exeter. It happened to be his friend's lot at the time to go the Western Circuit. The trial of the rebels, as they were then called, was very short, and nothing now remained but to pass sentence on them; when the judge, hearing the name of his old friend, and observing his face more attentively, which he had not seen for many years, asked him if he was not formerly a Westminster scholar. By the answer, he was soon convinced that it was his former generous friend; and, without saying anything more at that time, made the best of his way to London, where, employing all his power and interest with the Protector, he saved his friend from the fate of his unhappy associates.¹

South, who was amongst Busby's scholars, lies by his South. side² in the Chancel. 'I see great talents in that sulky boy,' said Busby, 'and I shall endeavour to bring them out.' Two incidents illustrate the general loyalty of the School, well known through the remark of the Puritan Dean of Christ Church, John Owen: 'It will never be well with the nation 'till Westminster School is suppressed.' One is recorded by the famous Robert. 'On that very day' (says South, in one of his sermons³), 'that black and eternally infamous day of 'the King's murder, I myself heard, and am now a witness,

¹ *Spectator*, No. cccxiii., by Eustace Budgell, a Westminster scholar. See *Alumni Westmonast.*, p. 568. The Royalist was Colonel William Wake, father of Archbishop Wake; the Parliamentary was John Glynn, Sergeant and Peer under Cromwell, ancestor of the Glynnes of Hawarden. He is buried in St. Margaret's Church (*Alumni West.*, p. 569), and his daughter

Ellen in Monk's vault in Henry VII.'s Chapel. (Register.)

² See Chapter IV. p. 293.

³ Sermon xlix. (Bohn's ed.)—The version usually given (*Short's Hist. of Church of England; Alumni West.*, p. 136) is that South himself read the prayers. But this contradicts his own testimony, and, moreover, he was not 'senior' till 1650-51.

Philip
Henry.

‘that the King was publicly prayed for in the School, but an hour or two before his sacred head was struck off.’ The other occurred at the funeral of the Protector. ‘Robert Uvedale, one of the scholars, in his boyish indignation against the usurper, snatched one of the escutcheons from the hearse.’¹ Amidst this fervour of loyalty, it is the more touching to recall the relation between the Royalist pedagogue and his Nonconformist pupil, Philip Henry, as they sit together in the well-known picture in the Hall of Christ Church—the one boy whom he never chastised, but once with the words, ‘And thou, my child;’ whose absence from school he allowed, in order that the young Puritan might attend the daily lecture in the Abbey, between 6 and 8 A.M., and whom he prepared for the Presbyterian celebration of the Sacrament with a care that the boy never forgot. ‘The Lord recompense it a thousandfold into his bosom!’ ‘What a mercy,’ was Henry’s reflection many years after, ‘that at a time when the noise of wars and of trumpets and clattering of arms was heard there . . . that then my lot should be where there was peace and quietness, where the voice of the truth was heard, and where was plenty of Gospel opportunities!’ ‘Prithee, child,’ said Dr. Busby to him, after the Restoration, in what probably was their last interview, ‘who made thee a Nonconformist?’—‘Truly, sir, you made me one, for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming.’²

THE RE-
STORATION.

Heylin.

With the Restoration the Abbey naturally returned to its former state. Dr. Busby was still there, to carry the ampulla of the new Regalia at Charles II.’s coronation, and to escort the King round Dean’s Yard, hat on head, lest the boys should else think there was any greater man in the world than himself. Heylin too came back, now that ‘his two good friends, the House of Commons and the Lord of Lincoln,

¹ *Gent. Mag.* lxii. pt. 1. p. 114.

² Wordsworth’s *Eccl. Biog.* vi. 127, 128, 134.

‘were out of Westminster.’¹ He began again his buildings and his studies; rejoiced that ‘his old bad eyes had seen the ‘King’s return’;² was visited by the Bishops of the new generation as an oracle of old times; and on the night before his last sickness dreamed that he saw ‘his late Majesty’ Charles I., who said to him, ‘Peter, I will have you buried under your ‘seat in church, for you are rarely seen but there or at your ‘study.’ This, with the shock of the accidental burning of his surplice, prepared him for his end; and he died on Ascension Day, 1663, and was buried under his Subdean’s seat, according to his dream and his desire. His monument is not far off, in the North Aisle, with an epitaph by Dean Earle.³

Through the eyes of Pepys we see the gradual transition from Presbyterianism to Anglicanism:—

July 1, 1660.—In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger—but no Common Prayer yet. Pepys’s remarks.

July 15.—In the afternoon to Henry VII.’s Chapel, where I heard a service and a sermon.

Sept. 23.—To the Abbey, where I expected to hear Mr. Baxter or Mr. Rowe preach their farewell sermon, and, in Mr. Symons’s pew. I heard Mr. Rowe. Before sermon I laughed at the reader, who in his prayer desires of God that He would imprint His word on the thumbs of our right hands, and on the right great toes of our right feet. In the midst of the sermon some plaster fell from the top of the Abbey, that made me and all the rest in our pew afraid, and I wished myself out.

Oct. 2.—To the Abbey, to see them at Vespers. There I found but a thin congregation.

Oct. 4.—To Westminster Abbey, where we saw Dr. Frewen translated to the Archbishopric of York. There I saw the Bishops of Winchester [Duppa], Bangor [Roberts], Rochester [Warner], Bath and Wells [Pierce], and Salisbury [Henchman], all in their habits,

¹ Bernard’s *Heylin*, p. 200.

² A record remains, on August 8, 1661, of a Chapter Order for 2,000*l.* to be paid to His Majesty, in the name

of the Dean and Chapter, as a humble testimony of their gratitude for restoring of the Church.

³ Bernard’s *Heylin*, pp. 280, 292.

in Henry VII.'s Chapel. But, Lord ! at their going out, how people did look again at them, as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love and respect !

Oct. 7.—After dinner to the Abbey, where I heard them read the Church Service, but very ridiculously. A poor cold sermon of Dr. Lamb, one of the Prebendaries, came afterwards, and so all ended.

Oct. 27.—To Westminster Abbey, where with much difficulty, going round by the Cloisters, I got in ; this day being a great day, for the consecrating of five bishops, which was done after sermon ; but I could not get into Henry VII.'s Chapel.

Nov. 4.—In the morning to our own church, where Dr. Mills did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer. . . . After dinner . . . to the Abbey, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a cathedral. My wife seemed very pretty to-day, it being the first time I had given her leave to wear a black patch.¹

A Font was then 'newly set up' in the North Transept, where now stands the monument of the Three Captains ; and two young men² were baptised publicly by the Dean, whose baptism had been delayed in the troubled time of the Commonwealth—one of many instances, which are said to have caused the addition to the Prayer Book, in 1662, of a form for the 'Baptism of Persons of Riper Years.'

John Earle, 1660-63 ; died at Oxford, 1666 ; buried in Merton College Chapel.

The successor of Bradshaw in the Deanery was John Earle, author of the 'Microcosm.' He had attended the Royal Family in their exile, and returned with them.³ 'He was 'the man of all the clergy for whom the King had the greatest 'esteem, and in whom he could never hear or see any one 'thing amiss.'⁴ He held the Deanery only two years, before his promotion to the Sees of Worcester and Salisbury.⁵ Dolben followed ; himself a Westminster student of Christ Church, and famous in the Civil Wars for his valour at Marston Moor and at York, and for his keeping up the

John Dolben, 1663-83.

¹ Pepys's *Diary*, i. 110-150.

² Paul Thorndyke, aged about 20 ; Dullpond, 16, April 18, 1663. (Register.)

³ Clarendon's *Life*, i. 57, 58 ; Pepys, i. 98.

⁴ Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 225 ; Walton's *Lives*, i. 415.

⁵ He died to the 'no great sorrow 'of those who reckoned his death was 'just for labouring against the Five 'Mile Act.' (Calamy's *Baxter*, i. 174.

service of the Church of England, with Fell and Allestree, at Oxford. He was the first Dean who, by a combination afterwards continued through nine successive incumbencies, united the See of Rochester with the Deanery, which gave to that poor and neighbouring bishopric at once an income and a town residence. He held it till his translation to York, where he died. ‘He was an extraordinarily lovely person, though grown too fat; of an open countenance, a lively piercing eye, and a majestic presence. Not any of the Bishops’ Bench, I may say not all of them, had that interest and authority in the House of Lords which he had.’ During the twenty years of his office, ‘he was held in great esteem by the old inhabitants of Westminster,’ and spoken of as ‘a very good Dean.’¹

Died and
buried at
York,
1688.

Both in his time, and in his predecessor’s, much was spent by the Chapter on repairs of the church. Dolben persuaded them, on the day of his instalment, to assign an equal portion of their dividends to this purpose.²

The Plague of 1665 drove the School to Chiswick, where it long left its memorials in the names of the boys written on the walls of the old College House, including Dryden and Montague, whose monuments in the Abbey derive additional interest from their connexion with the School.

The Fire of 1666—which, as we have seen, was described as holding off from the Abbey out of respect to the recent grave of Cowley³—approached sufficiently near to awaken the liveliest alarm. The Dean ‘‘collected his scholars together, ‘‘marching with them on foot to put a stop, if possible, to

¹ Widmore, pp. 162, 164.

² ‘Went to see an organ with Dr. Gibbons, at the Dean of Westminster’s lodgings at the Abbey, the Bishop of Rochester (Dolben), where he lives like a great prelate, his lodgings being very good. I saw his

‘lady, of whom the *Terræ Filius* at Oxford was once so merry, and two children, whereof one a very pretty little boy, like him, so fat and black.’ (Pepys, iv. 51.—February 24, 1667.)

³ See Chapter IV. p. 274.

‘the conflagration. I’ (continues the writer) ‘was a kind of page to him, not being of the number of the King’s scholars. We were employed many hours fetching water from the backside of St. Dunstan’s in the East, where we happily extinguished the fire.’ The next evening ‘young Taswell stood on Westminster Bridge to look at the fire, which was still raging, with his little pocket edition of Terence in his hand, which he could see to read plainly by the light of the burning city.’¹ Charles II. feared for the Abbey even more than for his own Palace of Whitehall.²

Thomas
Sprat,
1683–
1712.

Sprat was the most literary Dean since the time of Andrewes. His eagerness against the memory of Milton in the Abbey, and his liberality towards Dryden, have been already mentioned.³ Another scene within its walls bore witness to the shiftiness of character which he bore in politics. ‘I was at Westminster School’ (says Lord Dartmouth) ‘at the time of James II.’s Declaration of Indulgence, and heard it read in the Abbey. As soon as Bishop Sprat (who was Dean) gave orders for reading it, there was so great a murmur and noise in the Church, that nobody could hear him; but before he had finished, there was none left but a few Prebends in their stalls, the choristers, and the Westminster scholars. The Bishop could hardly hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling, and everybody looked under a strange consternation.’⁴ He died in his palace at Bromley—where was laid the Flowerpot Conspiracy against him—but was buried in the Abbey in the Chapel of St. Nicholas. ‘The monument was afterwards moved, for the sake of greater publicity, to its present position in the Nave.’⁵ In his time began the expensive repairs⁶ which

May 20,
1688.

¹ *Blackwood’s Mag.* vol. c. p. 71.

² Clarendon’s *Life*, iii. 91.

³ See Chapter IV.

⁴ Note in Burnet’s *Own Time*, i. 218.

⁵ Widmore, p. 160.

⁶ See the MS. account in Gough’s MS. in the Bodleian. (Neale, i. 179.) In 1694 a fire in the Cloisters burnt the MSS. in Williams’s Library. (Widmore, p. 164.) The Altarpiece, once

were carried on for many years under Sir Christopher Wren, with the help of a Parliamentary grant from the duty on coal, on the motion of Montague Earl of Halifax, once a scholar at Westminster—‘a kind and generous thing in that noble person thus to remember the place of his education.’¹

We gain a glimpse into the Precincts through John North, Master of Trinity, who obtained a stall at Westminster—

John
North,
1697,
Preben-
dary.

which also suited him well because there was a house, and accommodations for living in town, and the content and joy he conceived in being a member of so considerable a body of learned men, and dignified in the Church, as the body of Prebend; were—absolutely unlike an inferior college in the university. Here was no faction, division, or uneasiness, but, as becoming persons learned and wise, they lived truly as brethren, quarrelling being never found but among fools or knaves. He used to deplore the bad condition of that collegiate church, which to support was as much as they were able to do. It was an extensive and industrious managery to carry on the repairs. And of later time so much hath been laid out that way as would have rebuilt some part of it. This residence was one of his retreats, where he found some ease and comfort in his deplorable weakness.²

We have now arrived at the name which, perhaps, next after Williams, occupies the largest space in connexion with the Abbey. We have already, in the account of the Monuments of this period, observed the constant intervention of Atterbury’s influence.³ We must here touch on his closer associations with the Abbey and his office. He was a Westminster scholar, and Westminster student at Christ Church, so that he was no stranger to the place to which, in later life, he was so deeply attached. How from the Deanery he corresponded with Pope, and Swift, and Gay we have already seen.⁴

Francis
Atterbury,
1712–23.

at Whitehall, and then at Hampton Court, was then, through the influence of Lord Godolphin, given by Queen Anne to the Abbey. (See Neale, ii. 38; Plate xlii.)

¹ Widmore, p. 165.

² North, iii. 325.

³ Chapter IV.

⁴ Ibid.

The Elec-
tions.

There was something august and awful in the Westminster elections, to see three such great men presiding—Bishop Atterbury as Dean of Westminster, Bishop Smalridge as Dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Bentley as Master of Trinity; and ‘as iron ‘sharpeneth iron,’ so these three, by their wit, learning, and liberal conversation, whetted and sharpened one another.¹

He plunged, with all his ardour, into all the antiquarian questions which his office revived. ‘Notwithstanding that, ‘when he first was obliged to search into the Westminster ‘Archives, such employment was very dry and irksome to ‘him, he at last took an inordinate pleasure in it, and ‘preferred it even to Virgil and Cicero.’²

His
preaching.

His sermons in Westminster were long remembered:—

The Dean we heard the other day together is an orator. He has so much regard to his congregation, that he commits to his memory what he is to say to them; and has so soft and graceful a behaviour, that it must attract your attention. His person, it is to be confessed, is no small recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not losing that advantage, and adding to the propriety of speech (which might pass the criticism of Longinus) an action which would have been approved by Demosthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has many of his audience who could not be intelligent hearers of his discourse, were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is used with the most exact and honest skill; he never attempts your passions, until he has convinced your reason. All the objections which he can form, are laid open and dispersed, before he uses the least vehemence in his sermon; but when he thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart; and never pretends to show the beauty of holiness, until he hath convinced you of the truth of it.³

His interest in the School has been commemorated in a memorial familiar to every Westminster scholar. Down to his time the Dormitory of the School had been, as we have

¹ *Life of Bishop Newton.*

² *Spectator*, No. 447; *Letters*, ii. 157.

³ *Tatler*, vol. ii. (No. 66), p. 116. The sermons on Matt. vi. 34, Acts

xxvi. 26, 1 Pet. ii. 21, Acts i. 3, Mark xvi. 20, were preached ‘at Westminster Abbey.’ (*Sermons*, ii. 265; iii. 3–221.)

seen, in the old Granary of the Convent, on the west side of Dean's Yard. The wear-and-tear of four centuries, which included the rough usage of many generations of schoolboys, had rendered this venerable building quite unfit for its purposes. The gaping roof and broken windows, which freely admitted rain and snow, wind and sun; the beams, cracked and hung with cobwebs; the cavernous walls, with many a gash inflicted by youthful Dukes and Earls in their boyish days; the chairs, scorched by many a fire, and engraven deep with many a famous name¹—provoked alternately the affection and the derision of Westminster students. At last the day of its doom arrived. Again and again the vigorous Dean raised 1713. the question of its rebuilding in the College Garden. He and his friends in the Chapter urged its 'ruinous condition,' 1718. its 'liability to mob;' the temptations to which, from its situation, the scholars were every day exposed; the 'great noise 'and hurry,' and the 'access of disorderly and tumultuous 'persons.'² The plan was constantly frustrated by the natural reluctance of those Prebendaries whose houses abutted on the garden, and who feared that their privacy would be invaded. Atterbury then took advantage of his seat in the Legislature, to procure an order of the House of Lords, that 'every member of the Chapter, absent or present, should give 'their opinion, either *vivâ voce* or in writing, which place 1721. 'they think the most proper to build a new Dormitory in, 'either the common garden, or where the old Dormitory 'stands.'³ After a debate, which has left the traces of its fierceness in the strongly-expressed opinions of both parties, each doubtless coloured by the local feelings of the combatants, it was carried, by the vote of the Dean, in favour of rebuilding it in the garden. The original plan had been to

The New
Dormitory.

¹ *Iustus Alteri West.*, pp. 45, 280, 281, 282.

² Chapter Book, Jan. 3, 1713; Dec.

18 and Dec. 29, 1718; April 4, 1721; and March 2, 1718(19).

³ *Ibid.* April 4, 1721.

erect it on the eastern side;¹ but it was ultimately placed, where it now stands, on the west. Lord Burlington, the architect, laid the first stone in the very next year; and it proceeded slowly till, in 1730, it was for the first time occupied. One boy—Welbore Ellis, Lord Mendip—slept in both Dormitories.² The old building* remained till 1758.³ The new one became the scene of all the curious customs and legends of the College from that day to this, and, in each successive winter, of the ‘Westminster Play’ of Terence or Plautus.

Gent and
Atterbury.

But, long before the completion of the work, Atterbury had been separated from his beloved haunts. In that separation Westminster bore a large part. The ancient College Hall witnessed a remarkable scene, which may be considered the prelude to it. It is described by an eyewitness, a printer of the time, who had issued a book by a clergyman reflecting on the character of some nobleman:—

The same night, my master hiring a coach, we were driven to Westminster, where we entered into a large sort of monastic building. Soon were we ushered into a spacious hall, where we sate near a large table, covered with an ancient carpet of curious work, and whereon was soon laid a bottle of wine for our entertainment. In a little time we were visited by a grave gentleman in a black lay habit, who entertained us with one pleasant discourse or other. He bid us be secret; ‘for,’ said he, ‘the imprisoned divine does not know who is his defender; if he did, I know his temper: in a sort of transport he would reveal it, and so I should be blamed for my good office; and, whether his intention was designed to show his gratitude, yet, if a man is hurt by a friend, the damage is the same as if done by an enemy; to prevent which is the reason I desire this concealment.’ ‘You need not fear me, sir,’ said my master; ‘and I, good sir,’ added I, ‘you may be less afraid of; for I protest I do not know where I am, much less your person; nor heard where I should be driven, or if I shall not be drove to Jerusalem before I get home again; nay, I shall forget I ever did the job by

¹ Chapter Book, March 3, 1718(19).

² *Alumni West.*, pp. 277, 300; *Lusus West.*, p. 57.

³ See a picture of it, of that date, prefixed to *Alumni Westmonasteriensis*; also in *Gent. Mag.* [Sept. 1815], p. 201.

‘to-morrow, and, consequently, shall never answer any questions about it, if demanded. Yet, sir, I shall secretly remember your generosity, and drink to your health with this brimful glass.’ Thereupon, this set them both a-laughing; and truly I was got merrily tipsy, so merry that I hardly knew how I was driven homewards. For my part, I was ever inclined to secrecy and fidelity; and, therefore, I was nowise inquisitive concerning our hospitable entertainer; yet I thought the imprisoned clergyman was happy, though he knew it not, in having so illustrious a friend, who privately strove for his releasement. But, happening afterwards to behold a state-prisoner in a coach, guarded from Westminster to the Tower, God bless me, thought I, it was no less than the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Atterbury, by whom my master and I had been treated! Then came to my mind his every feature, but then altered through indisposition, and grief for being under royal displeasure. Though I never approved the least thing whereby a man might be attainted, yet I generally had compassion for the unfortunate. I was more confirmed it was he, because I heard some people say at that visit that we were got into Dean’s Yard; and, consequently, it was his house, though I then did not know it; but afterwards learned that the Bishop of Rochester was always Dean of Westminster. I thanked God from my heart, that we had done nothing of offence, at that time, on any political account—a thing that produces such direful consequences.¹

• It was from the Deanery that he prepared to go in lawn-sleeves, on Queen Anne’s death, and proclaim James III. at Charing Cross. It was there also that he was engaged in the plot which led to his fall. The Westminster scholars, as they played and walked in Dean’s Yard, had watched the long and frequent visits of the Earl of Sunderland.² It was there that Dr. Fiddes was generously ‘entertained’ with materials, matter, and method for his ‘Life of Wolsey,’ as their enemies suggested, thus ‘laying a whole plan for forming such a life as might blacken the Reformation, cast lighter colours upon Popery, and even make way for a Popish pretender.’³ It was there also that, in spite of his

Atterbury’s Jacobite plots.

¹ *The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent*, p. 88.

² *Dr. Knight’s Life of Erasmus*; Fiddes’s *Answer to Bfitanvrcus*, 1728.

³ Newton’s *Life*, ii. 20.

protestations, we must believe his conspiracy to have been carried on. 'Is it possible,' he asked, in his defence before the House of Lords, 'that when I was carrying on public buildings of various kinds at Westminster and Bromley, when I was consulting all the books of the Church of Westminster from the foundation . . . that I should at the very time be directing and carrying on a conspiracy? Is it possible that I should hold meetings and consultations to form and foment this conspiracy, and yet nobody living knows *when, where, and with whom* they were held?—that I, who always lived at home, and never (when in the Deanery) stirred out of one room, where I received all comers promiscuously, and denied not myself to any, should have opportunities of enacting such matters?'

Atterbury's
hiding-
place.

There was one answer to these questions, contained in a vague tradition, that behind the wall of that 'one room,' doubtless the Library, there was a secret chamber, in which these consultations might have been held. But, as far back as the memory of the inmates of the Deanery extended, this secret chamber had never been explored;² and it was only in 1864 that, on the removal of a slight partition, there was found a long closet, behind the fireplace, reached by a rude ladder, perfectly dark, and capable of holding eight or ten persons. It had probably been built for this purpose in earlier times, against the outer wall (which still remains intact) of the antechamber to the old Refectory. In this chamber, which may have harboured the conspiracy of Abbot Colchester against Henry IV., it is probable that Fiddes may have been concealed in preparing his 'Life of Wolsey,' and Atterbury in plotting against George I. It was in one of the long days of August, when he had somewhat reluctantly come to

¹ *Letters*, ii. 158.

² The venerable Bishop of St. Asaph, who knew the house well in the time

of his uncle, Dean Ireland, assures me that there was at that time no suspicion of its existence.

London for the funeral of the Duke of Marlborough, that he was sitting in the Deanery in his nightgown, at the hour of 'two in the afternoon'—a very unusual hour, one must suppose, for such a dress—when the Government officers came to arrest him; 'and though they behaved with some respect to him, they suffered the messengers to treat him in a very rough manner—threatening him, if he did not make haste to dress himself, that they would carry him away undrest as he was.'¹ The Westminster election was going on at the time of his trial, and the Westminster scholars came afterwards, as usual, to see 'the Dean'—in the Tower. It was then that he quoted to them the two last lines of his favourite 'Paradise Lost'—

The world is all before me, where to choose
My place of rest—and Providence my guide.²

His last wish, which was denied to him, was to pass through the Abbey and see the great rose window which Dickinson the surveyor had put up, under his direction, in the North Transept.³ His interest in Westminster never flagged during his exile. He still retained his recollections of his enemies in the Chapter, who had in fact revenged themselves on him, after his fall, by reclaiming all the perquisites of George I.'s coronation and of Marlborough's funeral, which their late despotic Dean had carried off.⁴ He was much concerned at the death of his old but ungrateful friend, the Chapter Clerk.⁵ The controversy as to the jurisdiction of the Westminster Burgesses pursued him to Montpellier.⁶ The plans of the Dormitory 'haunted his mind still, and made an impression upon him.'⁷ The verses of the Westminster scholars on the accession of George II. were sent out to him.⁸ His son-in-law,

Arrest of
Atterbury,
August 22,
1722.

His exile,
April,
1723.

¹ *Biog. Brit.* i. 272. See Chapter IV. p. 243.

² See Chapter IV. p. 279.

³ Akermann, ii. 3.

⁴ Chapter Book, Jan. 28, 1723.

⁵ *Letters*, iv. 135, 136.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 202, 211.

⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 214, 221.

⁸ *Ibid.* iv. 219.

Death of
Atterbury,
Feb. 15,
1732.

His
funeral,
May 11,
1732.

Dr. Morrice, long kept the office of High Bailiff.¹ He busied himself, as of old, in the Westminster epitaphs.² When at last he died at Paris, his body was brought, 'on board the 'ship Moore,' from Dieppe, to be interred in the Abbey. The coffin was searched at the Custom House, nominally for lace, really for treasonable papers. The funeral took place at night, in the most private manner. The grave was in the vault which he himself had made, at the extreme west end, 'as far as possible,' as he desired, 'from the Kings and Kaisers' at the eastern extremity. A monument was talked of, but never erected.³ On the urn in the vault are the words: '*In hac urna depositi sunt cineres Francisci Atterbury Episcopi Roffensis.*' He had himself added a political invective, which was not permitted to be inscribed.⁴

The Wes-
leys.

The influences which Atterbury had fostered long lingered in the Precincts. The house of the Under-master is inscribed with the name of Walter Titley, who was preceptor to Atterbury's son in the Deanery at the time of the Bishop's arrest, and who, after many years spent in the diplomatic service at Copenhagen, left 1,000*l.* to the School. Samuel Wesley, elder brother of John and Charles, who inherited his mother's strong Jacobite tendencies, was attracted to a mastership at Westminster by his friendship for Atterbury; and in his house was nurtured his brother Charles, 'the sweet Psalmist' of the Church of those days—who went from thence as a Westminster student to Christ Church.⁵

¹ *Letters*, iv. 270, 296.

² See Chapter IV.

³ *Letters*, i. 485.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 362:—

NATUS MARTII VI. MDCXII.
IN CARCEREM CONJECTUS AUG. XXIV. MDCXXII.
NONO POST MENSE IN JUDICIUM ADDUCTUS
NOVOQUE CRIMINUM ET TESTIUM GENERE
IMPETITUS
ACTA DEIN PER SEPTIDUUM CAUSA,
ET EVERSIS
TUM VIVENTUM TUM MORTUORUM TESTI-
MONIIS,

NE DEESSET LEX, QUA PLECTI POSSET,
LATA EST TANDEM MAI. XXVII. MDCXXIII.
CAVETE POSTERI!
HOC FACINORIS
CONSCIVIT, AGGRESSUS EST, PERPETRAVIT,
EPISCOPORUM PRÆCIPUE SUFFRAGIIS ADJUTUS,
ROBERTUS ISTE WALPOLE
QUEM NULLA NESCIET POSTERITAS.

⁵ Southey's *Life of Wesley*, i. 19.—
A special boarding-house, for the reception of the sons of Nonjuring parents, was kept at that time by a clergyman of the name of Russell.

The name of Atterbury makes it necessary to pause at this point, to sum up the local reminiscences of the ecclesiastical assemblies of the English Church, of which Westminster has been the scene. We have already traced the connexion of St. Catherine's Chapel with 'the Councils of Westminster'—
 of the Abbey itself with the great Elizabethan Conference, and of the Jerusalem Chamber with the meeting of the Presbyterian divines under the Commonwealth. It remains for us to point out the growth of the association which has been gradually formed with the more regular body, known as the 'Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.'

The Con-
vocations
at West-
minster.

The convenience, no doubt, of proximity to the Palace of Westminster, the seat of Parliament, of which the Convocations of Canterbury and York were the supplement, would naturally have pointed to the Abbey. But the Primate doubtless preferred to avoid the question of the exempt jurisdiction of Westminster, and the clergy did not care to be drawn thither either by the Archbishop or the King.¹

Original
seat of
the Con-
vocation
at St.
Paul's.

Accordingly, whilst the Convocation of York has always been assembled in the Chapter House of York Minster, the proper seat of the Convocation of Canterbury is the Chapter House of the Cathedral of St. Paul's. There the Bishops assembled in the raised chamber, and the inferior clergy in the crypt beneath. From this local arrangement has been derived the present names of 'the Upper' and 'Lower House.' There they met throughout the Middle Ages. There the Prolocutor is still elected, and thence the apparitor comes who waits upon them elsewhere.

The change at last arose out of the great feud between the southern and northern Primacies, which had cost Becket his life, and which had caused so many heartburnings at the Coronations, and such violent contentions in St. Catherine's

Transfer-
ence to
Westmin-
ster.

¹ Wake's *State of the Church*, p. 42.

Under
Wolsey,
1523.

Chapel.¹ The transfer of the Convocation from St. Paul's to Westminster is the monument of the one moment of English History when, in the preeminent grandeur of Wolsey, the See of York triumphed over the See of Canterbury. Wolsey, as Legate, convened his own Convocation of York to London;² and in order to vindicate their rights from any jurisdiction of the southern Primate, they met, with the Canterbury Convocation, under his Legatine authority, and also that he might have them nearer to him at his Palace of Whitehall,³ in the neutral and independent ground of the Abbey of Westminster. It was in allusion to this transference, by the intervention of the great Cardinal, that Skelton sang:

Gentle Paul, lay down thy sword,
For Peter of Westminster hath shaved thy beard.⁴

A strong protest was made against the irregularity of the removal; but the convenience being once felt, and the charm once broken, the practice was continued after Wolsey's fall.

Act of Submission,
1529-1532,
in the
Chapter
House.

The Convocation which acknowledged, under the threat of Præmunire, the Royal Supremacy,⁵ was held at Westminster, for the first time, so far as we know, in the ancient Chapter House,⁶ where the Abbot, on bended knees, protested (as the Deans, in a less reverent posture, since) against the intrusion. From that time onwards, the adjournment from St. Paul's to the precincts of Westminster has gradually become fixed, but always on the understanding that 'the Convocation is obliged to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and not to the Archbishop, for their convenient accommodation in that church.'⁷ The history of the Convocations under the

¹ See Chapters II. and IV.—The rivalry between the Sees of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, in like manner, prevented for many years the convocation of any Scottish Councils.

² Wake's *State of the Church*, p. 392, App. p. 317; Joyce's *English Synods*, p. 297.

³ Strype's *E. M.* i. 74-76.

⁴ Skelton's *Poems*.

⁵ Wake, App. pp. 219, 220; *Conc. Magn.* iii. 724, 746, 762.

⁶ See Chapter V. p. 394.

⁷ *Narrative of Proceedings* [1700, 1701], p. 41.

reigns of Edward and Mary is too slight to give us any certain clue to the place of their assembling. But on the accession of Elizabeth, we find that (in 1563) the Bishops met,¹ for the first time, in what afterwards became their usual meeting-place, the Chapel of Henry VII., sometimes 'secretly,' Dean Goodman making the usual protest.² The Lower House, during the same reign, were placed either in a chapel on the south side of the Abbey, apparently the 'Consistory Court,'³ or in the Chapel of St. John and St. Andrew on the north,⁴ which came to be called 'the Convocation House':⁵ 'sitting amongst the tombs,' as on one occasion Fuller describes them, 'as once one of their Prolocutors said of them, *viva cadavera inter mortuos*, as having 'no motion or activity allowed them.'⁶

Under Elizabeth, 1563.

In Henry VII.'s Chapel.

In the Chapels of St. John and St. Andrew, and the Consistory Court.

Of these meetings little beyond mere formal records are preserved. In them, however, were summarily discussed and signed the Thirty-nine Articles of Elizabeth.⁷ The Convocation under James I. met partly at St. Paul's, and partly at Westminster. It would seem, however, that its most important act—the assent to the Canons of 1603—was at St. Paul's.⁸ The first Convocation of whose proceedings we have any distinct account is the unhappy assembly under Charles I., which, by protracting its sittings after the dissolution of the Parliament, and by its hasty and extravagant career, precipitated the fall both of King and Clergy, and provoked the fury of the populace against the Abbey itself. Both Houses met in Henry VII.'s Chapel on the first day of their assembling, and there heard a Latin speech from Laud

The Thirty-nine Articles, Jan. 22—29, 1563

Under Charles I., 1640.

¹ January 9 to April 14, 1563. (Gibson, pp. 150–167.)

² Ibid. p. 150 —He had already made a protest at St. Paul's. (Ibid. p. 147.)

³ Nov. 2, 1586 to March 28, 1590. (Ibid. pp. 245–277.) 'A vestry.' (*Expedient*, p. 11.) The present Baptistry.

⁴ 1588. (Gibson, pp. 264, 265.) 'A little chapel below stairs.' (*Expedient*, p. 11.)

⁵ Burial Register, Nov. 24, 1671.

⁶ Fuller's *Church History*, A.D. 1621.

⁷ Strype's *Parker*, i. 242, 243.

⁸ Strype, iv. 552–554.

of three-quarters of an hour, gravely uttered, 'his eyes oft-times being but one remove from weeping.'¹

Under
Charles II.

There also, after the Restoration, the Convocation met on May 16, 1661, with the usual protest from Dean Earle.² In June they were joined by a deputation from York. Then took place the discussions on the Revised Prayer Book, between the Upper and Lower Houses, which probably sate, as before, in one of the inferior Chapels. But as the Bishops, by meeting in Henry VII.'s Chapel, had led the way thither for the Assembly of Divines, so the Assembly of Divines, by

In the Je-
salem
Chamber.

meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber, led the way thither to the Bishops. In that old monastic parlour the Upper House met, for the first time, on February 22, 1662, and there received the final alterations made by Parliament in the Prayer Book. The attraction was still, as in the time of Henry IV., the greater comfort³ (*pro meliori usu*) and the blazing fire. From 1665 to 1689 formal prorogations were made in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and Convocation did not again assemble till 1689.

Under
William
and Mary.

Even if the precedent of the important Convocation of 1661 had not sufficed for the transfer from St. Paul's to Westminster, the great calamity which had in the interval befallen the ancient place of meeting would have prevented their recurrence to it.⁴ St. Paul's Cathedral was but slowly rising from the ruins of the Fire, and accordingly, not only the meetings for business, but the formal opening of Convocation (at all other times, before and since, confined to St. Paul's) took place at Westminster. A table was placed in the Chapel of Henry VII. Compton was in the chair. On his right and left sate, in their scarlet robes, those Bishops who had taken the oaths to William and Mary. Below the table was assembled the council of Presbyters. Beveridge preached

¹ Fuller's *Church History*, iii. 409.

³ Ibid. p. 225.

² Gibson, pp. 203-243.

⁴ Macaulay, iii. 488.

a Latin sermon, in which he warmly eulogized the existing system, and yet declared himself in favour of a moderate reform. The Lower House then proceeded to elect a Prolocutor, and, in the place of the temperate and consistent Tillotson, chose the fanatical and vacillating Jane. On his presentation to the President, he made his famous speech against all change, concluding with the well-known words—taken from the colours of Compton's regiment of horse—*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. It was on this occasion that the change of place for the Upper House, which had been only temporary in 1662, became permanent. 'It being 'in the midst of winter, and the Bishops being very few,'¹ they accepted of the kindness of the Bishop of Rochester (Dean Sprat) in accommodating them with a good 'room in 'his house, called the Jerusalem Chamber; and left the lower 'clergy to sit in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and saved the trouble 'and charge of erecting seats where they used to meet.²

This change was probably further induced by the experience that some of the Bishops had already had of the Jerusalem Chamber, where they had sate in the Commission for revising the Liturgy for eighteen sessions and six weeks, beginning on October 3, and ending on November 18. The Commission consisted of ten prelates, six deans, and six professors. Amongst them were the distinguished names of Tillotson, Tenison, Burnet, Beveridge, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Fowler, Scott, and Aldrich. Lamplugh, Archbishop of York, presided, in the absence of Sancroft. Sprat, as host, received them; but after the first meeting withdrew, from scruples as to its legality. Their discussions are recorded by Dr. Williams, Bishop of Chichester, who took notes 'every night after he 'went home.' The imperfect acoustics of the Chamber were felt even in that small assembly: 'being at some distance at

Commission for Revision of the Liturgy. Oct. 3—Nov. 9, 1689, in the Jerusalem Chamber.

¹ Gibson, p. 225.

² *Expedient proposed by a Country Divine* (1702), p. 11.

‘first, he heard not the Bishops so well.’ Their work, after lying in the Lambeth Library for two centuries, was printed in 1854 by order of the House of Commons; and remains as the last record of an attempt to improve the Liturgy and reconcile Nonconformists to the National Church. .

‘In this Jerusalem Chamber,’ writes one whose spirit was always fired by the thought of this lost opportunity, ‘any new Commissioners might sit and acknowledge the genius of the place’—‘kindly spirits, whose endeavours to amend our Liturgy might also bring back to the fold such wanderers as may yet have the inclination to join our Establishment.’¹ That wish has not yet been fulfilled.² The Convocation, which in the winter of that year succeeded to the place of the Commissioners,³ was far otherwise employed in the grave disputes between the Upper and Lower House. The few Bishops who met in the Jerusalem Chamber were unable to cope with the determined resistance of the Jacobite majority of the Lower House. ‘The change of place, though merely accidental, made very great alterations in the mode of proceeding in Convocation,’ chiefly turning on the complications which ensued on adjournments being read, as from the Upper House, in Henry VII.’s Chapel, which had now by use become the place of the Lower House. There they refused even to consider the proposals of the Bishops, and were accordingly prorogued till 1700. By that time they were able again to open their meeting in the restored

Disputes
between
the two
Houses.

¹ Hull’s *Church Inquiry*, p. 241 (1827).

² Thus far I had written before July 17, 1867, when another Royal Commission, the first that has been appointed for the Revision of the Prayer Book since the days of Tillotson, assembled in the Jerusalem Chamber to examine the Ritual and Rubric of the Church of England.

May the pious aspiration breathed forty years ago by that venerable friend of Arnold for the happy result of their labours be fulfilled!

³ See *Narrative of Proceedings of Lower House of Convocation*, by Hooper (1701, 1702); *An Expedient*, by Binckes (1701); *The Pretended Expedient*, by Sherlock (1702).

St. Paul's. But their discussions took place, as before, in the Chamber and the Chapel at Westminster. There the Lower House, by continuing their assemblies in the Chapel of Henry VII., as independent of the prorogation of the Bishops, 'inflicted'—say the injured prelates—'the greatest blow to this Church that hath been given to it since the Presbyterian Assembly that sate in Westminster in the late times of confusion.'

A paper, containing a passage defamatory of the Bishops, was by their orders fixed, with a kind of challenge, 'over several doors in Westminster Abbey.'¹ The anteroom² to the Jerusalem Chamber became the scene of angry chafings on the part of the Lower House, who had been made to wait there—according to one version a few minutes, according to another two hours³—whilst the Upper House was discussing their petition; by the insolence of the Upper House according to one version, by the mistake of the doorkeeper according to another. In this small antechamber it was that the Prolocutor met the Bishop of Bangor (Humphrey), 'putting on his habit,' and said to him, 'My Lord of Bangor, did you say in the Upper House that I lied?'⁴ To which the Bishop replied, in some disorder—'I did not say you lied; but I said, or might have said, that you told me a very great untruth.'⁵ In the Chamber itself, the Prolocutor encountered a still more formidable antagonist in Bishop Burnet, fresh from reading the condemnation of his work by the Lower House. 'This is fine indeed; this is according to your usual insolence.' 'Insolence, my Lord!' said the Prolocutor; 'do you give me that word?' 'Yes, insolence!' replied the Bishop; 'you deserve that word, and worse.

June 6,
1702.

¹ *History of Convocation in 1700*, p. 75.

² It is called already 'the Organ Chamber.' (Ibid. p. 169.) On one occasion, March 7, 1701(2), the Lower

House met there. (Cardwell, p. xxxiii.)

³ *History of Convocation in 1700*, p. 110.

⁴ Ibid. p. 166.

⁵ Ibid. p. 204; *Narrative*, pp. 67–69.

Feb. 12,
1702(3).

‘Think what you will of yourself; I know what you are.’¹ Here ‘my Lord’s Grace of Canterbury’ interfered. On another occasion, after the prorogation had been read and signed in the Upper House, as the clergy were departing out of the Jerusalem Chamber, Dr. Atterbury, towards the door, was pushing on some members, and saying, ‘Away to the ‘Lower House!—away to the Lower House!’ The Chancellor of London, turning back to him, asked ‘if he was not ashamed ‘to be always promoting contention and division;’ and they continued their altercation in still stronger language.²

It is not necessary here to follow up those altercations which turned the Chapel of Henry VII. and the Jerusalem Chamber into two hostile camps, with the organ-room for an intermediate arena—the discussion of Dodwell’s work on Baptism, and of Brett’s work on Sacrifice; the condemnation of Bishop Burnet’s ‘Exposition of the Articles,’ and of Bishop Hoadley’s ‘Sermon on the Kingdom of Christ;’ of Whiston’s work on the ‘Apostolical Constitutions;’ of Clarke’s work on the ‘Scriptural Doctrine of the Trinity.’ We can imagine the fierce eloquence of Atterbury in Henry VII.’s Chapel; and in the Jerusalem Chamber the impetuous vehemence of Burnet; the stubborn silence of the ‘old rock,’ Tenison; the conciliatory mildness of Wake. We can see how, when Archbishop Tenison suddenly produced in the Chamber the letter from Queen Anne, reprimanding the Lower House, and enjoining the Archbishop to prorogue them, ‘they ran away indecently towards the door, and ‘were with some difficulty kept in the room till the prorogation was intimated to them.’³ But hardly any permanent fruits remain⁴; and, except in the allusions of innumerable

¹ *History of Convocation in 1700*, p. 208.

² *Biog. Brit.* i. 269.

³ Burnet’s *Own Time*, ii. 413.

⁴ The only permanent result was the ‘Office for Consecrating Churches

‘and Churchyards,’ sanctioned by the Convocation of 1711, in consequence of the building of fifty new churches in London and Westminster. (Burnet’s *Own Time*, ii. 603.)

pamphlets, hardly any record of the disputes, which were for the most part bitter personal recriminations. They were finally prorogued in 1717, and did not meet again for business till our own time. Their formal meetings in the interval, however, seem to have taken place in the Abbey; and on one occasion, in 1742, an attempt was made, by Archdeacon Reynolds to read a paper on Ecclesiastical Courts. But, being of a latitudinarian tendency, it was not acceptable to the House, and it was stopped by the Prolocutor, who 'spoke much of Præmunire, and that word was echoed and 'reverberated from one side of good King Henry's Chapel 'to the other.'¹

The time has not yet come when we can safely enter even on the local associations of the proceedings of the Convocation of Canterbury, revived, under the administration of Lord Aberdeen. Its meetings have taken place, as before, in the precincts of the Abbey. For the first few years, whilst the Bishops continued to meet in the Jerusalem Chamber, the Lower House met in such scanty numbers, as to be accommodated in the organ-room or antechamber. Subsequently the Bishops, after a formal opening in the Jerusalem Chamber, left it to the Lower House, and themselves adjourned to the office of Queen Anne's Bounty in Dean's Yard—leaving the Lower House in the Jerusalem Chamber, as on a former occasion they had left them in Henry VII.'s Chapel. In the Jerusalem Chamber it has sate without interruption, during the few days of its meeting, till 1867, when, in consequence of the remonstrance of some of its members against the heated atmosphere of the Chamber, it adjourned to the College Hall, granted for that purpose by the Dean.

We return to the general history of the Abbey.

The School during this period had reached its highest pitch

¹ *Letter to Dr. Lisle*, p. 11; Reynolds's *Historical Essays*, p. 207.

Knipe,
Head-
master,
1695-
1711.
Freind,
Head-
master,
1711-54;
buried at
Witney.

of fame. Knipe, who had been Second Master under Busby, and succeeded him as Headmaster, after fifty years' labour in the School, was buried in the North Cloisters, and a monument commemorates him in the South Aisle of the Choir. Freind is especially connected with the Abbey by the numerous epitaphs ascribed to him,¹ by his steadfast friendship with Atterbury, and by the celebration which he established of the Westminster dinners on the anniversary of the accession of the Foundress, November 17.

Fire in the
Cloisters,
1731.

It was about this time that one of the houses adjoining to the Cloisters, which in the non-residence of the early Prebendaries had passed into private houses, became the property of the Crown. Ashburnham House—so called from Lord Ashburnham, who occupied it in 1708, and famous for the beautiful staircase constructed by Inigo Jones—had, in 1712, received what was called the King's Library, and in 1730 the Library of Sir Robert Cotton, under the charge of Mr. Bentley. His famous namesake, the future Master of Trinity, happened to be in town at the moment when the house took fire. Dr. Freind, the Headmaster, who came to the rescue, has recorded how he saw a figure issuing from the burning house, into Little Dean's Yard, in his dressing-gown, with a flowing wig on his head, and a huge volume under his arm. It was the great scholar carrying off the Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament. The books were first placed in the Little Cloisters, in the Chamber of the Captain, and in the boarding-house in Little Dean's Yard, and then on the following Monday (October 3, 1731), removed to the Old Dormitory, just vacated, till, in 1757, they reached their present abode in the British Museum.² With this disastrous event ended the last conflict and danger within the Precincts.

Bradford was appointed to succeed Atterbury, whose con-

¹ See Chapter IV.

Monk's Life of Bentley, p. 577;

² Walcott's *Westminster*, p. 90; Nichols's *Anecdotes*, ix. 592.

ciliatory character recommended him as a fit person to end the feuds which, in Atterbury's time, had raged between the Dean and Canons, and did, in fact, tend to assuage the strife between Westminster and Bentley.¹ He was the first Dean of the Order of the Bath. His monument is in the North Transept.

Samuel
Bradford,
1723-31.

Wilcocks, who had been elected Fellow of Magdalen College, in the 'golden election,' with Addison and Boulter, distinguished himself by his courageous devotion to the sick whilst chaplain at Lisbon, and afterwards as preceptor to the Princesses of the Royal Family. He held the Deanery for twenty-five years, during which the heavy repairs of the Abbey were completed. He, 'being a gentleman of taste and judgment, swept away'² two prebendal houses in the Cloisters,³ and two others 'between the north door and west end' of the Nave, as well as two others on the south side of Henry VII.'s Chapel.⁴ Six new elms were planted in Dean's Yard. The Western Towers of Sir Christopher Wren were finished. The Spire was projected.⁵ For the first time there appears a scruple against putting up a monument in Henry VII.'s Chapel, 'as it will necessarily hide or deface some of the curious workmanship thereof.'⁶ It is curious to mark the extreme pride which the aged Dean took in commemorating, as a glory of his office, that which the fastidious taste of our time so largely condemns. On his monument in the Abbey, in his portrait in the Deanery, in the picture of

Joseph
Wilcocks,
1731-56.

1715.

1727.

Oct. 31,
1729.

¹ Monk's *Life of Bentley*, p. 535.

² Gwyn's *London and Westminster*, p. 90.

³ It appears from the Chapter Order, December 2, 1741, that there were two gates opening from one of these houses into the churchyard.

⁴ This was at the suggestion of Parliament. (Chapter Book, March 11, 1731; March 23, 1735; February 17,

1738.) Out of the money granted by Parliament for this purpose was bought Ashburnham House, which was divided into two prebendal houses, to compensate for the loss of the others. (Ibid. Oct. 29, 1739; June 14, 1740.)

⁵ Chapter Book, Feb. 17, 1738.

⁶ Chapter Order, May 1, 1739(40). (Monk's monument.)

the Abbey¹ by Canaletto—which he caused to be painted evidently for their sake—the unfortunate Towers of Wren constantly appear. He was buried under the southern of the two, in a vault made for himself; and his tablet was erected near his grave, by his son Joseph, called by Pope Clement XIII., who knew him well during his residence at Rome, ‘the blessed heretic.’² Both father and son were admirable men. Over the Dean’s bier, in the College Hall, was pronounced the eulogium, ‘*Longum esset persequi sanctissimi senis jucunditatem.*’³ Each took for his motto, in a slightly different form, the expression, ‘Let me do all the good I can.’ The son, whenever he came to London, always went to the Abbey for his first and last visit;⁴ in particular that part of it where his father’s monument stands, and near which the Bishop, with his mother and sister and himself, rest in peace.’

Zachary
Pearce,
1756–69.

Zachary Pearce was one of the numerous fruits of Queen Caroline’s anxiety to promote learning. From the Deanery of Winchester and the See of Bangor, he was advanced by his friend, Lord Bath, to the Deanery of Westminster and the See of Rochester, although with great reluctance on his part, which ultimately issued, after vain attempts to resign the Bishopric, in his retirement from the Deanery, in his seventy-fourth year; and in 1774, in his eighty-fourth year, he died at Bromley, where he is buried, with an inscription dictated by himself, which, after recording his various preferments, concludes by saying, ‘He resigned the Deanery of Westminster, and died in the comfortable hope of (what had been his chief object in life) being promoted to a happier sphere hereafter.’ It agrees with the gentle self-

¹ The bust and the picture of the Abbey were left by Joseph Wilcocks. (Chapter Book, June 27, 1793.)

² Preface to the *Roman Conver-*

sations, p. xli.

³ Walpole, i. 234, 237.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. xxxiv.

complacency of a remark, in answer to an enquiry how he could live with so little sustenance—‘I live upon the recollection of an innocent and well-spent life, which is my only ‘sustenance.’ His disastrous proposals for the Monuments in the Abbey have been already noticed. He is commemorated there by a cenotaph in the Nave. In his time was celebrated the Bicentenary of the Foundation, by a sermon from the Dean in the Choir, and by English verses and an English oration from the Scholars in the Gallery of the College Hall.¹

June 2,
1760.

John Thomas was the third of these octogenarian Deans. He was buried at Bletchingley, but has a monument in the South Aisle of the Nave. His musical skill doubtless contributed to the chief event of his office—the Festival in the Abbey on the centenary of Handel’s birth.²

John
Thomas,
1769–93.
Handel
Festival,
1784.

Sir Joshua Reynolds has immortalised for us the features of the venerable Headmaster, Dr. Nicolls, who occupies the last half of the century. It was under him that Warren Hastings and Elijah Impey were admitted in the same year,³ unconscious of the strange destiny which was afterwards to bring them together in India with three other Westminster scholars, who in that distant land (in which so many of this famous School have made their fame or found their grave), commemorated their recollection of their boyish days in Dean’s Yard and on the Thames by the silver cup presented by them to the Scholars’ Table. With them was another boy, of a gentler nature, on whom also, in spite of himself, Westminster left a deep impression. ‘That I may do justice,’ says the poet Cowper, ‘to the place of my education, I must ‘relate one mark of religious discipline which was observed ‘at Westminster: I mean the pains which Dr. Nicolls took to ‘prepare us for Confirmation. The old man acquitted himself

Nicolls,
Head-
master,
1733–88.

Warren
Hastings.

Cowper.

¹ Chapter Book, June 3, 1760.

² Neale, i.

³ 1747: see *Alumni Westmonast.*, pp. 342, 345.

‘of this duty like one who had a deep sense of its importance ;
 ‘and I believe most of us were struck by his manner and
 ‘affected by his exhortations. Then for the first time I
 ‘attempted to pray in secret.’ Another serious impression is
 still more closely connected with the locality. ‘Crossing St.
 ‘Margaret’s Churchyard late one evening, a glimmering light
 ‘in the midst of it excited his curiosity, and, instead of
 ‘quickenng his speed, he, whistling to keep up his courage
 ‘the while, went to see whence it proceeded. A grave-
 ‘digger was at work there by lantern-light, and, just as
 ‘Cowper came to the spot, he threw up a skull, which struck
 ‘him on the leg. This gave an alarm to his conscience, and
 ‘he reckoned the incident as among the best religious docu-
 ‘ments which he received at Westminster.’¹ Amongst his
 other schoolfellows were Churchill, Lloyd, Coleman, and
 Cumberland (who was in the same house with him), and Lord
 Dartmouth (who sate by him in the sixth form). Doubtless
 much of the severe indignation expressed in the ‘Tirocinium’
 was suggested by his recollection of those days ; but when he
 wished for comfort in looking backward, ‘he sent his imagina-
 ‘tion upon a trip thirty years behind him. She was very
 ‘obedient and very swift of foot ; and at last sat him down
 ‘in the sixth form at Westminster’—‘receiving a silver groat
 ‘for his exercise, and acquiring fame at cricket and foot-
 ‘ball.’²

Samuel
 Horsley,
 1793–
 1802.

The eighteenth century closes with Horsley. He won, it is
 said, his preferment to the Deanery and the See of Rochester
 by a sermon which, as Bishop of St. David’s, he preached in
 the Abbey on January 30, 1793, before the House of Lords,
 on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., and a few
 days after the execution of Louis XVI. It was customary,
 on these and on like occasions, for the House of Lords to

¹ Southey’s *Cowper*, i. 13, 14.

² Ibid. i. 15, 17–20.

attend Divine Service in the Abbey, and for the House of Commons in St. Margaret's Church. The Temporal Peers sate on the south side, with the Lord Chancellor at their head—originally in the pew under Richard II.'s picture, in later times near the Dean's or in the Subdean's stall. The Bishops were on the north side. The solemn occasion, no doubt, of Horsley's sermon added to the grandeur of those sonorous utterances. 'I perfectly recollect,' says an eyewitness, 'his impressive manner, and can fancy that the 'sound still vibrates in my ears.'¹ When he burst into the peroration connecting together the French and English regicides—'O my country! read the horror of thy own deed 'in this recent heightened imitation, and lament and weep 'that this black French treason should have found its ample in that crime of thy unnatural sons!'—the whole of the august assembly rose, and remained standing till the conclusion of the sermon. The Deanery of Westminster fell vacant in that same year, and Horsley received it, with the See of Rochester, till his translation to St. Asaph, in 1802. His despotic utterances remain in the tones of his Chapter Orders—'We, the Dean, do peremptorily command 'and enjoin,' &c. He marked his brief stay in office by special consideration of the interests of the Precentor, Minor Canons, and Lay Clerks of Westminster.² When, four years afterwards, he died at Brighton, 'the Choir of Westminster 'Abbey attended his funeral at Stoke Newington, to testify 'their gratitude.'³

William
Vincent,
1802–16.

Horsley was succeeded by Vincent, whose long connexion with the Abbey, and whose tomb in the South Transept, have been already noticed. His appointment was marked by a

¹ Nichols, iv. 685.

² He wore his red ribbon in every time and place, like Louis XIV., who went to bed in his wig. (*Lambethiana*,

iii. 203.)

³ Nichols, iv. 681.—The address of the Choir is given in *Gent. Mag.*, lxxii. 586.

change in the office, which restored the Deanery of Westminster to its independent position. The See of Rochester, for almost the first time for 140 years, was parted from it. It is said that, shortly after his appointment, he met George III. on the terrace of Windsor Castle. The King expressed his regret at the separation of the two offices. The Dean replied that he was perfectly content. 'If you are satisfied,' said the King, 'I am not. They ought not to have been separated—they ought not to have been separated.' However, they were, happily, never reunited, and Vincent continued his Westminster career in the Deanery till his death. His name is perpetuated in Westminster by the enclosure of the wild moor of Tothill Fields, and its conversion into Vincent Square.¹ From his exertions was obtained the Parliamentary grant for the reparation of the exterior of Henry VII.'s Chapel. His scholars long remembered his swinging pace, his sonorous quotations, and the loud Latin call of *Eloquere, Puer, Eloquere*, with which he ordered the boys to speak out. To Vincent succeeded Ireland, whose benefactions at Oxford will long preserve his name in the recollection of grateful scholars. His grave in the South Transept, with his schoolfellow Gifford, is the last of the tombs of the Deans. Of the remaining four who have filled the office, two are still living as distinguished prelates of the Church. Bishop Turton lies in Kensal Green, and Dean Buckland at Islip; and his bust closes the series of the Decanal Monuments in the South Aisle of the Nave.

John
Ireland,
1816-42.
Thomas
Turton,
1842-45,
died 1864.
Samuel
Wilber-
force, 1845.
William
Buckland,
1845-56.
Richard
Chenevix
Trench,
1856-63.

Decline of
medieval
taste.

We must cast a glance backwards over the history of the whole fabric during this period. The aversion from mediæval architecture and tradition had indeed been allowed here, as elsewhere in Europe, its full scope. Not only in the monuments, as we have already seen, but in the general neglect of the beauty of the fabric, had this sentiment made itself

¹ See *Lusus Westmonast.*, p. 296. For his death see *Ibid.* p. 239.

manifest. The Westminster boys were allowed 'to skip from 'tomb to tomb in the Confessor's Chapel.'¹ There was also 'playing at football, in some of the most curious parts of the 'Abbey, by the men appointed to show them.'² The scenes of the Westminster Play were kept in the Triforium of the South Transept.³ There was a thoroughfare from Poets' Corner to the western door, and to the Cloisters.⁴ The poor of St. Margaret's begged in the Abbey even during Prayers,⁵ as they had, ever since the time of Elizabeth, had their food laid out in the South Transept during the sermon.⁶

The statues over Henry VII.'s Chapel had been taken down, lest they should fall on Members of Parliament going to their duties.⁷ Those which had stood on the north side were stowed away in the roof.⁸ 'Nothing could be more 'stupid' (so it was thought by the best judges), 'than laying 'statues on their backs'—nothing more barbarous and devoid of interest than the Confessor's Chapel.⁹ All manner of proposed changes were under discussion. One was to remove entirely the interesting Chapel of St. Blaize, with the monuments of Argyll, Gay, and Prior.¹⁰ Another was to fill up the intercolumniations in the Nave with monuments. The two first were already occupied by Captain Montague and Captain Harvey.¹¹ The Chapter, in 1706, petitioned Queen Anne for the Altarpiece once in Whitehall Chapel, then at Hampton Court, which later on in the century was condemned as 'un-' 'pardonable, tasteless, and absurd;' and in erecting it, the workmen broke up a large portion of the ancient mosaic pavement,¹²

¹ Malcolm, p. 167.

² *Gent. Mag.* lxxi. pt. ii. pp. 101, 623.

³ Till April 27, 1829, when they caught fire. From this dates the institution of the nightly watchmen. (*Gent. Mag.* pt. i. pp. 363, 460.)

⁴ Malcolm, pp. 163, 167.

⁵ *London Spy*, p. 179.

⁶ Rye's *England as Seen by Fo-*

reigners, p. 132.

⁷ Akermann, ii. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 2. See *Gent. Mag.*, lxxiii. pt. ii. p. 636; Neale, i. 214.

⁹ See the continuator of Stow, in Appendix.

¹⁰ *Gent. Mag.* [1772], xlii. 517.

¹¹ Malcolm, p. 175.

¹² Seymour's *Stow*, ii. 541; Widmore, p. 165.

and, but for the intervention of Harley, Earl of Oxford, would have destroyed the whole. It was then proposed to remove the screen of the Confessor's Chapel, and to carry back the Choir as far as Henry VII.'s Chapel, 'huddling up' the royal monuments to the body of the Church or the 'Transepts.'¹ Threepence was the fee exacted for entrance into the Nave.² The income of the Minor Canons was eked out by the money received by them for showing the Monuments, and by carrying off the candles from the church services. The wax effigies formed a considerable part of the attraction.³

The venerable Sanctuary disappeared in 1750. The Gatehouse, hardly less venerable, but regarded as 'that very 'dismal, horrid gaol,'⁴ fell in 1768, before the indignation of Dr. Johnson, 'against a building so offensive that it ought to 'be pulled down, for it disgraces the present magnificence of 'the capital, and is a continual nuisance to neighbours and 'passengers.'⁵ The Clock-tower of Westminster Palace was a heap of ruins,⁶ and the Great Bell, which used to remind the Judges of Westminster of their duty, was transported to St. Paul's. The mullions of the Cloisters would have perished but for the remonstrance of the inhabitants of Westminster.⁷ We have seen how narrowly the tomb of Aymer de Valence escaped at the erection of Wolfe's monument, and how, at the funeral of the Duchess of Northumberland, the tomb of Philippa, Duchess of York, was removed to make way for the family vault of the Percys, and the screen of the Chapel of St. Edmund, and the canopy of John of Eltham were totally destroyed.⁸

¹ *Gent. Mag.* [1799] pt. ii. p. 115; Chapter Book; Walpole, vi. 223.

² Chapter Book, Jan. 28 and May 6, 1779; *Gent. Mag.* [1801] pt. i. p. 328; [1826] pt. i. p. 368. The fees were abolished in 1822. (*Gent. Mag.* pt. i. p. 306.)

³ See Note on Waxwork Effigies at

end of Chapter IV.

⁴ Gwyn's *London and Westminster*, (1766), p. 90.

⁵ See Chapter Order, March 3, 1708.

⁶ See *London Spy*, p. 187.

⁷ Six windows were already gone. (*Gent. Mag.* [1799] pt. i. p. 447.)

⁸ *Gent. Mag.* [1799] pt. ii. p. 733.

Yet, amidst all this neglect and misuse, as we think it, a feeling for the Abbey more tender, probably, than had existed in the time of its highest splendour and wealth, had been gradually springing up. From the close of the sixteenth century we trace the stream of visitors, which has gone on flowing ever since. 'Already in the reign of Elizabeth and James I., distinguished foreigners were taken 'in gondolas to the beautiful and large Royal Church called Westminster,' and saw the Chapel 'built eighty years ago by King Henry VII.,' the Royal Tombs, the Coronation Stone, the Sword of Edward III., and 'the English ministers in white surplices such as the Papists wear,' singing alternately while the organ played. Camden's printed book on the Monuments was sold by the vergers.¹ It is possible (we can hardly say more), that it was in Westminster² that the youthful Milton—

Gradual
revival of
mediæval
art.

Let his due feet never fail
To walk the studious Cloisters pale,
And love the high-embowed roof,
With antick pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.

It is certain that, in the beginning of the next century, the feeling had generally spread. The coarse 'London Spy', when he was conveyed from the narrow passage which brought him in sight of 'that ancient and renowned structure of the 'Abbey,' to which he was an utter stranger, could not behold the outside of the awful pile without reverence and amazement. 'The whole seemed to want nothing that could render 'it truly venerable.' After going to 'afternoon prayers' in the Choir, 'amongst many others, to pay with reverence that 'duty which becomes a Christian,' and having 'their souls

¹ Ryes's *England as Seen by Foreigners*, pp. 9, 10, 132, 139.

² The choice lies between West-

minster, Old St. Paul's, or King's College, Cambridge.

‘elevated by the divine harmony of the music, far above the common pitch of their devotions,’ they ‘made an entrance into the east end of the Abbey, which was locked, and payed a visit to the venerable shrines and sacred monuments of the dead nobility’; and then ‘ascended some stone steps, which brought them to a Chapel, that looks so far exceeding human excellence, that a man would think it was knit together by the fingers of angels, pursuant to the direction of Omnipotence.’¹ Then follow the well-known testimonies of Addison, Steele, and Goldsmith in its favour. Then arose the decisive verdict from an unexpected quarter. In Horace Walpole the despised mediæval taste found its first powerful patron.

Oh! happy man that shows the tombs, said I, was a favourite quotation of the worldly courtier. ‘I love Westminster Abbey,’ he writes, ‘much more than levées and circles, and—no treason, I hope—fond enough of kings as soon as they have a canopy of stone over them.’ He was consulted by the successive Deans on the changes proposed in the Abbey. He prevented, as we have seen, the destruction of Valence’s tomb, and ‘suggested an octagon canopy of open arches, like Chichester Cross, to be elevated on a flight of steps with the Altar in the middle, and semicircular arcades to join the stalls, so that the Confessor’s Chapel and tomb may be seen through in perspective.’² In the whole building he delighted to see the reproduction of an idea which seemed to have perished. In St. Peter’s at Rome one is convinced that it was built by great princes. In Westminster Abbey one thinks not of the builder; the religion of the place makes the first impression, and, though stripped of its shrines and altars, it is nearer converting one to Popery than all the regular

¹ *London Spy*, p. 178.

² Suggested to Dean Pearce (Wal-

pole’s *Letters*, vi. 223), and to Dean Thomas (*Ibid.* vii. 306).

‘pageantry of Roman domes. One must have taste to be
 ‘sensible of the beauties of Grecian architecture; one only
 ‘wants passion to feel Gothic. Gothic churches infuse
 ‘superstition, Grecian temples admiration. The Papal See
 ‘amassed its wealth by Gothic cathedrals, and displays it in
 ‘Grecian temples.’¹

In the last years of the eighteenth century, John Carter, the author of ‘Ancient Sculptures and Paintings,’ was the Old Mortality of the past glories of Westminster. There is a mixture of pathos and humour in the alternate lamentations over the ‘excrescences which disfigure and destroy the fair
 ‘form of the structure,’ and ‘the heartfelt satisfaction’ with which he hangs over the remnants of antiquity still unchanged. He probably was the first to recognise the singular exemption of the Abbey from the discolouring whitewash which, from the close of the Middle Ages, swept over almost all the great buildings of Europe.² ‘There is one religious
 ‘structure in the kingdom that stands in its original finishing,
 ‘exhibiting all those modest hues that the native appearance
 ‘of the stone so pleasingly bestows. This structure is the
 ‘Abbey Church of Westminster. . . . There I find my happiness the most complete. This Church has not been *white-washed*.’³ In his complaint against the monuments setting at nought the old idea ‘that the statues of the deceased should
 ‘front the east,’⁴ and against the ‘whimsical infatuation of

Carter the antiquary.

¹ Walpole, i. 108.

² See the pompous inscription even over the door of Toledo Cathedral: — ‘In the year 1492, on the 2nd
 ‘day of the month of January, was
 ‘taken Granada, with the whole kingdom, by the King our Lord Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, in the
 ‘Archiepiscopate of the Most Reverend Lord Don Pedro Gonzales de
 ‘Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain. In
 ‘the same year, in the end of July,

‘were driven out all the Jews from
 ‘all the kingdoms of Castille, Arragon, and Sicily. In the following
 ‘year, Ninety-and-three, in the end
 ‘of the month of May, was finished
 ‘this holy church; and for the repairing of all the vaults, and *white-washing*
 ‘and planning, the master of the works was Francis Ferdinand of
 ‘Cuença, Archdeacon of Calatrava.’

³ *Gent. Mag.* [1799], pt. ii. p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 669, 670.

their costumes;'¹ in his ideal of the architect who should 'watch with anxious care the state of the innumerable parts of 'the pile;'² in his protest against Queen Anne's altar-screen, 'as ill-calculated for its place as a mitre in the centre of a salt-cellar;'³ in his enthusiastic visions of 'religious curiosities, 'myriads of burning tapers, clouds of incense, gorgeous vestments, glittering insignia, Scriptural banners'⁴—we see the first rise of that wave of antiquarian, æsthetic, architectural sentiment which has since overspread the whole of Christendom. Its gradual advance may be detected even in the dry records of the Chapter,⁵ and has gone on, with increasing volume, to our own time. The Chapel of Henry VII., on the appeal of Dean Vincent, was repaired by Parliament. Free admission was given to the larger part of the Abbey under Dean Ireland. The Transepts were opened to the Choir under Dean Buckland. The Nave was used for special evening services under Dean Trench. The Reredos, of alabaster and mosaic, was raised under the care of the Subdean (Lord John Thynne), to whose watchful zeal for more than thirty years the Abbey has been so greatly indebted. Future historians must describe the vicissitudes of taste, and the improvements of opportunities, which may mark the concluding years of the nineteenth century.

There are two general reflections which may close this imperfect sketch of the history of Westminster Abbey before and since the Reformation:—

I. It would ill become those who have inherited the

¹ *Gent. Mag.* [1799], pt. ii. p. 1016.

² *Ibid.* p. 735.

³ *Ibid.* p. 736.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 861.

⁵ No monument was to be erected before submitting a draught of it to the Chapter. (Chapter Book, May 16, 1729.) The erection of Monk's monument was at first 'unanimously' pre-

vented, 'as hiding the curious workmanship of Henry VII.'s Chapel.' (*Ibid.* January 1, 1739.) No monument was henceforth to be attached to any of the pillars. (*Ibid.* June 6, 1807.) The shield and saddle of Henry V. were restored to their place over the King's tomb. (*Gent. Mag.* [1799], pt. i. p. 880.)

magnificent pile which has been entrusted to their care to undervalue the grandeur of the age which could have produced an institution capable of such complex development, and a building of such matchless beauty. Here, as often, ‘other men have laboured, and we have entered into their labours.’ But—comparing the Abbots with the Deans and Headmasters of Westminster, the Monks with the Prebendaries, and with the Scholars of the College—the benefits which have been conferred on the literature and the intelligence of England since the Reformation may fairly be weighed in the balance against the architectural prodigies which adorned the ages before. Whilst the dignitaries of the ancient Abbey, as we have seen, hardly left any moral or intellectual mark on their age, there have been those in the catalogue of former Deans, Prebendaries, and Masters—not to speak of innumerable names among the Scholars of Westminster—who will probably never cease to awaken a recollection as long as the English commonwealth lasts. The English and Scottish Confessions of Faith, and the Prayer Book of 1662—which derive their origin, in part at least, from our Precincts—have, with whatever shortcomings, a more enduring and lively existence than any result of the mediæval Councils of Westminster. And if these same Precincts have been disturbed by the personal contests of Williams and Laud, and by the struggles between the two Houses of Convocation, more than an equivalent is found in the violent scenes in St. Catherine’s Chapel, the interminable intrigues attendant on the election of the Abbots, and the deplorable scandals of the Sanctuary. Abbot Feckenham believed that, ‘so long as the fear and dread of the Christian name remained in England, the privilege of sanctuary in Westminster would remain undisturbed.’ We may much more confidently say, that ‘so long as the fear and dread of Christian justice and charity remains,’ those unhappy

Compensation of gifts.

¹ See Appendix to Chapter VI.

privileges will never be restored, either here or anywhere else. These differences, it is true, belong to the general advance of knowledge and power which has pervaded the whole of England since the sixteenth century. But not the less are they witnesses to the value of the Reformation—not the less a compensation for the inevitable loss of those marvellous gifts, which passed away from Europe, Catholic and Protestant alike, with the close of the Middle Ages.

What is yet in store for the Abbey none can say. Much, assuredly, remains to be done to place it on a level with the increasing demands of the human mind, with the changing wants of the English people, with the never-ending ‘enlargement of the Church,’ for which every member of the Chapter is on his installation pledged to labour.¹

It is the natural centre of religious life and truth, if not to the whole metropolis, at least to the city of Westminster. It is the peculiar home of the entire Anglo-Saxon race, on the other side of the Atlantic no less than on this. It is endeared, if not equally yet still in a large measure, both to the conforming and to the nonconforming members of the whole National Church. It combines, beyond any other edifice in the Empire, the glories of Mediæval and of Protestant England. It is of all our purely ecclesiastical institutions the one which most easily lends itself to union and reconciliation, and is with most difficulty turned to party or polemical uses. By its history, and its position, its independence, it thus becomes, in the highest and most comprehensive sense—what it has been well called—‘the Fortress of the Church of England,’² if only its garrison be worthy of it. Whilst Westminster Abbey stands,

¹ ‘That those things which he hath promised, and which his duty requires, he may faithfully perform, to the praise and glory of the name of God, and the enlargement of His Church.’
—*Prayer at the Installation of a Dean*

or a Canon.

² ‘Westminster Abbey is the fortress of the Church of England, and ‘you are its garrison,’ was the saying of a wise foreign King inspecting of the Chapter of Westminster.

the Church of England stands. So long as its stones are not sold to the first chance purchaser—so long as it remains the sanctuary, not of any private sect, but of the English nation—so long the separation between the English State and the English Church will not have been accomplished.

II. This leads us to remember that the one common element which binds together, 'by a natural piety,' the past changes and the future prospects of the Abbey, has been the intention, carried on from its Founder to the present day, that it should be a place dedicated for ever to the worship of God. Whilst the interest in the other events and localities of the building has slackened with the course of time, the interest connected with its sacred services has found expression in all the varying forms of the successive vicissitudes which have passed over the religious mind of England. The history of the 'Altar' of Westminster Abbey is almost the history of the English Church. The Monuments and Chapels have remained comparatively unchanged except by the natural decay of time. The Holy Table and its accompaniments alone have kept pace with the requirements of each succeeding period. The simpler feeling of the early Middle Ages was represented in its original position, from the Confessor

Continuity
of worship.

¹ The Communion Table in Westminster Abbey is the only one in England which has any authoritative claim to the popular name of 'Altar.' The word, which is nowhere so applied in the Liturgy or Articles, is found in the Coronation Service issued by order of the Privy Council. It is probable that the name was merely retained as one of many other antique customs which linger in the Coronation Service after having disappeared everywhere else, and it has never received the sanction either of Parliament or of Convocation. Nevertheless, in no other place, and on no other occasion, could the word be applied so

consistently with the tenor of the Reformed Liturgy as in the Coronations of Westminster Abbey. If an Altar be a place of Sacrifice, and if (as is well known) the only Sacrifices acknowledged in the English Prayer Book are those of praise and thanksgiving, and still more emphatically of human hearts and lives—then there is a certain fitness in this one application of the name of Altar, to signify that place and that time in which are offered up the Sacrifice of the prayers and thanksgivings of the whole English nation, and the Sacrifice of the highest life in this church and realm, to the good of man and the honour of God.

to the Plantagenets, when it stood, as in most churches of that time, at the eastern extremity. In the changes of the thirteenth century, which so deeply affected the whole framework of Christian doctrine, as well as of political and ecclesiastical society, the new veneration for the local saint and for the Virgin Mother, whilst it produced the Lady Chapel and the Confessor's Shrine, thrust forward the High Altar to its present place in front of St. Edward's Chapel. When, in the fifteenth century, reflecting the increasing divisions and narrowing tendencies of Christendom, walls of partition sprang up everywhere across the Churches of the West, the Screen was erected which parted asunder the Altar from the whole eastern portion of the Abbey. At the Reformation, and during the Commonwealth, the wooden moveable table which superseded the massive Altar, and its transference to the body of the Church, reproduced, though by a probably undesigned conformity, the primitive custom, as seen in the older churches of East and West. Its return to its more easterly position marks the triumph of the Laudian usages at the Restoration. Its adornment by the sculptures and marbles of Queen Anne follows the development of classical art in that our Augustan age. The plaster restoration of the original Screen by Bernasconi, in 1824, indicates the first faint rise, as the present splendid work by Mr. Gilbert Scott, in 1867, the full-blown development of the revival of Gothic art in our own time. And now the contrast of its newness and youth with the venerable mouldering forms around it, is but the contrast of the perpetual growth of the soul of religion with the stationary or decaying memories of its external accompaniments. We sometimes think that it is the Transitory alone which changes—the Eternal which stands still. Rather the Transitory stands still, fades, and falls to pieces: the Eternal continues, by changing its form in accordance with the movement of advancing ages.

This religious purpose is shared by the Abbey with the humblest church or chapel in the kingdom. But there is a peculiar charm added to the thought here, by the reflection that on it, as on a thin (at times almost invisible) thread, has hung every other interest which has accumulated round the building. Break that thread; and the whole structure becomes an unmeaning labyrinth. Extinguish that sacred fire; and the arched vaults and soaring pillars would assume the sickly hue of a cold artificial Valhalla, and 'the rows of 'warriors and the walks of kings' would be transformed into the conventional galleries of a lifeless museum.

By the silent nurture of individual souls, which have found rest in its services: by the devotions of those who in former times—it may be in much ignorance—have had their faith kindled by dubious shrine or relic; or, in after-days, caught here the impassioned words of Baxter and Owen; or through succeeding generations have drunk in the strength of our own Liturgy, in the cycle of the Christian year:—by these and such as these, one may almost say, through all the changes of language and government, this giant fabric has been sustained, when the leaders of the ecclesiastical or political world would have let it pass away.

It was the hope of the Founder, and the belief of his age, that on St. Peter's Isle of Thorns was planted a ladder on which angels might be seen ascending and descending from the courts of heaven. What is fantastically expressed in that fond dream has a solid foundation in the brief words in which the most majestic of English divines has described the nature of Christian worship. 'What,' he says, 'is the assembling of the Church to learn, but the receiving of angels descended from above—what to pray, but the sending of angels upwards? His heavenly inspirations and our holy desires are so many angels of intercourse and commerce between God and us. As teaching bringeth us to know

‘that God is our Supreme Truth, so prayer testifieth that we
‘acknowledge Him our Sovereign Good.’¹

Such a description of the purpose of the Abbey, when understood at once in its fulness and simplicity, is, we may humbly trust, not a mere illusion. Not surely in vain did the architects of successive generations raise this consecrated edifice in its vast and delicate proportions, more keenly appreciated in this our day than in any other since it first was built; designed, if ever were any forms on earth, to lift the soul heavenward to things unseen. Not surely in vain has our English language grown to meet the highest ends of devotion with a force which the rude native dialect or barbaric Latin of the Confessor’s age could never attain. Not surely for idle waste has a whole world of sacred music been created, which no ear of Norman or Plantagenet ever heard, nor skill of Saxon harper or Celtic minstrel ever conceived. Not surely for nothing has the knowledge of the will of God almost steadily increased, century by century, through the better understanding of the Bible, of history, and of nature. Not in vain, surely, has the heart of man kept its freshness whilst the world has been waxing old, and the most restless and enquiring intellects clung to the belief that ‘the Everlasting arms are still beneath us,’ and that ‘prayer is the potent inner supplement of noble outward life.’ Here, if anywhere, the Christian worship of England may labour to meet both the strength and the weakness of succeeding ages, to inspire new meaning into ancient forms, and embrace within itself each rising aspiration after Truth and Justice and Love.

So considered, so used, the Abbey of Westminster may become more and more a witness to that one Sovereign Good, to that one Supreme Truth—a shadow of a great rock in a weary land, a haven of rest in this tumultuous world, a break-water for the waves upon waves of human hearts and souls which beat unceasingly around its island shores.

¹ Hooker’s *Eccl. Pol.* v. 23.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

KING JAMES I. TOUCHING A TURK FOR THE
KING'S EVIL.

It would be needless to multiply instances of the practice of touching for the King's Evil. But the accompanying is worth preserving, as showing the general stress on the privilege as late as the time of James I. :—

London, November 7, 1618.

* * * The Turkishe Chiaus (Ambassador), who meanes to have a bout with the Hollanders, being admitted to an audience of His Maj^{tie} the King, as my brother Chance told me, his speech was: 'Sultan 'Osman, my great master, hath sent your Mat^{tie} a thousand commendations and a thousand good wishes, both to y^r Mat^{tie} and the Prince 'y^r sonne; and hath comanded me to present unto you these, his 'Imperial letters.' In fine, after his Mat^{tie} had asked him many questions, the Turke said, his sonne was troubled with a disease in his throat, whereof he understood his Mat^{tie} had the gift of healing. Whereat his Mat^{tie} laughed heartilie, and as the young fellowe came neare him, he stroked him with his hand, first on the one side and then on the other—marry—without Pistole or Gospell.

London, November 14, 1618.

* * * The Turkish Chiaus, on Tuesday last, took leave of the King, and thanked his Majesty for HEALING HIS SON of the King's Evill, which his Mat^{tie} performed with all solemnity at Whitehall, on Thursday was sevensnight.

State Papers, vol. ciii. No. 74 or 94.—Letter from John Pory to Sir Dudley Carleton. (Communicated by the kindness of the Rev. F. K. Herford, Minor Canon of Westminster.)

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

THE CORONATION STONE.

1. *Letter from the late Joseph Robertson, of the Register House, Edinburgh, July 7, 1866.*¹

i. *Progress of the Legend of the Stone of Scone.*—We have a few Scottish Chronicles, written at various periods from the tenth to the middle or latter part of the thirteenth century; but in no one of these is there notice of the Stone of Scone. Their silence is remarkable, as, although they are for the most part brief, they mention things of less mark. They show, at the same time, that at least as early as A.D. 906, Scone was a royal city, the meeting-place of a national council or assembly.²

We have proof of its being the acknowledged capital of the realm in royal charters of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Thus, King Malcolm the Maiden (A.D. 1163–1164), in a charter to the Abbey of Scone, describes it as ‘in principali sede regni nostri fundate.’ So, again, King Robert Bruce (in A.D. 1325), in a charter to the Abbey of Scone, sets forth, as the cause of his bounty to it, ‘pro eo quod Reges regni ibidem dignitates suas recipiunt et honores.’³

¹ I have a melancholy pleasure in printing this letter, which, had its lamented writer lived, would doubtless have received his own valuable corrections. But it may, even in its present rough state, serve to convey an additional proof of the extraordinary fulness and accuracy with which he met every question relating to Scottish history. It was written (apparently *currente calamo*) in answer to some questions arising out of a long conversation, on my first introduction to him in 1864, of which most of the results are incorporated in Chapter III. of this work. Whether his

conclusion in this letter be correct or not, it deserves all the attention which can be given to the statement of one, who seemed to be more impregnated with a knowledge of the Middle Ages, at once critical and profound, than almost any one that I have ever met.

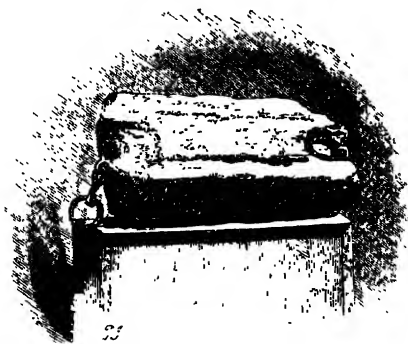
² *Chron. Piet.* in Pinkerton's *Eng. Hist. Scot.* i. 495, 496 (edit. 1814); in T. Innes's *Critical Essay on Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*, ii. 785, 786; in Wilkins's *Conc. Mag. Brit. et Hib.* i. 204.

³ *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, pp. 5, 98.

It is sufficiently certain that, from the beginning of our historical record, about the year 1100, the Scottish Kings were inaugurated at Scone by being placed in the Royal Chair of Stone—‘in Regiam ‘Sedem,’ ‘in Cathedra Regali,’ ‘in Sede Regali,’ ‘super Cathedram ‘Regalem lapideam,’ etc.

But these brief records of inauguration are silent as to the history of the Stone, of which we seem first to hear in the pages of English Chroniclers.

So far as I see at this moment, the oldest writer who tells the legend of the Royal Stone is William of Rishanger, who appears to have lived until after A.D. 1327. Under A.D. 1292, he thus describes the coronation of King John Balliol at Scone:—‘Johannes de ‘Balliolo, in festo Sancti Andreæ sequenti, collocatus super lapidem ‘Regalem, quem Jacob supposuerat capiti suo, dum iret de Bersabee ‘et pergeret Aran, in ecclesia Canonicorum Regularium de Scone ‘solemniter coronatur.’¹ The passage is repeated, word for word, in Thomas Walsingham’s ‘Historia Anglicana,’² and probably in other English Chronicles.



THE CORONATION STONE.

The next writer, in point of antiquity, who speaks of the history of the Stone of Scone, is John of Fordun, a canon of the Church of Aberdeen, who was alive in 1386. He tells two stories about it. One is that Milo, King of the Scots in Spain, gave it to his favourite son, Simon Brek, the first King of the Scots in Ireland; and that Simon Brek placed it in Tara, where it remained until it was brought to Scotland by Fergus, the son of Erch or Ferchard. He

¹ Will. Rishanger's *Chronica et Annales*, p. 135, Lond. 1865. (Master of Rolls' Series.)

² Vol. i., edit. Lond. 1863. (Master of Rolls' Series.)

adds that, according 'to some, Gathelus, the founder of the race of the Scots (so named from his wife Scota, daughter of King Pharaoh), brought the Stone from Egypt to Spain. The other story is, that Simon Brek dragged it up from the bottom of the sea, along with the anchor of his ship, during a gale on the Irish coast. Both stories speak of the Stone as of marble hewn into the form of a chair—'marmoream cathedram arte vetustissima diligentique sculptam 'opifice,'—'in formam cathedræ decusum ex marmore lapidem.'¹

Appended to Fordun is a metrical abbreviation of his work—commonly called the 'Chronicon Rythmicum'—written by an unknown author. This Chronicle tells us that the Stone belonged to Pharaoh of Egypt, and that, after he was drowned in the Red Sea, it was carried by Gathelus to Spain, whence Simon Brek carried it to Ireland, whence Fergus, the son of Erc, carried it to Argyle in Scotland.²

Fordun and his followers believed that Fergus, the son of Erc, reigned in Scotland in the fourth or fifth century before Christ.

The legend, as given by John of Fordun and his abbreviator, appears in a condensed form in the 'Scalacronica,' believed to have been written by Sir Thomas Gray, a knight of Northumberland, who was alive in 1357. He says nothing of the Stone having belonged to Pharaoh of Egypt, but begins its story with Symon Brec, who brought it from Spain (where it had been the Coronation Stone of the Kings of Spain) to Ireland, whence Fergus, son of Erc, carried it to Scotland, placing it in the Abbey of Scone, whence King Edward I. carried it to Westminster, 'ou ore le sege du prestre 'a le haute auter.'³

Andrew of Wyntoun, Prior of St. Serf's Inch in Lochleven, wrote, about the year 1424, a 'Metrical Chronicle of Scotland,' remarkable for the fidelity with which it follows the more ancient records from which it was compiled. His version of the legend of the Stone of Scone is, that a King of Spain, the father of Simon Brek, gave to his son the King's Stone of Spain—'a gret Stane that fore this Kyngis 'sete was made'—and bade him take it to Ireland:—

And wyn that land and occupy,
And halde that Stane perpetually,
And make it his sege Stane
As thai of Spayne did of it ane.

¹ Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, lib. i. cap. xxviii., lib. ii. cap. xii., vol. i. pp. 25, 26, 48 (edit. Edinb. 1759).

² Ibid. ii. 523, 524; T. Innes's

Critical Essay on Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, ii. 807–811.

³ *Scalacronica*, pp. 113, 114.

Symon Brek fulfilled his father's wish; and his descendant in the fifty-fifth degree, Fergus, son of Erc—

Broucht this Stane wytth-in Scotland
First qwhē he come and wane that land,
And fyrst it set in Ilkkolmkil,
And Skeene thare-eftyr it was broucht tyle,

—where it remained till carried away by King Edward I.¹

The next writer who mentions the Stone of Scone is Blind Harry, author of a metrical legend of Sir William Wallace, written about 1490. He repeats more briefly the substance of Wyntoun's version, adding that Kings were crowned on the Stone at Scone for eight hundred years and more before King Edward carried it to Westminster, and concluding with this prophetic couplet—

Quhar that Stayne is, Scotti's suld master be:
God chers the tyme Margretis ayr till see.²

St. Margaret, the progenitress of the Scottish Kings, was regarded as the heir of the English Kings before the Norman Conquest.

John Mair (or Major), a once-famous schoolman, whose 'History of Scotland' was printed at Paris in 1521, says only: 'Cathedram marmoream, in qua Scotorum Reges apud Sconam coronantur, de Hibernia Fergusius secum attulit. Hunc quoque lapidem marmoreum, instar cathedræ compositum, Symonem Brek, cum de Hispania ad Hiberniam profectus est, invenisse referunt. Omen regni futuri id ratus est.'³

Hector Boece, a weak and credulous writer, who published his 'History of Scotland' in 1527, begins his legend of the Stone with Gathelus in Spain, whence it was carried to Ireland, and from Ireland to Scotland, the Scottish Kings being crowned upon it until the days of King Robert Bruce.⁴

I pass by Bellenden's prose translation, and Stewart's metrical translation, of Boece, and close my roll of chroniclers with our great Latinist, Buchanan, who died in 1582, within a few months of the publication of his 'History of Scotland.' Writing of Kenneth Mac-Alpine, who reigned about A.D. 850, he says: 'Ut ad Kennethum revertar, regno (uti scripsimus) armis amplificato et legibus composito, in rebus usque ad superstitionem levibus auctoritatem

¹ Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, book iii. chap. ix. vol. i. pp. 57-59.

² Wallace, book i. lib. cxx.—cxxxiii. pp. 4, 5. (Dr. Jamieson's edit., Edinb. 1820.)

³ *De Gestis Scotorum*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 41 (edit. Edinb. 1740).

⁴ *Scotorum Hist.* lib. i. xiv. pp. 2, 298, 299 (edit. 1575).

‘Regum confirmare laborans, saxum marmoreum (quod ex Hispania in Hiberniam transtulisse dicitur Simon Breccus, in Scotiam Albionensem Fergusius Ferchardi filius, atque in Argathelia collocasse) ex Argathelia Sconam ad Taum amnem translatum Kennethus, et in cathedram ligneum inclusum, ibi posuit. Ea in sede Reges Scotorum et nomen et Regum insignia accipere solebant, usque ad Edwardum I. Anglum,’ etc.¹

I need scarcely say that the descent of the Scots from Scota and Gathelus is a pure fable, invented, it would seem, about A.D. 1296. The Milesian dynasty of Ireland is equally mythical. But Fergus, son of Erc (Fergus Mor Mac-Erca) really lived, and reigned as the first King of the Scots in North Britain, or rather in that corner of it now called Argyll, then called Dalriada. But, instead of reigning before Christ, he reigned about five hundred years after Christ.

ii. *Was the Stone of Scone the Pillow of St. Columba?*—It seems fatal to the claim of the Stone of Scone to have been brought to Scotland by Fergus Mac-Erc about A.D. 500—or to have been used as an inauguration-stone in that age—that in the account of the inauguration of his successor, King Aidan (A.D. 574), the Stone does not appear. The inauguration was celebrated by St. Columba in Iona or Icolmkill, and we have an account of it by his successor in the rule of that island monastery, Cumine the White, who ruled the Abbey from A.D. 657 to his death in A.D. 669.² We have another account of the inauguration, by another Abbot of Iona, Adamnan, who was Abbot from A.D. 679 to his death in A.D. 704. It is equally silent as to the Stone of Fate.³

But both Cumine and Adamnan speak of a Stone at Iona held in great reverence in their time—the Stone Pillow of St. Columba. Cumine, describing the saint’s dying hours, says: ‘Pro pulvillo habebat lapidem, qui usque hodie juxta sepulcrum ejus, quasi quidam titulus monumenti, perdurat.’⁴ This, as I have said, was written between A.D. 657 and A.D. 669. Adamnan, who wrote between A.D. 679 and A.D. 704, repeats Cumine’s words: ‘Pro pulvillo [habebat] lapidem, qui hodieque quasi quidam juxta sepulcrum ejus titulus stat monumenti.’⁵ The Irish became possessed

¹ G. Buchanan *Rer. Scotie Hist.* v. lib. vi. cap. iii. p. 134 (edit. Aberdeen, 1762); *Opera*, i. 93 (edit. 1715).

² See Cumine’s *Vit. Columbæ*, cap. v., in Pinkerton’s *Vit. Antiq. SS. Scotiæ*, p. 30.

³ See Adamnan’s *Vit. S. Columbæ*,

iii. cap. v. pp. 197–201. (Dr. Reeves’s edit. Dublin, 1857.)

⁴ Cumine’s *Vit. Columbæ*, cap. xxi.; Pinkerton’s *Vit. Ant. SS. Scot.* p. 40.

⁵ Adamnan’s *Vit. S. Columbæ*, lib. iii. cap. xxiii. pp. 233, 234.

of many relics of St. Columba, but his Stone Pillow (perhaps as memorable as any) does not appear among them.¹

Now, the contemporary 'Chronicon Pictorum' records that, about the year 850, Kenneth MacAlpine, the first King of the united kingdom of Pictland and Scotland, transported the relics of St. Columba from Iona to a church which he built (upon the banks of the Tay, as we learn from another source²): 'Kina'dius filius Alpini . . . vii^o anno regni, reliquias S. Columbæ transportavit ad ecclesiam quam construxit.'³ The precise spot on the banks of the Tay where Kenneth enshrined the relics of St. Columba is not determined by any contemporary authority, and our antiquaries have debated whether it was Dunkeld or Scone. The two places are only about a dozen miles apart, and it is probable enough that during the tenth century, when the Danes wasted the land, the relics may have been carried from church to church, like St. Cuthbert's. The preponderance of authority seems in favour of Scone as the site of King Kenneth's church—(i.) because we know that the church of Dunkeld was built before his time, by King Constantine, son of Fergus, who died in A.D. 820;⁴ and it is expressly said that the church to which King Kenneth, son of Alpine, translated the relics of St. Columba, was built by him; (ii.) because the only translation from Iona by King Kenneth, of which we hear, was to Scone, not to Dunkeld.⁵

It is immediately after King Kenneth MacAlpine's reign that we find Scone distinguished as a royal city, the place where a national council or assembly met (A.D. 906). •

The first shape in which the legend of the Stone of Scone meets us is as the Pillow of Jacob.⁶ We know, from Genesis xxviii. 12, that when Jacob slept upon his stone pillow he had a dream, in which he saw the angels of God descending and ascending from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven. The primary notion of the Stone of Scone was then as a pillow, connected with a vision of angels passing from heaven to earth. Now St. Columba's pillow of stone, so long preserved as a monument beside his grave, was also connected with visions of angels of heaven. Cumine and Adamnan

¹ See Dr. Reeves's edit. of Adamnan's *Vit. S. Columb.* pp. 312–334.

² Hickeys's *Thesaur.* ii. 117.

³ T. Innes's *Crit. Ess. Anc. Inhab. Scot.* ii. 783; Pinkerton's *Eng. Hist.* Scot. i. 494.

⁴ T. Innes's *Crit. Ess. Anc. Inhab.*

Scot. ii. 800.

⁵ See above the passage quoted from Wyntoun; and H. Boece's *Scot. Hist.* lib. x. fol. 200.

⁶ See the passage quoted above from Rishanger and Walsingham.

tell us how they floated before his eyes in death; how their glory lighted up his church; how their splendour, as they wafted his soul to heaven from Iona, filled all the sky in distant Tyrone and Donegal.¹

We, unfortunately, know scarcely anything of the early history of Scone. But all that appears shows that it was the sanctity of its relics which gave it pre-eminence. See, in the 'Fædera,' how (in A. D. 1306), when King Edward I. wished to obliterate every trace of Scottish sovereignty, he addressed himself to Pope Clement V., who commissioned the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely to make inquiry whether the Abbey of Scone, and the relics of the saints by which it was hallowed, might not be removed to another place;—how the English prelates reported in accordance with the King's wishes;—and how the King lost no time in despatching a messenger to Rome, to urge the transference of the Abbey from the midst of a perverse people to some spot where it would be less dangerous to the King and the realm of England: 'Abbatiam de Scone in Scotia, in medio perversæ positam nationis, per quam nobis et regno vestro nonnulla dispendia provenerunt . . . non sine causa rationabili, ad locum alium tutiorem transferri.'² The King's death, six months afterwards, saved Scone for the time.

We have another token of the ecclesiastical sanctity which attached to Scone, in 'Langtoft's Chronicle,' under the year 1296. He is speaking of King Edward's conquest of Scotland—

Thair Kinges Sect of Scone
Es driven ovir doune
To London i-led
In toun herd I telle,
The Baghel and the Belle,
Ben filehed and fled.³

The 'baghel' (*baculum*, pastoral staff, or crozier) and the bell (a square bell of hammered iron dipped in molten bronze) were peculiarly venerated relics of Celtic Saints, and, associated as they were at Scone with the Sacred Stone, lead me to the conjecture that all were relics of the great Apostle of Pictland—the great Apostle of Scotland until his star paled before that of St. Andrew.

Let me add, that there appears some reason to suppose that there were two stones at Scone: (i.) the Stone of Fate, now at Westminster; (ii.) a Stone Chair, in which it would seem the Stone of Fate was placed when Kings were to be inaugurated.

¹ See Dr. Reeves's edit. of Adamnan's *Vit. S. Columb.* pp. 234–239.

² *Fædera*, i. 988, 1003, 1009.

³ T. Wright's *Political Songs*, p. 307. (Camden Society, 1839.)

Nothing is more certain than that King Edward I. carried the Stone of Fate to Westminster in 1296. Yet, in 1306, we read that King Robert Bruce was placed in the Royal Seat at Scone—‘in Sede positus Regali.’¹

So also, after King Robert II. had been crowned and anointed at Scone (on March 26, 1371), we have record of his sitting next day in the Royal Seat on the Moothill of Scone—‘celebratis itaque coronacione et inunctione . . . in crastino Rege sedente in Sede Regia super montem de Scone vt est moris, conuenerunt et com- paruerunt coram ipso prelati, comites, et barones ac nobiles,’ etc.²

We learn elsewhere that the Moothill was on the north side of the monastery of Scone, outside the churchyard. King Robert III. is described as sitting in his full Parliament (on March 18, 1390–1), ‘apud Sconam Sancti Andree diocesis super montem ex parte boreali monasterii eiusdem extra cymterium.’³

This distinction between the Stone of Fate and the Stone Chair may explain away the difficulties which suggest themselves in the way of applying the descriptions of some of the Scottish Chronicles which I have quoted, to the oblong block of stone now at Westminster.

Perhaps it is worth mentioning, that the last King ever crowned in Scotland—Charles II., in 1651—was crowned at Scone. The son of King James VII., as we call him (the English James II.) meditated coronation in Scotland, in 1715–16, and fixed on Scone as the scene. But the Battle of Sheriffmuir drove him from Scotland before he could fulfil his wish.

2. *Geological Account of the Coronation Stone, by Professor A. C. Ramsay, LL.D., F.R.S., Director of the Geological Survey of England, &c., &c., June 19, 1865.*

At the request of the Dean of Westminster, I joined a party for the purpose of examining the Coronation Stone in Westminster Abbey, in June 1865. The following remarks are the result of my observations:—

The Coronation Stone consists of a dull reddish or purplish sandstone, with a few small embedded pebbles. One of these is of quartz, and two others of a dark material, the nature of which I

¹ J. de Fordun's *Scotichron.* lib. xii. cap. ix. vol. ii. p. 230.

² *Act. Parl. Scot.* i. 181.

³ *Act. Parl. Scot.* i. 216.

was unable to ascertain. They may be Lydian stone. The rock is calcareous, and is of the kind that masons would call 'freestone.' Chisel-marks are visible on one or more of its sides. A little mortar was in the sockets in which the iron rings lie, apparently not of very ancient date. To my eye, the stone appears as if it had originally been prepared for building purposes, but had never been used.

It is very difficult to settle the geological formation to which any far-transported mass of stone may belong, especially when the history of the mass is somewhat vague in its earlier stages. The country around Scone is formed of Old Red Sandstone, and the tints of different portions of that formation are so various, that it is quite possible the Coronation Stone may have been derived from one of its strata. The country round Dunstaffnage also consists of Old Red Sandstone, reddish or purplish in hue, and much of it is conglomerate near Oban, Dunolly, and in other places. In M'Culloch's 'Western Isles of Scotland' there is a note (at page 112, vol. ii.), in which, writing of the Coronation Stone, he says, 'The stone in question is a calcareous sandstone, exactly resembling that which forms the doorway of Dunstaffnage Castle.' There can be little doubt that the Castle was built of the rocks of the neighbourhood, the sandstone strata of which are described, in a letter now before me, by my colleague Mr. Geikie, as 'dull reddish or purplish.' This precisely agrees with the character of the Coronation Stone itself. M'Culloch does not mention how he ascertained that 'the stone in question' (the Coronation Stone itself) is calcareous. His description, however, is correct. When the stone was placed on the table in the Abbey, the lower part of it was swept with a soft brush, and about as many grains of sand were thus detached from the stone as would cover a sixpence. Among these was a minute fragment of the stone itself. These were tested for me in Dr. Percy's laboratory by Mr. Ward, and found to be slightly calcareous. The red colouring-matter is peroxide of iron. There can be no doubt that the stone-dust brushed off the lower surface of the Stone truly represents the matter of which the mass is composed. It was simply loosened by old age; and when examined with the magnifying-glass, showed grains of quartz and a few small scales of mica, precisely similar to those observed in the Stone itself.

On the whole, I incline to think (with M'Culloch) that the doorway of Dunstaffnage Castle may have been derived from the same parent rock, though, as there are plenty of red sandstones in Ireland, (from whence it is said to have been brought), it may be impossible to prove precisely its origin.

It is extremely improbable that the Stone has been derived from any of the rocks of the Hill of Tara, from whence it is said to have been transported to Scotland; for they, on the authority of Mr. Jukes, Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland, are of Carboniferous age, and (as explained in one of the Memoirs of the Irish Survey) do not present the texture or red colour characteristic of the Coronation Stone.

Neither could it have been taken from the rocks of Iona, which, on the authority of my colleague Mr. Geikie, consist of 'a flaggy micaceous grit or gneiss. There is no red sandstone on it, so far as I know; indeed, I am quite sure there is none.'

That it belonged originally to the rocks round Bethel is equally unlikely, since, according to all credible reports, they are formed of strata of limestone.

The rocks of Egypt, as far as I know, consist chiefly of nummulitic limestone, of which the Great Pyramid is built; and though we know of crystalline rocks (such as syenite, &c.) in Egypt, I have never heard of any strata occurring there similar to the red sandstone of the Coronation Stone.

3. *Verses on the Coronation Stone, written in the Reign of James I.*

(From a MS. in the Library of Pembroke College, Oxford.)

DE CATHEDRA MARMOREA WESTMONASTERII, NOBILITATA VATICINIIS
SCOTICIS ET REGUM ANGLICORUM INAUGURATIONIBUS.

Inspice; qua fulges Cathedra tibi fata canuntur,
Digna legi, O fatis digne Jacobe tuis.
Certa fides fatum vatunque, ubicumque locetur,
Hic lapis, ut magnes, te quoque Scote trahit.
Niliace hoc nosti, Brece hoc Iber, hoc et Hiberus
Fargusi; hoc notum Scote Kenethe tibi.
Frustra Edvarde studes divertere marmore fatum;
Ecce redꝑx patrio pondere marmor ovat.
Tuque (Jacob) redux patrio jam marmore ovato,
Et superes annis marmoris æva tuis.
Rex nate O nobis, seclo sed note priori,
Quo nobis cecinit te lapis iste ducem,
Non mirum est læti si nos tibi metra canamus,
Iste canat lætus quum tibi metra lapis.

Jam mihi marmor iners, vel inertī durior isto est
 Marmore, qui lætus non tibi metra canit.
 Marmore in hoc fertur Patriarcha quiesse Jacobus,
 Quum scala Astricolæ ire, redire, videt.
 Id dubium est; verum hoc scio, quod Patriæ-archa Jacobus
 Marmore jam sedet hoc; sed sedet ille vigil.
 Cœlitus (Astricolæ) Primo omina ferte Secunda;
 Illius et Populi vota referte Deo.
 Pulchra Rahel sexta bis prole beato Jacobum;
 Arx eris et Patriæ, dum Patriarcha vir est.
 Quum Rex et Vates idem sis, maxime Regum,
 Quid non speremus, qui tua turba sumus?
 Rex Populusque cluet felix, par quando Davidi,
 Regius es vates, Golia-cida potens.
 Regie at ista legens, Vates O ponito Vatem;
 Non mihi censuræ lina ferenda tuæ.
 Sat mihi nostra malo versu, mens non mala, si sit
 Nota tibi, Angliaci Regie Phœbe soli.

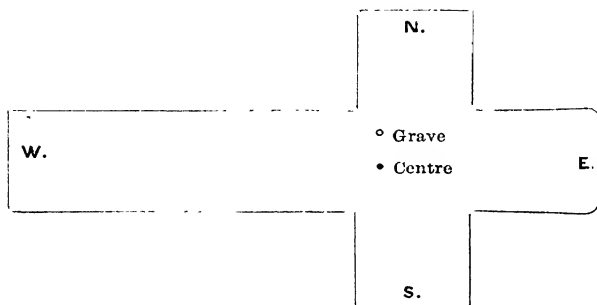
Joh. Barchamus, E Coll. C. C. Art. Magist.

4. The Stone was shown to foreign visitors, in Queen Elizabeth's time, as that on which *Abraham* rested. The Chair, 'in which for 'several centuries both the Kings and Queens have been crowned,' at that time bore an inscription. (Rye's 'Visits of Foreigners to 'England,' pp. 10, 132.) 'Brigantia,' in the Spanish part of the legend, was identified with Corunna, Compostella, or Betunos. (Weever's 'Funeral Monuments,' p. 239.)

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

I. SUPPOSED GRAVE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

[In consequence of a story that a vault, or grave, corresponding to that of Edward the Confessor, had been found, in Dean Buckland's time, under the present Lantern Tower, I subjoin a statement on the subject from one of his sons, who was present at the time. It would appear from this that the grave, as it still contained human bones, could not be the site in question.]



When the old stalls, and wooden 'screens separating the Choir from the Transepts, were removed (about 1848), it was found necessary to lower the old flooring of the Choir, which was nearly three feet above the flooring of the Transepts, there having been three or four steps to ascend to enter the Choir from the Transepts. In clearing away the old pavement, the workmen came upon a grave in which were a skull and other bones, about on a level with the flooring of the Transept. It was a single grave, not a vault.

I remember being present on the spot when the question was discussed whether it would not be necessary to deepen the grave in order that the bones might be lowered (remaining on the same spot), to allow of the levelling of the flooring throughout.

I remember hearing, subsequently, that it had been found unnecessary to lower the grave, as in laying the new pavement there proved to be just sufficient space to allow the newly-laid stones to

rest on the grave without disturbing the bones. If this was the case, the bones will be now lying immediately beneath the paving-stones. This grave was under the lantern, a little on the north side of a point taken as a centre.

I remember the flooring under the lantern being all broken up on this occasion, but have no recollection of any vault being exposed to view.

The flooring within the railing of the Choir is now slightly higher than that of the Transepts, and my impression is that it was left so purposely, to avoid disturbing the bones in the grave. I cannot recollect whether there were any remains of a wooden or stone coffin.

EDWARD BUCKLAND.

36 Lansdowne Road, Notting Hill, W.

July 16. 1866.

II. DECLARATION OF HENRY III.'S INTENTION TO BE BURIED IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

(From the Abbey Archives.)

Henricus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ Dominus Hybernæ Dux Normanniæ Aquitanie et Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et omnibus aliis prelati Angliæ, et omnibus fidelibus suis ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Ad omnium vestrum noticiam volumus pervenire quod cum inter omnia nobis a divina commissa clemencia post animam nostram quam Creatori altissimo commendamus, super electione loci idonei quo post decessum nostrum corpus nostrum conveniencius collocari valeret deliberatione pensata, solitudinem diutinam gereremus, tandem ob reverenciam gloriosissimi Regis Edwardi, cujus corpus in monasterio Westmonasterii requiescit, nostri corporis sepulturam in bona sanitate mentiseciam serenitate et potestate legitima constituti secundum deum et mundum omnibus provide circumspectis, presentibus testibus infrascriptis, finaliter elegimus in eodem, nullis litteris obstantibus super electione loci alterius sepulture confectis. Hiis testibus W. de Cantilupo, Philippo Basset, H. de Vivoñ, B. de Crioyl, Johanne Maunsell Cancellario Londinensi, S. Archidiacono Cestrie, Magistro L. de Sancto Martino, Guidone de Palude. Datæ per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tercio die Octobris anno regni nostri tricesimo.

(Endorsed) Carta Regis Henrici tercii super electione sepulturæ corporis.

(Great Seal appended)

III. WARRANT FOR GIVING THE HEART OF HENRY III. TO THE ABBESS OF FONTEVRAULT.

(From the Abbey Archives.)

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ Dominus Hiberniæ et Dux Aquitaniæ Omnibus ad quos presentes litteræ pervenerint salutem. Quia pro certo intelleximus quod celebris memoriæ Dominus Henricus quondam Rex Angliæ, pater noster, ipso dudum existente apud monasterium Fontis Ebroldi cor suum post ejus decessum eidem monasterio promisit, et dilecta nobis in Christo Abbatissa monasterii predicti, nuper in Angliam accedens, cor illud sibi juxta promissionem predictam petiit liberari, dilectus nobis in Christo Walterus Abbas Westmonasterii cor predictum integrum, in presencia venerabilium patrum A. Dunolmensis et R. Bathonensis et Wellensis Episcoporum et dilectorum et fidelium nostrorum Edmundi fratris nostri et Williclmi de Valencia avunculi nostri et aliorum fidelium nostrorum plurimorum, die Lunæ proxima ante festum beatæ Luciæ virginis anno regni nostri vicesimo in ecclesia Westmonasterii prædictæ Abbatissæ de voluntate et precepto nostro liberavit, ad predictum monasterium Fontis Ebroldi deferendum et sepeliendum in eodem. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Stebenheth xi die Decembris anno regni nostri vicesimo.

(Endorsed) Littera Warrantiæ de corde Regis Henrici
tradita Abbatissæ Fontis Ebroldi.

(Enrolled on the Patent Roll of the year)
(Great Seal appended)

IV. WARRANT FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE BODY OF JOHN OF ELTHAM.

(From the Abbey Archives.)

Edward par la grace de dieu Roi Dangleterre Seignour Dirlande et Ducs Daquitaine, As noz cheres en dieu Abbe et Covent de Westmonster salutz. Nous vous prions chèrement que selonc la esleccion et le devis de nostre treschere dame et miere Isabel Roine Dangleterre, vueillez ordiner et suffrir que le corps de nostre trescher frere Johan jadis Counte de Cornewaill peusse estre remuez et translatez du lieu ou il gist jusques a autre plus covenable place entre les Roials. Faisant toutesfoitz reserver et garder les places plus honourables illoeques pour le gisir et la sepulture de nous et de noz

heirs, selonc ce que reson le voudra droitement demander. Les choses avantdites ne vueilletz lesser en nulle manere
 Donne souz nostre prive seala Brusselles, le xxiiij. jour d'Augst, lan de nostre regne treszime.

(Endorsed) Littera Domini Regis de sepultura sua reservanda, et remocione fratris sui concedenda.

V. (a). DEPOSITIONS OF WITNESSES CONCERNING THE SEPULTURE OF KING HENRY VI.

(From the Abbey Archives.)

Dicta et depositiones testium ex parte Abbatis et Conventus Westmonasterii productorum &c. sequuntur.

John
 Asshby,
 Clerk of
 the King's
 Signet,
 between
 Nov. 1 and
 Feb. 2,
 1460-61.

JOHN ASSHBY one of the clerkys of the Kynges signett of thage of lxvij. sworne deposythe and saithe that a bowte xij. yere before the dethe of Kyng Henry the vjth betwyxt the festys of Alhalownetyde and Candelmas, of the whiche tyme he can no more certenly depose; The seid Kyng Henry the vjth then beyng at this his place of Westminster betwene the howres of vij. and viij. in the evenyng toke with hym Doctor Stanbury that tyme Bysshop of Herford and his confessor, Master Thomas Mannyng his secretary, Mr. John Arundell hys chapeleyn and phesicion, John Nanfan, Sir Richard Tunstall his chambyrleyn, Syr Edmond Mountforde his carver, John Penicoke esquier, and this deponent then also clerke of the signet as he now is. Whiche John Asshby at the commawndement of the forseid Mastyr Mannyng secretary browght with hym penne and enke and went owt of the said place by the posterne to the monastery chirche dore of Westminster, and there met with the seid Kyng Henry at the seid monastery chirche dore, th' Abbot of Westminster that tyme beyng callyd Kyrton and oonly one monke with the saide abbott to this deponent then unknowen, beryng a torche in his hand brennyng. And so the seid Kyng Henry with all other persones above named went into the churche of the said monastery, and so forth to Seint Edwardes Shryne within the same wherunto the said Kyng Henry knelyd downe. And after his devotion doone aroose ageyn, and within a while there was communicacion betwixt the seid Kyng and the other above named whiche myghte be a convenient place for the seid Kyng Henry sepulture. And for the same cause went aboute the same Shryne to devyse for the same. And in that communication it was devisyd by the seid persons that the place wher Quene Alianore lyethe buried betwix the sepulture of King Henry the vth

fader unto Kyng Henry the vjth and Kyng Henry the iij^{de} shulde be a convenient place for the seid sepulture. Wherunto the seid Kyng Henry the vjth shewed his mynde and saide, that it myghte not well be in that place but if it shuld prejudice the body of the Quene that there then lay as it yit dothe. Whiche, as he said he wold in no wyse doo. And alþ it was shewyd to the same Kyng then and there by some of the persons above named whome this deponent more specially remembrythe not now, that a memoriall myghte be made for hyr in some other place of the chirch wherunto the seid Kyng Henry the vjth gave them noone answer. Wherupon it was advysed hym by the seid persons that he shuld goo and see ferther in the seid chirche if any other place myghte be thowghte convenient for his seid sepulture. And so went in to Our Lady Chapelle of the same chirche and ther beheld the tombe of Quene Kateryne modre to the said King Henry the vjth. And ther it was spoken and devysed by the said persones that the seid tombe of Quene Kateryne myghte be removed some dele lower and to be more honorable apparelyd then it was. And after that doone a tombe for the seide Kyng Henry the vjth to be sett betwixt his seid moder's tombe and the aulter of the same Our Lady Chapelle. To the whiche devyse the seid Kyng Henry the vjth at that tyme gave noone answer. For the which cause som of the said persons seide unto the same Kyng in this maner—'Syr this 'is the first tyme that ye have any thyng doone in this mater we 'thynk it best that upon a bettyr deliberacion ye determyne yo' 'mynde therin.' To the which the seid Kyng Henry gave answer thus in effecte—'I holde that wele done.' And so at that tyme the same Kyng and suche other as above be named, except the beforesaide Abbot and his monke whiche went but to the posterne, departed out of the saide monastery in to the place, without any farther conclusyon at that tyme takyn of or uppon the premisses as ferre as this deponent then or there herde or hadde knowlege. Alle whiche premisses this deponent deposythe to be true of his perfyte knowlege, for as he saithe he harde and sawe every thyng as he hath deposyd. Ferther he seithe that after the premisses he harde say of dyvers persons that the seide Kyng Henry was dyvers tymes after the seide tyme in the chirche of the seide monastery for the seide cause. And as he supposythe he hard Mr. Thomas Mannyng so say, how be it he is not clerely remembred whether it were he that so seid Yea or Nay but wele he is remembred that he hathe herde it of diverse persons whose names he is not remembred of. But he herde never of the fulle determynacion of the premisses further then he hathe deposyd.

Thomas
Humfray,
barber of
the Abbot,
Nov. 1,
1457 or
1458.

THOMAS HUMFRAY of thage of lxxviij. yeris, beyng nowe blynde, some tyme barbor and servaunt to Dane Edmunde Kyrton sometyme Abbot of Westminster, and aftyr that serjawnnt of the monastery church of Westminster, whiche office this deponent left by the space of v. yere past forasmuche as he then fyll blynde, sworne deposite and seithe that a bowte the fest of Alhalownetyde ij. or iij. yere nexte before the commyng in of Kyng Edward and the deposicion of Kyng Henry the vjth he was present at Seint Edwardis Shryne in the church of Westminster at the howre of ij. at aftyrnone at whiche tyme the seide Kyng Henry the vjth come thedyr and with hym the Lorde Sudeley, the Lorde Molens whiche then bare the Kynges swerde, Syr Richard Haryngton, Syr Richard Tunstall, and Maister Thomas Mannyng all which persons went up into the Chapelle of Kyng Henry the vth there abydyng and commonyng by the space of an howre and more. And at their commyng downe of the same Chaple mett with the seyde Kyng th' Abbot aforesaid, Dane John Flete, Dane John Ramsay then kepar of the said Shryne monkes of the monastery aforesaid this deponent and other moo. And ther was communicacion had by the Kyng and lordys aforesaide . . s this deponent seith and devyse taken for a convenient place for the sepulture of the seide King Henry the vjth. And in conclusyon it was devysed that the Reliques of the seide church that tyme standing on the northe syde of the forsaid Shrine, adjoynyng to the tombe of King Henry the iij^{de} shuld be removed, and in that place where the seide Reliques stode the sepulture of Kyng Henry the vjth aforesaide shulde be ordeyned. And as this deponent seithe in parelle of his othe he herde the same Kyng Henry hymself then there present say that in that place he wolde be buried. For whiche cause the same Kyng Henry commaunded a mason to be callyd to thentent to marke out that ground. Whereupon by th' advyse of th' Abbot aforesaide oone callyd Thurske, that tyme beyng master-mason in the makyng of the Chapelle of King Henry the vth which mason incontinently come. And than and there he by the commaundement of the saide Kyng Henry the vjth and in his presence with an instrument of iron whiche he browght with hym, markyd out the lengthe and brede of the saide sepulture there to be made in the place aforesaid, the seide Kyng Henry and all other persons aforesaid there beyng present at the markyng of the saide grownde. Whiche done the seide Kyng and lordys departyd. And furthermore this deponent seith that abowghte a fortynyghte aftyr as he now remembrethe the saide Reliques were, by the commaundement of the forsaid Abbot, from the place where they then stood as it

is aforesaid removed unto the place wher they now stondythe and evyr sythence have stonde. And farther this deponent cannot depose.

JAMYS BROMLAY of thage of lx. and more, fawkener and servaunte with the Abbot of Westminster, sworne, deposethe and seithe that before the feld of Northampton* that last was, howe muche before the seide felde he cannot certaynly depose, this deponent was present at aftyr none of the day whiche day he is now not certeynly remembred of, at the Shryne of Seint Edwarde in the monastery church of Westminster, where and whan he sawe Kyng Henry y^e vjth knelyng at the seide Shryne there, saying his devotions by the space of half an howre that tyme, and there being present with hym the Lordys Bechampe and Sudeley, Mr. John Arundell whiche aftyr was Byshop of Chechester, Henry Rosyngton yoman of the Crowne, and one Fasa-kerley yoman of the Crowne and other moo whome this deponent now remembrethe not. And as the saide Kyng Henry hadde fynnysshede for that [ty]me his devotions, he turned hym to the northe parte of the chirche aforesaide, towards the tombes of King Henry the Thyrde and Queen Alynore, and shewyd to the lordys and others aforesayde, that he wold have the Reliques that then ther stood adjoyning to the tombe of the said Kyng Henry the iij^{de} removyd at his cost and that there in the same place where the Reliques stoode he wold lye, saying these wordys 'Forsooth here woll we lye,' poyntyng the place with his staffe whiche than he had in his hande. This deponent saiethe that it happenyd hym ther to be present and the premisses to here and see, by the favor of the forsaide yoman of the Crown, that then there were with whom this deponent as he saiethe was in goode acquayntawnce, whiche sufferd hym to cum in to here and see as he hathe before deposed. He seith furthermoore that within a shorte space afterwarde the forsaide Reliques were removed from the said place unto the place where they now standythe, and as he harde say at the cost and charge of the seide Kyng Henry for thentent aforesaide. And over this this deponent seithe that upon a vj. or vij. daies after that, the Prior of the same monastery that then was named Flete shewed unto Dane Will^{am} Milton then kechener, Dane [blank] Barnell a monke and other dyvers of whom he is not now parfityly remembred, this deponent also then beyng present, that he and dyverss more of his brothern had been with the saide Kyng Henry at the Shryne aforesaide, where he had shewed the seide Prior Fleete and his brethern the place where he wolde lye. And also that the saide Kyng had required hym and his said brethern to testyfy whatsoever shold come of hym hereafter that his wylle was to lye

James
Bromlay,
fulconer
of the
Abbot.

* Fought
July 10,
1460.

in the place aforesaide. And this deponent seithe that the forsaide Prior named Flete shewed the forsaide wordys to the saide monkys this deponent and others aforesaide, he than sitting upon his bedde seke of the gowte.

John
Bothe,
scrivener,
Aug. 31,
1458.

JOHN BOTHE of Westminster skryvenar of thage of lxx. sworne and examyned, deposythe and seithe that in the latter ende of the xxxvj. yere of the regne of Kyng Henry the vjth of tne whiche tyme he cane no more sertaynly depose, he was present in the monastery church of Westminster nygh unto the Shryne of Seint Edward where he sawe Kyng Henry vjth knelyng before the Shryne aforesaide there saying his prayours by the space of an howre, than and there also beyng present with hym John Erle of Shrewesbery, Jamys Erle of Wyltshyre, Raufe Lord Cromwell, and John Brown underthesaurer of Englund than beyng maister unto this deponent, Maisters Thomas Mannyng Penycoke and Trevilyan with dyvers others whose names he cannot calle to mynde at this tyme. And then whan the seide Kyng Henry had done his prayers he callyd unto hym the forsaide Lorde Cromwell seying to hym 'Lend me yo^r staff.' And after he had the saide staffe in his handys he seide to the seide lordys 'Is it not fityng that I shulde have a place to be buryed in 'here nyghe to Seint Edward where my fader and alle my aunceto's 'beth buryed?' Which answerdand said 'Yea.' And than he poynted with the said staff the place the lengithe and the brede of his sepulture to be made there where than the Reliques stode, whiche was on the northe syde of the saide Shryne seying these wordys as this deponent remembyrthe, 'Here me thynketh is a convenient place.' And then the seide Kyng Henry commawnded the said Reliques to be removed frome the place wher they than stode to some other convenient place, to thentent his sepulture myght be made there. Whereupon the saide Reliques within ij. dayes after that were removyed from thens to the place where they now stond on the baksyde of the hyghe aulter. All whiche premisses this deponent deposite to be true of his perfyte knowlege for as he saith he herde and saw every thyng as he hathe deposed. And otherwise this deponent cannot depose.

Sir
William
Stodard,
chantry
priest.

SYR WILLAM STODARD chauntry prest in the Chapell of O^r Lady over the charnell in Powles Churcheyerde, of thage of lxix. sworne and examined, seithe and deposite that Sir Richard Tunstall knyght chambrelayne with Kyng Henry the vjth shewed unto this deponent dyvers tymes before Yorke felde, but in what place he cannot now depose, that the saide Kyng Henry the vjth purposed to be buried by his fadre Kyng Henry the vth within the monastery church of

Westminster, seyyng furthermore that he purposyd to remove a lytyle asyde the tombe of his seide fader to thentente to lye by hym, and other wyse he cannot depose.

JOHN DAWSON dwellyng in the precincte of Westminster, scryvaner of thage of lxiiij. sworne and examynyd deposythe and seythe that he beyng clerke unto oone Thomas Hunt of Westminster whiche that tyme was clerke of the Kynges werkys, saw and redde a wrytyng in paper lying upon a cowntyr in the howse apperteynyng to the offyce of the saide clerke within the palice of Westminster, conteynyng the wylle and mynde of Kyng Henry the vjth in the devysyng of his sepulture, whiche he wolde to be made on the northe syde of the shryne of Seint Edwarde nyghe to his fader Kyng Henry the vth, in the whiche wrytyng was also conteyned the brede and the lengithe of his seide sepulture there to be made bothe by feete and enches, which bylle this deponent as he seith saw and redde in the place aforesaide the xj. or xij. yere of the regne of Kyng Edward the iiijth, whiche bylle from that tyme hederto this deponent never saw ne can depose where hit become.

John
Dawson,
scrivener.

WILLIAM WALLER dwellyng in the parochie of Saint Marteyns in the felde nygh to Westminster, and some tyme servaunte with Dane John Flete late Prio^r of Westminster, of thage of lxxvj. yeres sworne deposythe and seithe that abowte xl. yere past as he is now remembred he was present and saw Kyng Henry the vjth knelyng before the Shryne of Seint Edwarde in the monastery church of Westminster saying his prayers there, then also beyng present M^r Stanbury that tyme Byssshop of Hereforde his confessor, M^r Thomas Mannyng his secretary, Syr Richard Tunstall and Maister Catesby w^h others. And aftyr he had made and done his prayers for that tyme, he callyd unto hym Dane John Flete beyng Prio^r of Westminster and there also beyng present, and askyd of hym the names of dyvers Kynges which lay on the southe syde of the saide Shryne aforesaide, tyll he come to the tombe of his fadre Kyng Henry the vth wher as this deponent than perceyvdy he made his prayers and after that he counseld and comond there with the forsaid persons, but what they seid this deponent that tyme knew not but as he harde say of Dane John Flete then beyng master, to this deponent. The which incon-
tinently after the departure of the said Kyng Henry out of the said monastery church of Westminster, shewyd unto this deponent that the forsaid Kyng Henry the vjth had appoynted and concluded to have his sepulture ordeyned and made betwene the Shryne of Seint Edwarde aforesaide and the tombe of Kyng Henry the iiij^{de} where

William
Waller,
servant to
Prior
Flete,
about
1458.

the Reliques that tyme stode. And sone aftyr that the seide Reliques were removed from that place wher they than stood unto the place wher they now standythe and as this deponent thinkethe for thentent abovesaide. And furthermore this deponent seithe that the saide Dane John Flete then beyng his maister told hym that tyme and dyvers other tymes that the forsaid Kyng Henry the vjth charged the foresaid Dane John Flete his forsaid maister and other moo to bere record, that whatsoever cum of hym it was his wyll to be buried in the place aforesaide where that the Reliques at that tyme stode.

Richard
Herring,
weaver,
Palm
Sunday,
March 29,
1461.

RICHARDE HERYNG dwellyng in Westminster, wever, of thage of lxxvj. sworne and examyned deposithe and seithe in vertu of his othe that he was present in the monastery chirch of Westminster nygh unto the Shryne of Seint Edward there before Palmesonday feld, but how long before he now remembreth not where he sawe whan Kyng Henry the vjth havynge a whight staff in his hande poyntyd with the saide staff towards the place where the Relyques that tyme stode on the northe syde of Seint Edwardys Shryne aforesaid, and herd hym also then saye these wordes—'Forsothe here woll we lye.' Than and there also beyng present the Duke of Bukkingham, Lorde Beaumont, Maister Gurneys beyng chefe clerke to the said Kyng Henry and at that tyme maister to this deponent, and dyvers oder whose names he now remembyr not.

Thomas
Fifelde,
marbler,
Nov. 1.

THOMAS FIFELDE of London marbler of thage of lxxvj. and moore, sworne and examyned deposithe and seithe that the Friday before Allhalowneday next before the fyrst felde of Seint Albones, he was present and saw and hard when Maysters Katermaynes and Marmayne whose names he otherwyse cannot reherse come to the howse of John Essex otherwyse callyd herd marbeler with whom this deponent as he seithe than was apprentysé, which was in Powlys Chirchard of London where the crosse standyth, and desired the seide John to com to Kyng Henry the vjth at that tyme being in his Palace of Westminster, to thentent to make a tombe for hym. Wherupon incontynently the seide John Essex sent for oone Thomas Stephyns copersmyth dwellyng in Gutterlane of London, which seid John Essex and Thomas Stephyns went than forth with the seyd Katermaynes and Marmayne to Westminster, but what they dyd there this deponent cannot depose for he went not thedyr with them. But furthermoore he saith that on the next day folowyng this deponent herde his saide maister John Essex and the forsaid Thomas Stephyns sitting at soper in the howse of the said John Essex, say that they

had bargayned with the seide Kyng Henry the vjth for his tombe to be made, which as they than seyde to this deponent shuld stand at Westminster. And how that they hadde receyved of the saide Kyng Henry for a rewarde or els in party of payment xls. in grotes, of the which xls. they than and there gave to this deponent a groote. But in what place of Westminster the saide tombe shulde stand this deponent harde theym not expresse. And he saithe there was no thyng done to the makynge of the seyde tombe as ferforth as he knewe be cause of the grete trowble that than dyd folowe.

PHYLLYP ILSTOWE of Westminster lavendar of the said monastery, of thage of lxxxx. yeris, in the which office of lavendershippe he hath contynued by the space of xl. yere as he seithe sworne deposite and seithe that aboute xl. yerys past or els moore, he was present whan Kyng Henry the vjth come to Seint Edwardys Shryne beyng within the monastery of Westminster where he made his prayers. And aftyr he had made his prayers there by the space of an howre and moore at the saide Shryne, he arose and shewed Syr Richard Tunstall thane also beyng present where he wold be buryed, and sent for the Abbot of the seide place that tyme beyng whose name was Edmond Kyrton, of whom he demawnded incontynent aftyr his commyng wher he myght have a convenient place to be buryed in. Which Abbot answerd and seide that it was metely for hym to lie in the chapell by his fadre Kyng Henry the vth. Wherunto he answered and said—‘Nay let hym alone he lieth lyke a nobyll ‘prince I wolle not troble hym.’ And therupon the seid Kyng Henry callyd unto hym the forsaid Syr Richard Tunstall, and after hys commyng to hym the said Kyng Henry lened upon his sholdre and askyd of the forsaid abbat (*sic*) Abbat if the Relyques which than stode upon the northsyde of Seint Edwardys Shryne myghte not be removed in to some other place. The which answerd and saide that for his pleasure the saide Reliques shuld shortly be removed in to somme other place. And than incontynently the forsaid Kyng Henry the vjth with his owne feete mett out the length of vij. foote befoore and nyghe the place wher the Reliques than stode. And commawndyd a mason than beyng present callyd Thurske, which was sent for for the same entent but by whom or whose commawndement he now remembyrthe not, to marke oute there the place where he shulde lie, which Thurske at the saide commawndement markyd out there the foresaid place withe an iron pykkes. Which done the said Kyng Henry seid to such as then there were present these wordes—‘Forsoth and forsoth here is a good place for us.’ Than

Philip
Ilstowe,
lavendar.

byng present at the premisses the foresaide Syr Richard Tunstall, Mr Catesbye, Dane Edmund Kyrton, this deponent and many others whose names this deponent now remembreth not. And furthermore he saith that within the space of ij. or iij. dayes after that, the seide Reliques were removed at the saide Kyng Henry's commawndement and cost and sett in the place where they bethe now. And the premisses he deposes of his very knowlege heryng and saying the same.

Dane John
Ramsay,
monk.

DANE JOHN RAMSAY monke of the Monastery of Westminster of thage of iiij^{xx} iij. yeres, sworne deposithe and seithe in parell of his othe, that Kyng Henry the vjth being at Seint Edwardes Shryne in the church of Westminster, commawnde this deponent that tyme beying monke and kepar of the saide Shrine and also of the Reliques there which that tyme stode by the tombe of King Henry the iij^{de}, to remove the forsaide Reliques from that place to thentent he myght have his sepulture made there where they thane stode. And than he said he wolde have his seid sepulture there. Wherupon this deponent at his seide commawndement, in a short space after caused the saide Reliques to be removed and sett there where they bethe now. But whan and how many yeres it is past, or whoo was than present whan the seid Kyng Henry commawndyd this deponent the premisses to doo he now remembreth not. And furthermore he saith in parell of his othe, that he than and dyvers other tymes herd Kyng Henry aforesaid whanne he come to make his devotions to the seide Shryne, say that he wolde be buried where the Reliques stood by Kyng Henry the iij^{de} but how many [yeres] it is agoo or what tyme he now remembrethe not.

James
Fitt,
tailor,
about
1454.

JAMES FITT of London, taylor, of thage of lxxiij. sworne deposithe and seithe that abowte xliij. yere past as he now remembrethe this deponent that tyme dwellyng in the Kynges Strete of Westminster herde sey of oone William Tapser than underkepar of Seint Edwardis Shryne, and of many others than dwellyng within the parissch of Seint Margarete's in Westminster, that Kyng Henry the vjth hadde chosyn his sepulture on the northsyde of Seint Edwardes Shryne where at that tyme the almyer with the Reliques stode. The which Reliques were removed by his commawndement from the place where they stode unto the place where they stonde now, for that entent he myght be buried ther, as it was than commonly saide and spoken by them that dwellyd within the precincte of Westminster and within the parissch of Seint Margaretis of Westminster aforesaide.

V. (b). JUDGMENT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON THE
SEPULTURE OF KING HENRY VI.

(From the Abbey Archives.)

Vicesimo die Februarii anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi tercio-decimo, Regia magestas quandam supplicationem ex parte Abbatis et Conventus Westmonasterii pro corpore beati viri Henrici Sexti in collegio castri de Wyndsores humato et sepulture tradito amovendo et ad Monasterium antedictum deducendo, sue celsitudini ministratam, Domino Cancellario ceterisque sui honorandissimi magni consilii dominis et consiliariis examinandam examinationeque facta referendam. Qua vero supplicatione per dominum Cancellarium et alios dominos et consiliarios supradictos in Camera Stellata Westmonasterii ob eandem causam congregatos humiliter suscepta et intellecta, determinatum erat per eosdem ibidem: Decanum et capitulum collegii antedicti, Abbatemque et Conventum de Cherchesey quorum in ea parte ex causis subscriptis ut dicebatur intererat, evocandos fore ad comparandum in camera supradicta coram consilio antedicto ad diem Lune xxvj^{to}, videlicet diem dicte mensis Februarii, si que in ea parte contra nitionem Abbatis et Conventus Westmonasterii objicere et proponere voluerint, ibidem proposituros et objecturos.

Quo xxvj^{to} die adveniente partibus predictis, Præore videlicet et monacho ballivo Monasterii de Westmonasterio nomine Abbatis et Conventus ibidem, Abbatemque Monasterii de Cherchesey antedicti sua in propria persona, necnon et Christofero Urswyk Decano collegii antedicti, Johanne Seymar et Ricardo Nyk residenciariis ejusdem suis etiam in propriis personis, coram consilio antedicto comparantibus patefactisque eisdem ibidem tenore et effectu supplicationis predictæ instetit. Primo Abbas de Cherchesey antedictus allegando et in scriptis proponendo, predictum corpus sacre memorie Henrici Sexti nuper traditum fuisse sepulture infra monasterium suum, et per Ricardum nuper de facto et non de jure regem Angliæ absque ejus et conventus sui ut asseruit consensu violenter exhumatum et extractum ac abhinc ad collegium antedictum, eo et conventu suo omnino ut asserit reclamantibus et contradicentibus delatum fuisse et esse. Et ea propter ejusdem sancti corporis restitutionem monasterio suo fieri instanter petiit et requisivit. Deinde Decanus et alii, cum eo superius nominati pro jure in hac parte collegii sui antedicti, instantes petitiones nedum ex parte Abbatis et Conventus Westmonasterii verumetiam Abbatis et Conventus de Cherchesey ut prefertur factas frustra et cassas et de jure ut asseruerint nullatenus

1498.
13 Hen.
VII.
Petition of
Abbot and
Convent
of West-
minster to
remove the
body from
Windsor,
referred by
the King
to the
Chancellor
and Privy
Council.

Feb. 26.

Pleas of
the Abbot
of Chert-
sey.

Removed
by Rich-
ard III.
without
the consent
of the
Convent.

Pleas of
the Dean
and Chap-
ter of
Windsor.

1. The Abbot and Convent of Chertsey had consented to the removal, the Abbot having been the first to break the soil.

2. Henry VI. had in his lifetime chosen his place of sepulture at Windsor.

3. Possession.

Pleas of the Abbot of Westminster.

admittendas, immo rejiciendas fuisse et esse pro parte sua proposuerunt allegarunt et petierunt, et hoc ex causis subscriptis. Primo quia Abbas de Cherchesey antedictus et conventus ibidem ad exhumationem devoti corporis antedicti fiendam modo quo facta fuerat consensum pariter et assensum prebuerant per expressum. In tantum quod abbas ut ex eo consensus sui apud exhumationem faciendam in ea parte manifestaretur et omnibus pateret. Primo et ante omnes alios exhumationem antedictam inintentes terram et locum sepulture hujusmodi rumpendo manus suas proprias voluntarie apposuit. Secundo ostendunt quod neque Abbas nec Conventus unius seu alterius monasteriorum antedictorum sit exaudiendus in petitione sua, pro eo ut asserunt quod sacer vir ille Henricus Sextus antedictus dum in humanis egerat sepulturam suam in collegio antedicto fiendam de facto eligerat. Sed de jure cavetur electam sepulturam ceteris omnibus preferendam. Corpus igitur predictum minime jam amoveri, immo ibidem ubi jam humatum existit remanere debere. Tertio ostendunt iidem Decanus et alii supradicti de collegio antedicto quod possessio etiam nulla probata electione sepulture eis sufficeret, et quod jura prohibent in ea parte ne corpora defunctorum tantotiens removeantur quia dicunt Monasterium de Cherchesey antedictum posse probare nullam proprietatem in aut ad corpus antedictum se habuisse aut habere debere. Et propterea si restitutio de corpore predicto dicto Monasterio de Cherchesey fieret ob quampiam coloratum aut apparere titulum probata, postea electione sepulture ut prefertur statim ad restitutionem loco sic electo faciendam iidem Abbas et Conventus cogèrentur. Et sic sequeretur, iterata et multiplex exhumatio corporis defuncti quod de jure dampnatur juxta naturam. Ne corpora de mortuo inserendo, &c.

Hiis actis et declaratis, institerunt consiliarii pro parte Abbatis et Conventus Westmonasterii petentes corpus beatum antedictum exhumari et ad monasterium illud duci, triplici ex ratione. Primo quia beatus vir ille ut asseruerunt locum sepulture sue in monasterio hujusmodi ante mortem suam eligerat et consignaverat. Ad quod probandum se obtulerunt promptis et paratis, ac ad id se admitti instanter expostularunt. Secundo quia dicunt monasterium suum a diu fuisse et esse locum sepulture Regum et majorum dicti Henrici Sexti, ac pro sic vulgariter dicto nominato et reputato palam publice et notorie. Quapropter &c. Tertio petunt corpus sacri viri ratione juris parochialis, asserentes eum dum vixerat fuisse parochianum monasterii antedicti. Et hoc quia fovebat in Westmonasterio antedicto principalem larem et edem palacium Regis dictum ac principale domicilium, ibidemque fuerint coronationes et unctiones

Regum, parlamenta pariter, et consilia pro bono publico Regis et Regni sepiissime ibidem celebrantur.

Premissis per Dominum Cancellarium et alios de consilio domini Regis circumscriptos ad longum auditis, determinatum erat ibidem summe expedire ut argumenta et jura pro singulis partibus antedictis facientia distincte et singillatim per eos et eorum consiliarios redigerentur in scriptis, ac ad secundum diem Marci introducta fore in consilium antedictum, ut et perinde efficacius liqueret de precisa jurium conclusione ac etiam determinatione in premissis. Et partes sponte tunc ibidem assumpserunt ad interim producendum testes. Quilibet pro parte sua.

Quo secundo die Marci adveniente consiliariis circumscriptis loco predicto congregatis coram eisdem, ex parte Abbatis et Conventus de Westmonasterio proposita sunt ea que faciunt ad intencionem suam in quatuor quartenis sive papiris petitumque est per eosdem publicationem depositionum testium ex parte sua productorum et examinatorum in hac parte fieri. Et simili modo pro parte Abbatis et Conventus de Cherchesey propositus est unicus quartenus jura facientia pro parte sua circa premissa continens. Ex parteque Decani et collegii antedictorum nichil in hunc diem est in scriptis propositum sed solomodo pro parte sue petita est publicatio depositionum testium per eos productorum et examinatorum. Quo facto palam et publice ad plenum perlecta fuerunt singula in dictis quartenis sive papiris ex utraque parte exhibitis contenta et hinc inde summa discussa et argumentata. Quibus sic gestis publicatio est facta et dicta testium ex utraque parte productorum fuerunt manifeste etiam perlecta, daturque dies partibus antedictis ad comparandum coram Regia magestate sua in consilio apud Grenewych v^{to} die Marci tunc proximo sequenti. Eoque die adveniente coram domino nostro Rege et aliis consiliariis circumscriptis, comparuerunt singule partes predictae petentes quilibet pro parte sua ut supra per eosdem petitum extiterat, factisque argumentationibus pro unaquaque parte hujusmodi tandem denuo perfecta sunt in presentia magestatis sue dicta et depositiones testium predictorum, quibus unacum dictorum quaternorum sive papirorum contentis per consiliarios domini Regis mature et cum deliberatione visis et intellectis partibus predictis semotis, requisiti sunt per Regiam magestatem Dominus Cancellarius ceterique omnes et singuli consilarii circumscripti in vim juramentorum suorum alias in eorum uniuscujusque dum consiliarius admitteretur, admissione prestitorum de ostendendo ei cum affectione postposita juxta eorum scientias et conscientias quis partium predictorum videretur eis jus ad corpus dicti Henrici Sexti habere. Et finaliter consilarii hujusmodi omnes

March 2.

March 5.

et singuli interrogati mentem suam expresse declararunt dicendo et concludendo in conscientiis suis Monasterium de Westmonasterio predicto clariorem et magis lucidum titulum ad dictum corpus Henrici Sexti eis acquirendum ostendisse, tum ex electione sepulture per eos probata, tum quia ibidem censetur esse locus majorum ejusdem et sepultura Regum. Et dicunt etiam Regiam magestatem antedictam tanquam memorati Henrici Sexti universalem et proximum heredem et ei in universum succedentem ad videndum corpus suum in Westmonasterio tanquam in locum per eum electum poni, et voluntatem suam in ea parte perimpleri de jure teneri. Ad quod faciendum tam Cancellarius quam ceteri circumscripti consiliarii consilia sua distincta in periculum juramentorum suorum ut prefertur Regie celsitudini prestitorum presentibus die et loco dederunt.

Endorsed :

Controversia de sepultura Regis Henrici Sexti inter abbatem Westmonasterii abbatem de Chertsey et Decanum Collegii de Windsor.

V. (c). PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHAPTER OF WINDSOR
RELATIVE TO THE REMOVAL OF THE BODY OF
HENRY VI.

MUNIMENTS OF THE DEAN AND CANONS, WINDSOR.

(Imperfect) *Account of Steward, 13th Year of Henry VII.*

SOLUCIONES FORINCEÆ ET NECESSARIE.

Et in denariis solutis pro feriagio apud Datchet et pro botehire apud London in termino Sancti Hillarii pro Magistro Decano et concilio dicti Collegii pro materia beati Regis Henrici Sexti ad diversos vices &c. 4^s 2^d

Et in denariis solutis Magistro Doctori Wilton et Magistro Doctori Batemanson existentibus de concilio dicti Collegii in le Sterre Chambre pro materia beati Regis Henrici Sexti xiiij^{mo} die Februarii Anno xiiij^{mo} Regis Henrici Septimi videlicet cuilibet eorum vj^s viij^d—summa 13^s 4^d

Et in denariis solutis pro prandio Magistri Decani et aliorum canonicorum cum concilio ejusdem Collegii apud Burgeys Tavern eodem die &c. 4^s 11^d

Et in denariis solutis pro scripcione diversarum copiarum juramenti militum Garterii eodem tempore &c. 20^d

Et in denariis solutis Magistro Doctori Wilton et Magistro Doctori Batemanson existentibus de concilio dicti Collegii in le Sterre Chambre xix^{no} die Februarii anno predicto pro materia predicta cuilibet eorum vj^s viij^d—summa 13^s 4^d

Et in denariis solutis—Sambourne in nomine regardi sibi dati eunto usque Shene pro Magistro Decano Capelle Domini Regis eodem tempore &c. 8^d

Et in denariis solutis Magistro Silvester pro factione [et scriptione *erased*] protestacionis eodem die pro predicta materia &c. 6^s 8^d

Et in denariis solutis alio notario pro conceptione recusacionis et scriptione ejusdem materii eodem die &c. 3^s 4^d

Et in denariis solutis Magistro Doctori Wilton et Magistro Batemanson existentibus de concilio dicti Collegii in le Sterre Chambre xx^{mo} die Februarii anno predicto pro materia predicta cuilibet eorum vj^s viij^d—summa 13^s 4^d

Et in denariis solutis pro prandio Magistri Decani et aliorum de concilio dicti Collegii apud Burgeys Taverne eodem die &c. 6^s 8^d

Et in denariis solutis uni nuncio usque Wyndesore pro regressu Johannis Combe 8^d

Et in denariis solutis Magistro Ymbroke pro factione ij instrumentorum videl't protestacionis et provocacionis pro labore suo ad intimandum [in eadem *erased*] Abbatibus Westm' et Chertesey eodem die &c. 10^s

Et in denariis solutis Magistro Wilton et Magistro Batemanson existentibus de concilio dicti Collegii in le Sterre Chambre die lunæ Carni Privii pro materia predicta cuilibet eorum vj^s viij^d—summa 13^s 4^d

Et in denariis solutis pro prandio Magistri Decani et aliorum de concilio dicti Collegii apud Burgeys Tavern eodem die &c. in grosso &c. 10^s 9^d

Et in denariis solutis pro dietis Magistri Decani et concilii dicti Collegii apud Grenewich et ibidem pernoctancium pro predicta materia primo die Veneris quadragesime &c. 12^s 1^d

Et in denariis solutis Magistro Wilton et Magistro Batemanson eodem die pro materia predicta &c. 13^s 4^d

Et in denariis solutis Magistro Wilton et Magistro Batemanson existentibus de concilio dicti Collegii apud Grenewich coram Domino Rege v^o et vj^{to} die Marcii anno predicto pro eadem materia, cuilibet eorum xij^s iij^d—summa 26^s 8^d

Et in denariis solutis pro dietis Magistri Decani et Concilii dicti Collegii existentium apud Grenewich et ibidem pernoctancium eodem tempore pro predicta materia &c. 16^s 2^d

Et in denariis solutis pro prandio Magistri Decani et aliorum de concilio dicti Collegii veniencium a Grenewych usque London eodem tempore &c. 7^s 10^d

Et in denariis solutis clerico magistri Spencer pro scriptione ij instrumentorum pro eadem materia 20^d

Et in denariis solutis pro expensis Henrici Este existentis in negociis Collegii equitantis a Yerdeley usque London in mense Aprilis et aliorum secum existencium ad perhibendum testimonium de sepultura dicti domini Regis Henrici Sexti ut patet per billam &c. prima vice 11^s 6^d

Et in denariis solutis pro expensis ejusdem Henri Este existentis apud London in mense Maii pro predicta materia examinanda coram domino Episcopo Cantuar' et aliis de Concilio Domini Regis ibidem existentis per xij dies in grosso cum iiij^s viij^d solutis pro conductione unius equi per tempus predictum &c. 16^s 8^d

Et in denariis solutis eidem Henrico in nomine regardi sibi dati pro labore suo &c. eodem tempore &c. 20^s

Et in denariis solutis eidem Henrico in nomine regardi sibi dati pro expensis domorson videlicet equitantis a London usque Yerdeley eodem tempore &c. per mandatum Magistri Decani &c. 10^s

Et in denariis solutis Magistro Wilton et Magistro Batemanson legum doctoribus existencium de concilio dicti Collegii in le Sterre Chambre in termino Pasche anno predicto pro eadem materia, cuilibet eorum vj^s viij^d 13^s 4^d

Et in denariis solutis pro prandio Magistri Decani et aliorum de concilio veniencium a le Sterre Chambre die Sabbati xij^{mo} die Maii cum conductione cimbarum &c. 13^s 7½^d

Et in denariis solutis pro expensis Henrici Este et aliorum secum existencium equitancium a Yerdeley usque London in mense Maii pro predicta materia per mandatum Domini Regis &c. secunda vice &c. 13^s 4^d

Et in denariis solutis pro expensis ejusdem Henrici Este existentis apud London eodem tempore per vij dies pro eadem materia per mandatum dicti Domini Regis &c. in grosso &c. 11^s 8^d

Et in denariis solutis eidem Henrico Este pro expensis domorson secunda vice per mandatum Magistri Decani 10^s

Et in denariis solutis eidem Henrico Este in nomine regardi sibi dati eadem vice pro materia predicta testificanda 20^s

Et in denariis solutis pro botehire eodem termino ad diversas vices infra tempus predictum &c. 21½^d

Et in denariis solutis Magistro Doctori Wilton et Magistro Doctori Batemanson existentibus de concilio dicti Collegii in le Sterre Chambre die Sabbati xij^{mo} die Maii pro materia predicti beati Regis Henrici Sexti, in nomine regardi sibi datis eodem tempore, in grosso &c. 20^s

Et in denariis solutis pro vino pro Magistro Kyngesmyll et M^r
Grevill eodem die apud Seint Johns hedde 5^d

Et in expensis dicti Magistri Senescalli existentis apud London
in mensibus Februarii et Marcii pro certis materiis ejusdem collegii
videlicet principali materia pro defensione cause Sepulture beati
Regis Henrici Sexti ibidem existentis per xxj dies capientis per
diem iiij^s in mensibus Feb et Marc' anno xiiij Regis Henrici vij.
—summa 4^{li} 4^s

Expensæ
Magistri
Senescalli.

Et in denariis solutis pro expensis [dicti Magistri Senescalli]
existentis in negociis Collegii in dicta mense Maii apud London
tam pro predicta materia beati Regis Henrici Sexti quam pro aliis
materiis ejusdem collegii in scaccario et aliis locis infra tempus hujus
computi ibidem existentis per xiv dies, capientis per diem iiij^s.
—summa 56^s

V. (d). THE EXPENSES INCURRED FOR THE REMOVAL OF HENRY VI. FROM WINDSOR TO WESTMINSTER.

(From the Abbey Archives.)

EXTRACT FROM THE ACCOUNT OF JOHN ISLIP, SACRIST OF WESTMINSTER
(16-17 HENRY VII.).

SOLUCIONES FORINCECE.—Et solutis pro removacione corporis Illus-
trissimi Regis Henrici Sexti a Wyndesore usque monasterium Beati
Petri Westm' 500^{li}

V. (e). WORSHIP OF HENRY VI. AT YORK.

A MONITION THAT NO PERSONS SHOULD VENERATE THE STATUE OR IMAGE
OF HENRY, LATELY KING OF ENGLAND IN FACT, BUT NOT BY RIGHT.

Laurence, etc., to our beloved in Christ, Master William Pote-
man, Doctor of Laws, and offical of our Consistorial Court of York,
greeting, etc.—

From every book of law, amongst others, we have learned that
we ought not publicly to reverence any defunct person as a saint,
of however godly life he shall have been approved, or publicly to
make offerings to the same, until the same defunct shall have been
approved by the Church and by the Roman Pontiff, and the name
of the same defunct shall have been inserted in the Catalogue of the
Roman Pontiff. If any person, or persons, shall have presumed to do to
the contrary, let him, or them, be punished according to the Canon in-
stituted, inasmuch as the Church Militant often fails, and has failed.

Nevertheless, some of the faithful in Christ of our diocese of York,
with a knowledge of the Canons aforesaid, the Canons being by

them despised and neglected, have presumed, in no way supported by proper authority, and by the authority of the Church, or of the Roman Pontiff, to venerate the place where the statue or image of Henry the Sixth, once *de facto* King of England, is situate in our Metropolitan Church of York, and publicly to make offerings in the same place, although his body is not buried in that place but elsewhere, in contempt of the Universal Church, and to the dishonouring of our lord Edward the Fourth, King of England, and a pernicious example to others of the faithful in Christ. Wherefore we command strictly encharging you, to the end that you admonish all and singular the Deans of the whole of our diocese of York, in order that the Deans, and each of them, all and singular, in his or their deanery or deaneries, may admonish with effect, whom also we admonish by the tenor of these presents, that they each of them refrain themselves, under penalty of the law, from this kind of reverence of the said place in our aforesaid Metropolitan Church of York. Intimating to all and singular the faithful in Christ of our said diocese, if any one of the same shall have presumed to attempt anything contrary to this present our first mandate, that we shall in such wise punish, that others shall be terrified by the past example from perpetrating the like.

Given etc. at Scroby, 27th October 1479.¹

¹ From the Registry at York, published in the 35th volume of the Surtees Society.—Some of the greatest battles between the rival Houses of York and Lancaster were fought in the county of York, and in no part of England had the struggle excited greater interest. There was one image of Henry VI. at Ripon, and another at Durham. At York he received peculiar honours. The Dean, Richard Andrew, had been his private secretary, and the Minster, therefore, was not long without a memorial of his master. In the rood-screen, which owed its origin to Andrew, there was a statue of King Henry in the last niche (at the south end), and it is probable that this was the image to which the Archbishop refers. Within the memory of man that niche was vacant, and the figure of the King may have been taken out of it in obedience to the above monition. In 1515 a sum of money was paid by the Chapter for painting an image of King Henry.

Did this occupy the niche in the screen? If it did, it was removed at the Dissolution, when altars and effigies were destroyed. In the great inventory of the Church furniture, we find several things recorded which belonged to an altar dedicated to Henry VI. An old service-book, which belonged to the ancient House of Pudsay of Bolton-in-Craven, contains several prayers, and a long hymn to the beatified monarch. A roll of prayers in a contemporary hand, and addressed to the same personage, is now in my possession. Archbishop Booth issued this order, as we may suppose, in obedience to the wishes of Edward IV. In the great struggle which was now over, that prelate had changed sides more than once; and it is not probable, therefore, that this expression of his opinion would have much weight, either with the Chapter of York, or with the crowds of Lancastrians who visited the Minster. (*Note by the Rev. E. Clayton.*)

VI. LETTER OF JAMES I. TO THE DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE REMAINS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

(Communicated by the Dean of Peterborough.)

JAMES R.

Trusty and welbeloved, Wee greet you well : for that Wee thinke it appertaynes to the duty Wee owe to our dearest Mother, that like honor should be done to her Body, and like Monument be extant of her as to others, hers and our progenitors, that have been used to be done, and Ourselves have already performed to our dear Sister the late Queene Elizabeth, Wee have commanded a Memoriall of her to be made in our Church of Westminster, the place where the Kings and Queens of this realme are usually interred. And for that Wee think it inconvenient that the Monument and her Body should be in several places, Wee have ordered that her said Body, remaining now interred in that our Cathedrall Church of Peterborough, shall be removed to Westminster to her said Monument, and have committed the care and charge of the said translation of her Body from Peterborough to Westminster to the Reverend Father in God our right trusty and welbeloved servant the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, bearer hereof, to whom Wee require you (or to such as he shall assigne) to deliver the Corps of our said dearest Mother : the same being taken up in as decent and respectfull manner as is fitting. And for that there is a Pall now upon the Hearse over her grave, which will be requisite to be used to cover her said Body in the removing thereof, which may perhapps be deemed as a fee that should belong to the Church, Wee have appointed the said Reverend Father to pay you a reasonable redemption for the same, which being done by him, Wee require you that he may have the Pall to be used for the purpose aforesaid. Given under our Signet at our Honor of Hampton Court the eight-and-twentieth day of September, in the tenth yeare of our reigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the six-and-fortieth.

To our trusty and wellbeloved the Dean and Chapter of our Cathedrall Church of Peterborough, and (in their absence) to the Right Reverend the Father in God the Bishop of Peterborough, and to such of the Prebendaries and other officers of that Church as shall be found therein.

After the letters the execution of them is thus entered :—

These letters were delivered to the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, and to me, Henry Williamson, one of the Prebends of the said Cathedral Church, in the absence of the Dean and the rest of the Prebends, and the contents thereof executed the fourth day of October in the year aforesaid.

VII. INSCRIPTION ON THE COFFIN OF ELIZABETH CLAYPOLE.

(As given in Noble's *Cromwell*, i. 140, 3rd edit.)

Depositum
 Illustrissimæ Dominae D. Elizabethæ nuper uxoris Honoratissimi
 Domini Johannis Claypoole,
 Magistri Equitis
 necnon Filia Secundæ
 Serenissimi et Celsissimi
 Principis
 Oliveri, Dei Gratia
 Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ,
 &c.
 Protectoris.
 Obiit
 Apud Ædes Hamptonienses
 Sexto die Augusti
 Anno ætatis suæ Vicesimo Octavo
 Annoque Domini
 1658.

(It will be observed that there is a mistake of *Equitis* for *Equitum*)

(As given in the Register, 1728.)

The Body
 of the Most Illustrious Lady Elizabeth, late Wife
 of the Right Honourable Lord, John Claypole,
 Master of the Horse,
 And Second Daughter
 of the Most Serene and Mighty
 Prince
 Oliver, by the Grace of God,
 of England, Scotland, and Ireland,
 Protector.
 She died at Hampton Court
 on the 6th day of August,
 in the 28th year of her age,
 in the Year of Our Lord,
 1658.

VIII. SIR WALTER RALEIGH IN THE GATEHOUSE.

(Public Record Office State Papers (Domestic), James I. Vol. ciii. No. 74.
Part of Letter from John Pory to Sir Dudley Carleton.)

London, 9^{ber} 7th, 1618.

At his coming out of his lodging in the Tower, to goe towards the Kinge's Benche, on Wedensday was sevenight, his barbar-surgeon said unto him; 'Sir we have forgotte to combe your head this morning.' 'Lett them kempe it' (quoth Sir Walter) 'that shall have it. But 'Peeter' (said he) 'canst thou give me a plaister to sett on a man's head, when it is off?' He came to his death upon all disadvantages, exercised with an ague, having but a daye's warning to prepare to dye, being putt into a very uneasy and inconvenient lodging in the Gatehouse, and there being watched up by his friends and keepers all the night. About 4 o'clocke in the morning a cousin of his Mr. Charles Thynne coming to see him, Sir Walter, finding him sad, began to be very pleasant with him; whereupon Mr. Thynne counselled him: 'Sir, take heed you goe not too muche upon the brave hande; for your enemies will take exceptions at that.' 'Good Charles' (quoth he), 'give me leave to be mery, for this is the last merriment that ever I shall have in this worlde: but when I come to the sad parte, thou shalte see I will looke on it like a man:' and so he was as good as his worde.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

I. INSCRIPTIONS ON COFFIN-PLATES IN THE RICHMOND VAULT, HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL.¹

(No. 1. See Plan.)

*Esmæus Richmondia et Levinia Dux. Filius
Jacobi, et Maria, Stuartorum ac
Villeriorum Germen illustrissimum,
spes familia, decus Britannia, Parentum
Delicia: qui post XI. fere annos sine pro-
le clapsos, Londini in lucem prodiit, 11
Novembris MDCXLIX. ; postea, cum matre
vidua, in Galliam profectus, in morbum
incidit adolescentia inimicum: exan-
themata, quæ tamen initia fuere
præ sævitia medicorum nam ter
hausto sanguine dum ægrotaret, Lu-
tetia Parisiorum undecenis obiit
x. Augusti MDCLX.*

[xiv. August on ornament.]

(No. 2. On the lead coffin.)

The Rt. Hon. Dow^r Countess of Abercorn,
died May the 24th, 1723.

(On a loose tin-plate which was outside the wooden coffin)

The Rt. Hon^{ble}
Catharine Countess
Dowager of
Abercorn, Relict
of Charles Earl
of Abercorn, and
Daughter of the
Lord Pasley. Died
May y^e 24th 1723.

¹ The entrances to these three vaults were necessarily opened, in the making of the trenches for the introduction of the warming apparatus, in September 1867. The vaults were

carefully examined by Mr. Poole, the master mason of the Abbey, under the direction of the Dean, and the accompanying accounts are the result of his investigation.

(No. 3.)

Here lieth the reliques of the Rt. Hon.
 Mary Countess of Kildare, coheiresse to y^e
 Duke of Richmond, who departed the life
 upon y^e 24th day of November in the one
 and twentieth year of her age, anno g.
 Domⁿⁱ 1683.

(On the floor under No. 1.)

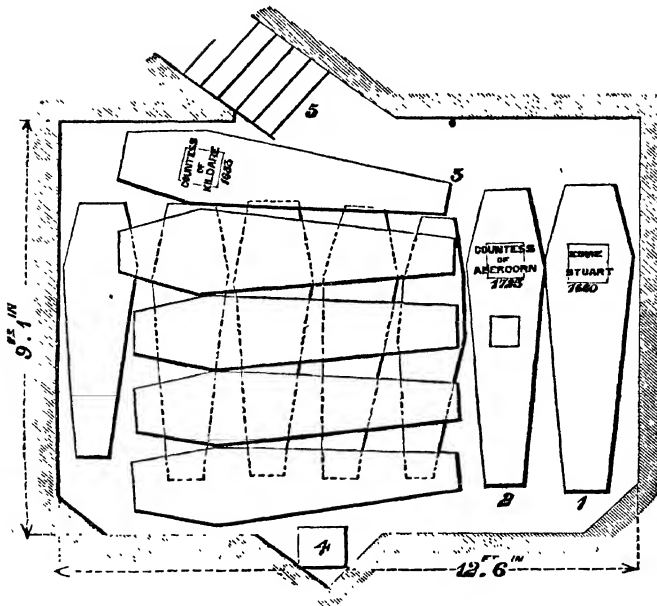
[SERENISS(I)MA] ELIZABETHA RICHMONDLÆ
 [ET LEVINIÆ DU]CISSA UXOR PIENTISSIMA
 [ET CASTISSIMA] ILLUSTRISSIMI PRINCIPIS
 [CAROLI STUART] I : D : R : L : ATE
 [OBIIT SELECTI]SSIMA FÆMINA
 [IN PUERPERIO] DIE DOMINICA
 IN ALBIS ANNO
 MDCLXI

✱

[The parts in brackets are concealed by the lead of the coffin above; the letters thereon are only conjectural. I : D : R : L : may mean James Duke of Richmond and Lennox. This coffin may have been the first deposited, for the easternmost position would probably be more honourable than the dexter side; and this and other coffins are placed with the feet to the south.]

Here Lyeth y^e body of y^e right
 Hono^{ble} Henry Lord Ophalia
 Son to y^e right Hono^{ble} John Earl
 of Kilda, who died in y^e 7th
 Month of his Age on y^e 18th of
 february in y^e yeare of Our
 Lord 1683

The R^t Hon^{ble} John,
 Earle of Kildare
 and Baron of Ophaley;
 dyed ye 9th of November
 1707,
 in ye 48th year of his
 Age.



PLAN OF THE RICHMOND (STUART) VAULT, HENRY VII'S CHAPEL.

No. 1 is the coffin of Esme Stuart (1660). Under it are two others, of which the lowest is shaped to the form of the body; and on the lead is neatly engraved, in the Tudor capital, an inscription, the exposed part of which is copied in p. 527, beginning 'Elizabetha Richmondia.'
 No. 2 is the coffin of Catherine, Countess Dowager of Abercorn (1723).

No. 3 is the coffin of Mary, Countess of Kildare (1683).
 No. 4 is a cubical chest in the angle of the wall.
 No. 5 is the entrance, by a flight of steps placed obliquely.

Two or three more of the coffins are shaped to the form of the body, besides that alluded to on the other side.

On a loose coffin-plate among the débris in the Richmond Vault:—

Depositum
 Illustrissimi Principis
 Caroli Ducis Richmondiæ et Levinæ
 Comitiss Marchiæ Leichfeildæ et Darneley
 Baronis de Leighton, Bromswold Newbury Terbolton Methven et
 Crupton
 Regni Scotiæ Summi Camerarij Archithalassiarchæ Hereditarij
 Urbis et Pariæ Aubigniensis in Gallia Domini
 Inter Hispanos e Magnatibus Hereditarijs
 In Provincia Cantiana necnon in Urbe Cantuariensi Statæ Militiæ
 Locumtenentis in Præfecti Generalis
 Sacræ Regiæ Magistati in Dicto Regno Scotiæ a Consilijs Privatis
 Eidemque a Cubiculis Intimis
 Nobilis et Præclari Periscelidis Equitis
 A Carolo 2^{do} Magnæ Britaniæ &c Rege ad Christianum Quintum
 Daniæ Regi
 Legati Extraordinarij
 In Eadem Legatione Obijt apud Elseneure 12^o die Decembris
 Anno Incarnationis Dñi
 MDCLXXII.

The vault contains two tiers of coffins eastward, each three feet in height, lying with the feet to the south. There are about four tiers westward of these similarly disposed, and over these four others cross at right-angles, with feet to the east. They appear to have been piled very carelessly. The lower coffins are much flattened, and the upper ones very irregularly tilted, producing a most disordered appearance. The only plates visible are those noted. Four or five others of the upper coffins should be in place; but either they have fallen into the spaces between the coffins, or they have been removed when the vault has been exposed for the later interments. The only record in the extant Burial Books of the Abbey from 1711, is that of Lord Blantyre (1713), 'leaving room for three more,' and that of the Countess of Abercorn in 1723.

II. INSCRIPTIONS ON COFFIN-PLATES IN THE BUCKINGHAM VAULT IN HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL.

(No. 1. See Plan.)

Illustrissimi Dñi Francisci Villiers
ingentis speciei juvenis, filii posthumi
Georgii Ducis Buckinghamiæ
qui vicesimo ætatis anno pro Rege Carolo
ac Patria fortiter pugnando, novem
honestis vulneribus acceptis, obiit
vii^o die Julii A^o Dñi MDCXLVIII.

[Buried in the chapel on the north side of King Henry VII.'s Chapel, in his father's vault, July 10, 1648. From the Register.]

(No. 1.)

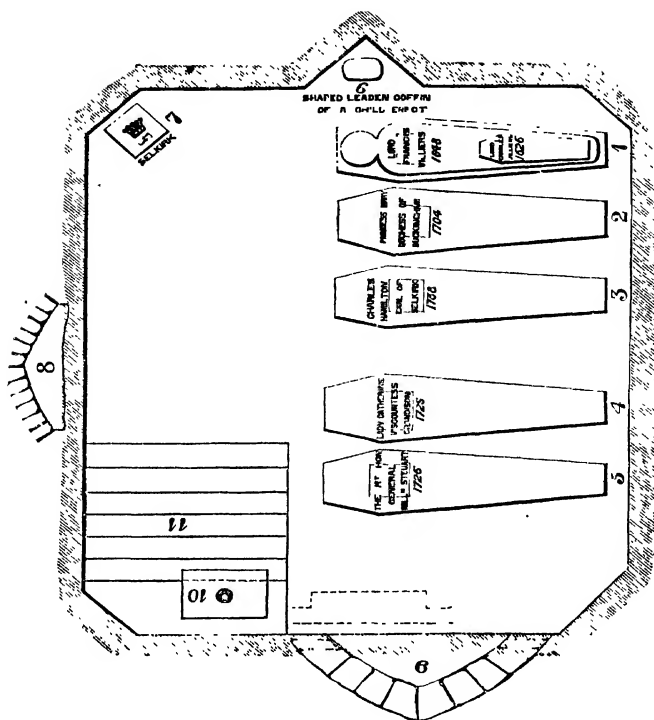
Carolus Villiers, Marchio Buckinghamiæ
Comes Coventriensis, primogenitus
George Villiers Ducis Buckinghamiæ
qui obiit xvi^o die Martii A^o Dñi MDCXXVI.

[Buried in a little chapel on the north side of King Henry VII.'s monument, March 17, 1626. From the Register.]

(No. 2.)

The Body of the Most
Illustrious Princess Mary,
Duchess of Buckingham,
Relict of George Villiers,
Duke of Buckingham, Daugh-
ter and Sole Heire to the
Rt. Hon^{ble} Thomas Lord Faire-
fax, Baron of Cameroun in
y^e kingdom of Scotland, by
Ann his Wife, fourth Daugh-
ter and one of y^e Coheirs
of y^e Rt. Hon^{ble} Heratio Lord
Vere of Tilbury, who died
20^o Oct^{br} 1704, in y^e 67th yeare
of her Age.

[Buried in the Duke of Buckingham's Vault, on the north side of King Henry VII.'s Monument, October 30, 1704. From the Register.]



PLAN OF THE BUCKINGHAM (VILLIERS) VAULT IN HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL.

No. 1 is the shaped leaden coffin of Lord Francis Villiers (1648). Under it are two other leaden coffins of the common shape. The wooden cases are wholly absent. Over the legs of these is a small leaden coffin of a child, Lord Charles Villiers (1626).

No. 2. Mary, Duchess of Buckingham (1704).

No. 3. Charles Hamilton, Earl of Selkirk (1738).

No. 4. Catherine, Countess Grandison (1725).

No. 5. General William Steuart (1726).

No. 6. A shaped leaden coffin of a

child (no inscription).

[Doubtless (from the Register)

Philip Feilding, third son to William Earl of Denbigh, buried Jan. 19, 1627.]

No. 7. A cubical chest, plated with an Earl's coronet and monogram.

No. 8. The elevation of a low arch just above the floor, communicating apparently with a vault westward.

No. 9. The elevation of a low but larger and massive arch, communicating apparently with a vault southward.

No. 10. A stone under the floor, removable to enter the vault.

No. 11. The steps under the stone.

The vault is about 14 ft. 9 in. from north to south, and 12 ft. 6 in. from east to west. It is covered with a segmental arch of stone about 5 ft. 6 in. high to the crown. The splays at the internal angles, the recess at the north end, and the walks, are all parts of the original Chapel of Henry VII.

(No. 3.)

The Most Noble and Puissant Lord
Charles Hamilton Earl of Selkirk,
Lord Dair and Shertcleugh, Lord-Lieutenant &
Principal Sheriff of the County of
Clydesdale, Lord Register of Scotland,
one of the Lords of His Majesty's
Bedchamber, one of His Majesty's
Most Hon^{ble} Privy Council, & one
of the Sixteen Peers
for North Britain.
Born 3^d of Febr'y 1663,
Died 13th day of March 1739.

(No. 4.)

The Right Hon^{ble} the
Lady Katherine,
Viscountess Grandison,
Died Decem^r y^e 26th, 1725,
Aged 63 years.

(No. 5.)

The Rt. Hon^{ble} W^m Steuart, Esq^r,
Gen^l of the Foot & Commander
in Chief of all Her late
Majestie's Forces in Ireland,
Col^l of a Reg^t of Foot, &
one of Her said Majestie's Privy
Council in y^e afores^d Kingdom.
Died June y^e 4th, 1726, aged 74.

Under the coffin of Lord Francis Villiers are the coffins of the two Dukes, with the following plates:—

Illustrissimus atq; Excellentissimus princeps
 Georgius Villiers Dux Buckinghamiæ
 a duobus pientissimis Regibus Jacobo et Carolo
 unice dilectus
 et posterioris auspiciis contra Patriæ hostes
 factus Imperator
 nefarij paricidæ manu infauste interemptj
 xxiii^o die Aug. A^o Dñi mdcxxviii

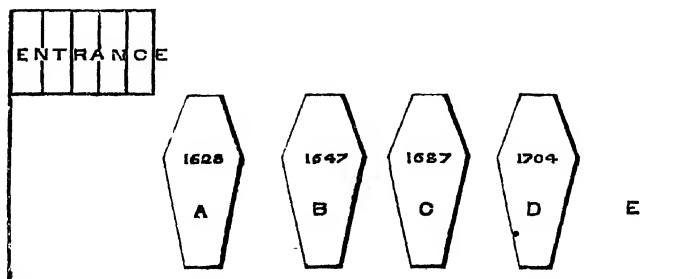
[Buried September 18, 1628. From the Register.]

[Illustrissimus] & Ex[cellentissimus]
 Princeps Ge[orgius] Villiers Dux
 Buckinghamiæ & Nobilissimi Ordinis
 Periscelidis Eques
 Natus 30 Jan^y 1627
 Obiit 16 Apr. 1687

[Buried June 7, 1687. From the Register.]

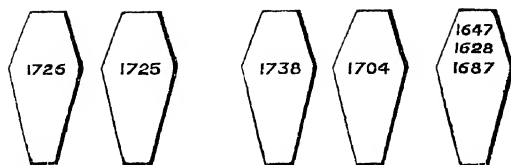
The upper part of this plate is either wholly destroyed, or so defaced by corrosion as to be illegible. The letters within brackets are therefore conjectural. The space between George and Villiers may have contained a title, or another name.

Biographers give the date of his death as April 17, 1688.



ORIGINAL POSITION.

ENTRANCE



PRESENT POSITION.

It is very likely that the first Duke's coffin first occupied the dexter position, as at A, and the second Duke the position c, &c., the second Duchess's coffin retaining its original position, d. But when the interments of 1725, 1726, and 1738 took place, the coffins of 1687, 1628, and 1647, having lost their wooden cases, were, for convenience of the new interments, removed to the position e.

III. GENERAL MONK'S VAULT.

The vault is situate between the Sacristy westward and the head of Queen Elizabeth's tomb eastward. The entrance at the west end is necessarily oblique, being directed towards the lobby south of the Sacristy. It is under Addison's slab. The vault occupies the whole width of the Chapel, and appears to have been constructed at different periods, the eastern portion being first built. The western portion is deeper (apparently about eighteen inches) than the eastern. It is wholly of brickwork.

The vault was partly opened at the western end, on the occasion of making the trenches under the pavement for the pipes of the hot-water apparatus, and so access was easily obtained. Each portion contains three tiers of coffins, the eastern having eight, and the western seven, at least. There may be more below the three western tiers, and if so, they are compressed and concealed under the débris of the rotten wood-cases which cover the floor.

It is presumed that the two lower coffins on the dexter side of the eastern part (viz. A 1 and A 2 on the plan) are those of General Monk and his wife, but their inscription-plates could not be examined. Eleven of the plates were examined and minutely copied, except that of the Duchess of Northumberland, which was seen with difficulty. The coffins are all of lead, encased in wood. That of Lady

Carteret is three feet wide; probably its cases are double, having been brought from Hanover. There is a square chest of viscera, and also a cylindrical one of lead, on the eastern side.

The coffins are irregularly piled, by reason of the lower ones being compressed by those above, which are therefore tilted. The lead is generally much torn by corrosion, and the woodwork is thoroughly rotten and mostly fallen off. There was no offensive smell perceptible.

1670. A 1. Duke of Albemarle, General Monk.

A 2. Duchess of Albemarle.

1719. A 3. Joseph Addison.

1720. A 4. James Craggs.

1716. B 1. George Fitzroy, Duke of Northumberland.

B 2. (The plate is absent.)

1708. C 1. Elizabeth, Lady Stanhope.

1715. C 2. Earl of Halifax.

D 1. (Not examined.)

1743. D 2. Frances, Lady Carteret.

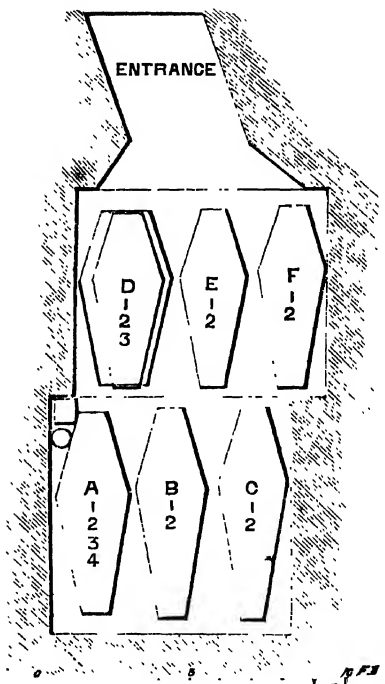
1763. D 3. John, Earl of Granville.

1738. E 1. Mary, Duchess of Northumberland.

1744. E 2. Grace, Countess Granville.

1734. F 1. Elizabeth, second Duchess of Albemarle.

1715. F 2. Sophia, Countess of Granville.



PLAN OF THE VAULT OF GENERAL MONK, IN THE NORTH AISLE OF HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL. (Examined Sept. 27, 1867.)

The entrance to the royal vault of Charles II., in the South Aisle, was found to be under the marble pavement, north of the fourth stall.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

I. FIRE IN WESTMINSTER PALACE.

(From the Abbey Archives.)

In a Notarial Instrument (dated 1334) of documents relating to the transfer of the Church of Longdon, Worcester, to the Abbey of Westminster, is the recital of a Bull of Pope John, in which are the following words:—‘Sane peticio karissimi in Christo filii nostri ‘Edwardi Regis Anglie illustris nobis exhibita continebat quod ‘nonnulle domus consistentes infra septa monasterii Westm’ ordinis ‘Sancti Benedicti, &c. London’ diocesis, in quo predecessores sui ‘Regis Anglie coronari, et tam ipsi quam Regine et alii qui de Regum ‘Anglie genere existunt, ecclesiasticam consueverunt ab antiquo ‘eligere sepulturam, et eciam sepeliuntur ibidem. Jam dudum igne ‘de palacio regio eidem monasterio contiguo procedente fuerunt ‘incendio concremate, quodque ad reparacionem dictarum domorum ‘et aliorum edificiorum ecclesie dicti monasterii que maxima existunt, ‘queve dilecti filii Abbas et conventus ipsius monasterii reedificare ‘inceperunt opere plurimum sumptuoso. Ad que perficienda et ad ‘manutenendum hospitalitatem tam pauperum et infirmorum quam ‘aliarum personarum ad dictum monasterium confluencium, et alia ‘pietatis opera inibi fieri consueta, facultates ejusdem monasterii ‘sufficere minime dinoscuntur. Quare prefatus Rex nobis humiliter ‘supplicavit ut eidem monasterio pio compacientes affectu parochialem ‘ecclesiam de Langedon, &c. . . . prefato monasterio unire et annectere auctoritate apostolica dignaremur.’

II. LITTLINGTON’S BUILDINGS.

(From the Abbey Archives.) *

Letter addressed—‘A nostre bien ame frere Dan Johan de Bokenhull.’*At the end*—‘Labbe de Westmonstier.’

Denham, April 1 (time of Abbot Littleington).

Cher et bien ame frere. Nous avoms entenduz par voz lettres que nostre treshonorez seigneur le Cardinal soit merveille moult que

nous ne lui eussoms certifie devant ore de son oeuvre novel de nostre eglise et aussint de ses chanteries illoeqes; Neperquant nous avoms envoye par diverses fôitz lettres comparuantes ent tote la matiere, mais apres le departir dicelles de nous nous ne poioms plus avant savoir ou elles fouront devenuz. Si voillez savoir que puis la Seint Michel y ount este sept masons oeverantz continuelment et trois a la quarere a Raigâte, et puis la Noel dis masons pour abatre lune partie de launciene eglise vers la cloistre, issint est prest maintenant a mettre a la montance de duze pies en haut et de trois pileers en long, si nous mesmes avoms mys la primeere peere le primer lundy de quaresme en honour de dieu et de Seint Piere el noun de nostre dit treshonores, seigneur &c.

III. PRIVILEGE OF SINGING THE 'GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.'

(From the Abbey Archives.)

Johannes miseratione divina Tituli Sancti Stephani in Celio Monte presbyter Cardinalis Apostolice sedis legatus. Dilectis in Christo fratribus Abbati et Conventui de Westm' salutem et benedictionem. Cum ecclesia vestra specialiter beati Petri juris existat et ecclesiam Romanam nullo respiciat mediante, piis vestris desideris annuentes, auctoritate vobis presentium indulgemus ut vobis in purificatione Beate Virginis si venerit post Septuagesimam et in die Annunciationis ejusdem et in festo beati Benedicti Ymnus Anglicum scilicet Gloria in excelsis Deo solenniter cantare.

(Endorsed) Privilegium.

IV. VAGABOND MONKS.

Edward par la grace de dieu Roi Dengleterre Seigneur Dirlaunde et Ducs Daquitaine, A nostre cher en dieu le Priour de Labbaye de Westmoster saluz. Por ce que lestat de la dite Abbaye la quele est fondee des aumosnes nos ancestres est molt abessez et enpovery par la dissolucion des moignes de meisme Labbaye qui ont alez avant ces houres desordenement wakerantz hors de leur meson, et uncore font a leur volunte en contempt et esclandre de seinte religion et contre la observance de leur ordre et de leur profession, et degastent les biens de la meson a graunt amenusement des dites aumosnes, les queux nous voloms faire garder et meyntenir sicomme nous sumes tenuz. Vous mandoms et chargeoms fermement, enjoignantz que vous facez en tieu manere chastier et si estroitement garder voz moignes de meisme la meson, et mesner selonc les pointz de leur ordre et de leur profession, qil demoergent deinz le clos de la dite

Abbaye et entendent au service dieu sicomme faire doivent et sicomme appent a gentz de tieu religion, et ne soeffrez que nul de eux voit wakerant hors de la meson, si noun ceux qui coviegnt busoignablement por les busoignes de meisme la meson et qui serront a ce assignez par vostre Abbe. Et sachez que si vous ne mettez tiel amendement en ceste chose, que nous appercevoms que lestat de la dite Abbaye soit par vostre diligence relevez, nous mettroms en tieu manere la meyn a vous et a voz moignes et as biens de la meson, que touz les autres religions de vostre ordre en nostre roialme se chastieront par ensample de vous. Et meisme ceste chose avoms nous mandez par noz autres lettres a vostre dit Abbe issint que par leyde de li vous la peussez du mielz acomplir. Donnie souz nostre prive seal a Kenynton le xxij jour de May lan de nostre regne tierz.

(*Endorsed*) Litera domini E. Regis contra monachos vagabundos.

V. MONKS NOT TO RIDE OUT.

W. ABBAS WESTMONASTERII PRIORI EJUSDEM LOCI

Salutem et nostram benedictionem. Carissimi in Christo filii. Cum serenissimus princeps Dominus noster Rex in suis opportunitatibus de ecclesiasticis precibus confidenciam . . . singularem nos instancius requisivit, quatinus attenta sua necessitate presenti eo affectuosius pro felici statu suo et regni precis Altissimo fundere-remur, quo suorum adversariorum atque rebellium confederata malicia publica in regni quietem infestius concutere machinantur. Et ideo vobis quibus subministratio regiminis competit monasterii nostri in virtute obediencie precipimus et mandamus quatinus supradictis efficaciter ponderatis, extraneas peregrinationes et forincecas equitaturas fratrum, ballivi duntaxat excepti, quousque deus tempora quieciora concesserit penitus restructatas, confratres nostros omnes et singulos capitulariter congregatos ex parte nostra monentes, ut comuni et consueta recreacione contenti tanto fervencius contemplacioni et oracioni indulgeant quanto instans necessitas et malicia temporis id requirunt. Facientes insuper processiones solempnes singulis quartis feriis circa ambitum monasterii, et sextis feriis per villam Westmonasterii pro expedicione felici et communi prosperitate regis et regni, quas singuli commonachi nostri habeant in suis oracionibus corditer recommissas. Accitis ad easdem processiones singulis capellanis et clericis infra parochiam Sancte Margarete degentibus, et in speciali clericis elemosinarie nostre ut est moris.

Valeatis in Christo feliciter et longeve. Scripta in Manerio nostro de Denham xxxj^o die mensis Augusti.

(*Endorsed*)

Litera Abbatis contra peregrinationes et forinsecas equitaturas.

VI. VISITS OF THE BOHEMIAN TRAVELLERS TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY IN 1477.

EXTRACTS from Stanislaus Pawlowski's translation of Schassek's
 'Commentarius brevis et jucundus Itineris atque Peregrinationis,
 'Pietatis ac Religionis causa susceptæ, ab illustri et magnifico
 'domino, domino Leone libero Barone de Rosmital et Blatna,
 'Johannæ Reginæ Bohemiæ fratre germano,' &c., Anno Domini
 MDLXXVII.

Fol. 42, b.—Londini cum essemus, deducti sumus in id templum, in quo divus Thomas natus esse fertur, ibi matris et sororis ipsius sepulchra visuntur. Deinde et in alterum, ubi S. Kenhardus sepultus est. In eo ostenditur sepulchrum aureum, amplum, auro gemmisque pretiosissimis conspicuum. Cælaturam nusquam ullo in loco subtiliorem elegantiorumque intueri mihi contigit, quam in eo templo. Tempora itidem, quæ iis pulchritudine præstarent, nullibi, ex quo domo egressi sumus, conspexi. Nec major numerus sacrarum reliquiarum asservatur et commonstratur ulla in urbe, quam ibi. Londini sunt viginti sepulchra aurea, gemmis preciosis exornata. Per totum autem regnum ad octoginta, similiter ex auro conflata, lapidibusque pretiosis adornata.

Fol. 43.—Londini, ubi Angliæ Regum domicilium est, ductus est Dominus in elegantes hortos, variis arboribus et herbis instructos, quæ in aliis regionibus non inveniuntur. Postea quoque in templa elegantissime constructa perductus est, ubi ei complura sepulchra aurea monstrabantur. Reliquiarum sacrarum, ut antea dixi, nullo in loco, tantum simul numerum vidi. Quas mihi conscribere et annotare conanti, dicebatur, nequaquam possibile esse, ut eas omnes assignare possim, tantam enim earum vim esse, ut à duobus scribis per duas septimanas conscribi non queant. Inter eas, primum vidi Zonam Deiparæ virginis, quam propriis manibus confecisse dicitur: Et crus divi Georgii: Deinde conspexi eum lapidem, super quem Christus sepulcro egrediens prima pedum fixit vestigia, ubi adhuc clarè apparent. Postea, spectavi unam sex hydriarum, quæ jussu Christi aquis impletæ, pro aquis vina convivis reddiderant.

EXTRACTS from 'Des böhmischen Herrn Leo's von Rözmital ritter-,
 'hof- und pilger-reise durch die Abendlande, 1465-67. Be-
 'schrieben durch Gabriel Tetzl von Nürnberg.' (Published at
 Stuttgart, 1844.)

P. 155.—Und auf einen tag liess uns der kunig gen hof fodern. Do gieng die kunigin des morgens auss dem kindelbet gen kirchen mit kostlicher procession mit vil priesterschaft, die heiltum truogen, und vil schuoler die do sungen und all brinnende liecht truogen. Darnach ein grosse schar frawen und junkfrawen von land und auch von Lund, die darzuo gebeten ward. Darnach ein grosse zal trumetter, pfeufer und ander seitenspil. Darnach des kunigs cantores ob zwen und vierzig, die seer mit gesang kostlich waren. Darnach ob vier und zweinzig herolt und porsofant. Darnach ob sechzig grafen und rittern. Darnach gieng die kunigin. Füertens zwen herzogen. Ob ir truog man einen himel. Nach ir volget ir muoter, junkfrawen und frawen ob sechzigen. Also hört sie ein gesungen ampt und nu sie herab in die kirchen was gangen mit der selben processen, gieng sie wieder in iren pallast. Do muosten all die da bleiben essen, die in der processen gangen waren: die setzet man, frawen und man, geistlich und weltlich, iedem nach seinem stand, grosser sal vier voll.

P. 158.—Darnach füert man meinem herrn auf etlich kloster, ligen auch in Engellant, Benedictiner orden. Do sahen wir ausdermassen kostlicher kirchen zwuo, und zwu kostlich tafeln und elter und gar einen grossen gulden sarch, darin ligt der lieb herr sant Sigmund. Und do weist man uns auch einen stein, darin die fusstritt Ihu Cristi stent, der ist von Jerusalem kumen und ist am Olberg gewesen an der stat, do Unser Herr pfleglich gebetet hat, und vil wirdigs heiltums, das man uns sunst weiset. Und sahen das kostlich werk von geschnitzten bildern, die man mit gewichten zügerichtet hat, das sie sich bewegen auf mainung, wie die heiligen drey kunig das opfer Unser Frawen und irem Kind brachten, und wie Unser Herr nach dem opfer greif, und Unser Fraw und Joseph den heiligen drey kunigen neigten und reverenz theten, und wie des geleichen die heiligen drey kunig widerumb urlaub namen; was alles so kostlich und meisterlich zugerichtet als lebets. Des geleichen was auch von bildwerk ein figur, wie Unser Herr auss dem grab erstuond und wie jm die engel dienten. Das was überkostlich und loblich zu sehen. Die Äbt theten meinem herrn ser gross er und reverenz mit kostlichen essen und im pallast mit teich und ander

kostlikeit uberschwenklich geziert, und füerten jn in iren kor. Do horten wir das aller kostlichst korgesang, das alls gesatzt was, das lieblich zu horen was.

VII. CRUCIFIX IN NORTH TRANSEPT.

Will of Walten Leycester, Serjeant-at-Arms, dated at Westminster, September 3, 1389.—To be buried in Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin, in the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster—afterwards altered.

‘Volo et lego quod corpus meum sepiatur in ecclesia Sancti ‘Petri Monasterii Westm’ coram magna cruce in parte boriali ‘ecclesie ejusdem.’

Appoints as his executors his wife Alice, *Magister Arnold Brokas*, Thomas Stanes, and others. Walter Leycester had a ‘mansion ‘house’ at Westminster.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

I. SPEECH OF FECKENHAM, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.

(Rawlinson MS. Miscell., 68.)

Upon Friday, the 10th of February (1555), was read the second time a Bill concerning Sanctuaries, declaring how, by laws already passed in the thirty-second year of Henry VIII., there remained, indeed, no Sanctuaries other than churches, churchyards, &c., and those, as in old time, it hath been used to serve in such cases as they, did serve but for forty years, and the offenders afterwards to abjure. But for that such abjuration could neither be made into the parts beyond the seas, the same being forbidden by the statute, nor into any Sanctuary within the realm, where none was indeed, though at Westminster by usurpation and permission it had of late been used, therefore the Bill prayed abolishment of all Sanctuaries other than churches, churchyards, &c., and from those to remove the old manner of abjuring beyond the seas. It was agreed, forasmuch as it might be that the Abbot of Westminster had some new grant from the Prince, since the making of that statute by King Henry VIII., whereby his Sanctuary might have been created anew, that therefore the Speaker should, by his Serjeant-at-Arms, give warning to the Abbot to come before the House upon the Saturday next, being the 11th of February, with his counsel learned in the law, to show by what warrant he held Sanctuary at Westminster.

According hereunto, the said Saturday following the Abbot, accompanied with no counsel learned, but only with one monk attending on him, bearing two old muniments: the one whereof was the Charter of Sanctuary granted to the House of Westminster by King Edward the Saint; the other a confirmation of the same Charter, with a censure, by curse, upon the breaches thereof, made at request of the said King Edward by the Pope John, at a General Synod by him assembled for that purpose. Being received in the House, thus he began:—

Mr. Speaker, and you the rest members of this Honourable Court: Yesternight, between the hours of six and seven, I was advertised of

two things—the one, that there is a Bill here exhibited among you for abolishment of Sanctuary at Westminster; the other (for the which I most humbly thank you all), that it hath pleased you to have such favourable consideration of me, as to grant me free access at this time into this place, with my counsel, to show what I could or had to say for maintenance and continuance of Sanctuary there. But for that the time of warning was so short, and this day being the last day of the term, the learned in the laws cannot so conveniently spare me leisure from their affairs: therefore could I myself neither sufficiently prepare to say in that behalf, nor have that aid of some counsellors as both this cause requireth and your gentleness hath granted. Wherefore it may please your Worships, that with your like favour I may obtain, that if, in my imperfect oration, anything shall be uttered otherwise than is profitable for my cause, no advantage be taken thereof; and also that I may have a further day granted, when I may use the help of counsel learned in the law, to inform you of such right and title as I have to show for the Sanctuary of Westminster.

But to the matter.

I nothing doubt your purpose not to take away all Sanctuaries, all places of refuge, from poor offenders; for that were too much injurious, considering that Sanctuaries and places of refuge are, and have always been, used and inviolably maintained, not only in every country throughout Christendom, but also among the Jews, yea, and among the Turks and infidels. All princes, all lawmakers—Solon in Athens, Lycurgus in Lacedæmon—all have had *loca refugii*, places of succour and safeguard for such as have transgressed laws and deserved corporal pains. Sith, therefore, ye mean not (as I doubt not) to destroy all Sanctuaries, and if your purpose be to maintain any, or if any be worthy to be continued, Westminster of all others is most worthy—and that for four causes.

The first is, the antiquity and continuance of Sanctuary there.

The second is, the dignity of the person by whom it was ordained and preserved.

The third, the worthiness of the place itself.

The fourth, the profit and commodity that you have received thereby.

And first for the antiquity of Sanctuary at Westminster. It may please you to have consideration, how it is no less than 1,400 years since Sanctuary was there first ordained; for Lucius, the first Christian king of this realm (who, about 100 years after Christ, received the Christian faith from the holy Pope of Rome

and martyr Eleutherius, by the ministry of the holy monk Fagan, whom some call Fugan and Damian), immediately after that he was by the said holy monk baptized and instructed in the true profession of Christ's religion, did destroy the Temple that then stood here at Westminster dedicated to the idol Apollo, and in place thereof erected a new Temple to the honour of the True God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of St. Peter, from whose sanctity he received the benefit of Christianity; and then he, by his free grant, ordained Sanctuary. For I must confess, that as the temporal power hath the administration of death and temporal punishment, so hath it also the only authority of dispensation and pardon. He, I say, made proclamation that whoever would resort thither, and worship the True God, and embrace the true faith (which he had then received), should enjoy free pardon and immunity for all offences by them committed. Wherein this good Christian king seemeth right wisely to have followed the policy of Darius King of Assyria, who, purposing to have the memory of his father Bessus honoured, did erect an image to the likeness of his father, and made publication throughout his dominions, that whoever would come and honour that image of his father Bessus should have free pardon of all offences, with immunity of their lives and goods. So even as Darius, this heathen king, by Sanctuary sought to allure the people to idolatrous worship of his father, the same means used this good Christian king to allure his people to the true worship of the True God. And that freedom of Sanctuary, by him ordained as a mean to win men to faith, so long endured inviolate, as faith itself endured, and continued unforsaken, even unto the time of the ungodly King Vortigern, who brought in the wicked Saxons, who, having once prevailed, and gotten the rule and possession of this realm into their hands, destroyed both the profession of the Christian faith and the freedom of Sanctuary—the mean to allure to faith. So remained faith exiled and Sanctuary dissolved, all the time of their ungodly government, till the time of holy St. Gregory, Pope of Rome, who, delighted with the angelic faces of English children that he saw stand to be sold at Rome, sent hither the holy monks St. Augustine, Melitus, and others, to preach again the true faith of Christ in this realm. These, by their teaching and godliness of life, converted to the true Christian religion Seba, King of the East Saxons. He was by them baptized, and by them having received the Christian faith, he commanded all his people to embrace the same; and therewithal restored the first mean of the first good King Lucius to induce to faith—the free Sanctuary at Westminster.

So continued it also with the true faith till the time of the cursed Danes that overran this realm, as we read in histories they destroyed faith and Sanctuary; and so stood it dissolved till the time of the holy King St. Edward. He restored faith and Sanctuary—he revived again the freedom and privileges there; and not only revived the same, but confirmed them also with his most ample Charter, which I have here to show; and not only that, but also procured the Pope to call a Synod for the establishing thereof; wherein the Sanctuary at Westminster is strengthened with the assent of the Holy Father and a great number of Archbishops and Bishops, whose names are added to the same; and the breakers thereof holden, by their censures, damned to perpetual fire with the betrayer Judas. This I will also leave with you, Mr. Speaker, and the Charter of St. Edward, which, though it be in itself altogether notable, yet one clause in the end I will now remember unto you as most notable, where he saith, ‘*Hæc Charta nostra valebit quamdiu timor et tremor Christiani nominis valebit in gente nostrâ.*’ ‘This our Charter and grant,’ saith this noble Prince and Saint, ‘shall so long stand in strength, and be available as long as the fear and dread of Christian name shall remain among our people.’ A marvellous saying of this holy King, considering how in all points accordingly it hath agreed with the surcease of time since the grant of this his Charter—a marvellous prophecy, marking how it hath followed as he foresaid; for so long as the dread and fear of Christian name remained in England, so long did Westminster enjoy the benefit of free Sanctuary. How long the true faith remained in England unexiled, so long the privilege of Sanctuary remained at Westminster undissolved. How long we swerved not from the unity of Christ’s Church, so long we brake not the liberties of Sanctuary; and Westminster kept this Sanctuary, granted by this holy King, inviolate till the time of the late schism. Then, when all faith, when all truth of religion, when all that unity that containeth all the Church of Christ, when all fear and dread of Christian name ceased among us, then ceased the freedom of Sanctuary, and so remained until the happy time of our most gracious King and Queen, Philip and Mary. They restored the faith to us, and us to the unity of Christ’s Church. They have revived the fear and dread of Christian name in England. They have revived the freedom of Sanctuary at Westminster. And so, I trust, with the true faith, with the unity of Christ’s Church, and with the fear and dread of Christian name, it shall remain in your consideration, not to be broken nor dissolved by any law or ordinance here to be agreed among you.

Now come I to the second cause why Westminster should still enjoy Sanctuary, which is the dignity and reverence of persons by whom it was ordained, maintained, and restored. Though that part be already declared in my setting forth, the continuance of it from time to time, so as in vain I should again rehearse it; yet this one good note I shall beseech you all, both in this land and in all others, to have in memory when examples are proposed, ever to have regard to the best and eschew the worst: which if ye do, soon shall ye find how Sanctuary at Westminster hath been erected and preserved, only by Christian, virtuous, and the best Princes; how it hath been destroyed and dissolved, only by tyrants, infidels, heretics, schismatics, and the worst governors. Lucius, the first King of Britain, first received faith and ordained Sanctuary; Seba, first of the Saxons and second Christian King in this realm, restored faith and Sanctuary; holy St. Edward restored and confirmed faith and Sanctuary; our most gracious King and Queen, Philip and Mary, brought home the faith again, and under them we have enjoyed Sanctuary. These Princes, having eye to the best, are meetest to be followed. But, on the other side, who have destroyed Sanctuaries? The infidel Saxons destroyed both faith and Sanctuary. The infidel Danes exiled both faith and Sanctuary. The late ungodly heretics and schismatics banished faith, and dissolved Sanctuary. The examples of these evil rulers are to be eschewed, and the better to be embraced.

Thirdly, I allege we ought to have Sanctuary at Westminster, rather than anywhere else within this realm, for the worthiness of the place itself, which is divers ways to be proved. For the Temple in Westminster, erected in honour of God and St. Peter, was the first temple where the first Christian King first worshipped the True God, and set up the honour of Christian name; and if we credit St. Edward, he writeth here, in the beginning of his Charter, how, when he purposed to dedicate the holy Temple at Westminster, builded by the first Christian King, Lucius, and restored by himself in honour of God and St. Peter, he was admonished in his sleep by a vision of angels to forbear hallowing of that church, which was already hallowed by St. Peter himself in person, accompanied with angels. This would I not have alleged, if this notable Prince and Saint had not left it witnesses under his writing and seal, as you see before your eyes: Besides that, we have *insignia rerum*—we have here the most precious relics in this realm, next unto the Divine relics of faith, the most Holy Sacrament and Sacramental. I mean the body of that most holy King, St. Edward, remaineth

there among us, which body the favour of Almighty God so preserved during the time of our late schism, that though the heretics had power upon that wherein the body was enclosed, yet on that sacred body had they no power; but I have found it, and since my coming I have restored it to its ancient sepulture. We have there the bodies of divers others, the best Kings of this realm. Westminster is the ordinary place of coronation, of consecration, and burial of Kings; and so for the worthiness and reverence of the place itself, if any ought to have Sanctuary, Westminster above all others is most worthy to be preferred.

Fourthly, and lastly of all, I beseech you, for continuance of Sanctuary at Westminster, to have in consideration the profit and commodities that you have received thereby: even you, I say, of the laity, from the highest to the lowest, have had profit by our privilege of Sanctuary. I mean not you here present, but men of all your degrees, and of all other lay estate. Queens, princes, dukes, earls, barons, knights, and all sorts have been preserved by Sanctuary, so as all degrees of you owe thankful consideration to Sanctuary; for by Sanctuary your lives, bodies, and goods have been preserved. Indeed, I confess that if we might be assured always to enjoy our most gracious King and Queen that now are, King Philip and Queen Mary; if that were assured to them of God which never hath been nor shall be granted to any—that is, immortality of life, and everlasting reign over us—I would not then say anything for defence of Sanctuary. I would altogether have it, not as a thing unmeet to be used, but as a thing in vain to be granted that should never need to be void. Such is their merciful nature—such a perpetual Sanctuary have they reposed in their own clemency for poor offenders, whereof I myself have had from time to time no small experience; and even of late, before the holydays, talking with an old acquaintance of mine, an officer in the Tower of London, he told me there was in the Tower never a prisoner but one Frenchman—a rare example of gentle and merciful government, and such as if, I say, we might be assured always to have the same, I would not (for that I need not) speak of Sanctuary. But as that is denied to all men, so is it not granted to the King and Queen. As times have been so may there be again. There is *vicissitudo rerum*: Sanctuary may be hereafter as needful as heretofore it hath been profitable. And so, for all these causes, I trust you will have respect both to the antiquity of time that Westminster hath been Sanctuary, to the weighing of persons by whom it hath been ordained, maintained, and subverted, to the reverence and worthiness of the place itself,

to a thankful remembrance of the commodity that your fathers have there received, with wise consideration what you may receive thereof hereafter.

I have also a Charter of the Queen's Majesty, wherein are granted to me, by general words, all liberties, privileges, and franchises, in as large and ample a manner as my predecessor Abbots of that place had and enjoyed at any time, within one year after the dissolution thereof. How far that generality of words extendeth, or what farther matter of right and title the laws doth grant me, because I myself cannot for advancement of mine interest declare and plead as the form of the law requireth, I shall beseech you to proceed toward me with the same favour you have begun, and that I may have a further day to bring my counsel hither. In which time both I shall search for further knowledge herèin, and they shall better set forth my right to you than I myself am able. And in the meanwhile, and also hereafter from time to time, what other charters or monuments soever I have concerning this matter, they are and shall be at your commandment.

This being said, he was required by the Speaker to depart into the outer room, while the House did deliberate upon such answer as should be given him; which done, after consultation, it was agreed that he should be called in again, and the Speaker should for answer assign unto him Tuesday next following, to come again with his counsel learned, which he thankfully received; adding this, that if he had not other Charters than those to show, they would not thereby take advantage, but impute it to the iniquity of times wherein they were perished, declaring how, as by miracle, those were preserved, being found by a servant of my Lord Cardinal's [Pole] in a child's hand playing with them in the street.¹

II. THE ABBEY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

(See p. 479.)

(Strype's Edition of 'Stow's Survey,' 1720 [last edition, 1755], vol. ii. pp. 618, 619.)

I shall now pass by a number of rude Gothic monuments, which, instead of adorning, really encumber the Church. . . . We see a monument that belongs to one of the Veres, and challenges some attention. It is true that the principal figure is in the old Gothic taste, flat on his back, and, of consequence, not to be relished, though executed in the most perfect manner in the world. . . . Just opposite this is a martial figure, representing one of the

¹ For an account of the Sanctuary as it really was, see More's *Life of Richard III.*, p. 47.

Hollises, and, till that, of Mr. Craggs was put up, was the only erect one in the Abbey: an attitude I am far from discouraging, for it is my opinion statues should always represent life and action, and not languor and insensibility. It is particularly happy when applied to soldiers and heroes, who ought never to be supposed at rest, and should have their characters represented as strong as possible. . . .

The inclosure behind the Altar, commonly known by the name of St. Edward's Chapel, has nothing remarkable in it but certain Gothic antiquities, which are made sacred by tradition only, and serve only to excite admiration in the vulgar. There is indeed, at the end of this place, a sort of gate to the tomb of Henry V., which was intended for a piece of magnificence, and no cost was spared to make it answer that design; but the taste of it is so unhappy, and the execution so wretched, that it has not the least claim to that character. The tomb of that Prince challenges attention only because it was his, and because the statue on it has lost its head, to account for which singular injury, we are told a ridiculous tale of its being silver, and that the value of it occasioned the sacrilege. . . .

There is hardly a part in Henry VII.'s Chapel that is not excellent, from the chief figures to the minutest point of the decoration; the statues of the King and Queen are grand and noble, and the basrelief on the sides below beautiful and expressive. I am of opinion the workman, whoever he was, was equal to the noblest scheme of this nature, and would have made a figure even among the ancients. What a pity it is, therefore, that such a genius and so much art should be lavished away on a thing entirely out of taste, and which, at the same expense and study, might have been made the wonder of the world! To explain myself further on this head, nothing can be more stupid than the laying statues on their backs in such a situation that it is impossible they should ever be seen to advantage, and, of course, that all their perfections must be utterly thrown away. In the next place, the brazen inclosure which surrounds this tomb, wonderful as it may be, considered by itself, is a monstrous blemish with regard to the thing it was intended to preserve and adorn, because it rises abundantly too high, and intercepts the view entirely from the principal object. Yet, erroneous as the taste of this fine monument may be, it may be called excellent, compared to that which prevailed, several years after, in the reign of King James I., as may be seen by the wretched things which were erected, at his command, to the memory

of Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scotland. In these all the blunders that can be imagined are collected together—want of attitude and expression, harmony and proportion, beauty and decoration; nay, the very columns which support the superstructure are of different sorts of marble: and, to make the figure splendid and natural, they are painted and dressed out to the life, as if they were just retired from a drawing-room, and lay down there for a little repose.

But these whims seem to be again out of repute in the reign of his son, as appears by the monuments of the Dukes of Richmond and Buckingham: in these there are several fine figures in brass, and something like meaning and design, though even then they had not learned to distinguish the principal characters, and place them in such attitudes as should command the spectator's first and last attention and regard.

Both these faults are entirely avoided by Rysbrack, in the monument erected in honour of the late Duke of Buckingham: there the Duke himself is the principal figure in the group; and, though he is in a recumbent posture, and his lady, in the most beautiful manner, sitting at his feet, yet her figure is characterised in such a manner as only to be a guide to his, and both reflect back a beauty on each other.

The decorations are exceedingly picturesque and elegant: the trophy at his head, the figure of Time above, with the medals of his children, fill up all the spaces with so great propriety, that, as very little could be added, nothing could be spared. In a word, I have seen no ornament that has pleased me better, and very few so well.

ADDENDA

Page 21.

To the legends of preternatural consecrations may be added that of the church on the Rock of Le Puy, in Auvergne, by angels; the bells being rung by angelic hands, and the church called, from this tradition, 'The Chamber of Angels.' (Mandet's *Histoire du Velay*, ii. 27.)

Page 48.

The Prior was to take the Abbot's place at the Coronation if the Abbot was ill. (*Liber Regalis*.)

Page 63.

In illustration of the importance of the Royal Chair in the Abbey, see the Duchess of Gloster's dream in Shakspeare's 'Henry VI.,' part ii. act i. sc. 2:—

Methought I sate in *seat* of majesty,
In the *Cathedral* Church of Westminster,
And in *that Chair* where Kings and Queens are crown'd.

Page 66.

A similar relic of Celtic antiquity, incorporated into a Christian church, is the ancient Druidical 'Stone of Fevers,' at the entrance of the Church of Le Puy.

Page 80.

The authority for the presentation of the Bible at Edward VI.'s coronation is Camden's 'Remains,' p. 371.

Page 102.

Bishop Newton, who was Prebendary of Westminster at the coronation of George III., speaks of the admirable manner with which the King ascended and seated himself on his throne after the ceremony: 'No actor in the character of Pyrrhus, in the "Distrest Mother"—not even Booth himself, who was celebrated for it in the "Spectator"—ever ascended the throne with so much grace and dignity.' (*Newton's Life*, i. 84.)

Page 104.

The last coronation was postponed from June 26 to June 28, because it had been pointed out that June 26 was the anniversary of the death of George IV.

Page 169.

The terra-cotta statues of Edward VI.'s monument were made by Torrigiano, as appears from the indenture quoted in Neale (vol. i. part ii. p. 58).

Page 186.

George IV., it is said, had the intention of erecting a monument to his grandfather, Frederick Prince of Wales, in St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey being overcrowded. (Letter of *W.* in *The Times*, April 4, 1832.)

Page 195.

Amongst the earlier interments were Sir Frederick Newcastle—attended to his grave by Henry III. (Seymour's *Stow*, i. 247); an Abbot of Glastonbury (*Ibid.* i. 226); Trussell, Speaker of the House of Commons in the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III., buried in St. Michael's Chapel (*Ibid.* i. 555); Walter Leyecester (1389), buried in the North Transept, at the foot of the Great Crucifix (*Archives*); and Elric Bishop of Durham (1152), imprisoned at Westminster, where, by prayer and fasting, he acquired the reputation of a saint—buried in the Porch of St. Nicholas. (*Annals of Waverley*.)

Page 216.

The coffin of the murdered Duke of Buckingham is in the vault beneath his monument, inscribed with the statement of his favour with the two Kings, and of his parricidal death. Above him lie his elder sons, Francis and Charles; and beneath him the youngest, his successor in the dukedom, George Villiers, the profligate courtier of Charles II.—the 'Zimri' of Dryden, the rival of 'Peveril of the Peak;' the example of the fragility of human hopes, as described in the famous lines of Pope on his miserable deathbed, recalled to us, as on the decayed coffin-plate we dimly trace the record of his George and Garter—'*Periscelidis eques.*' (See Appendix to Chapter IV.)

Page 220.

Thomas Blagg, who defended the Castle of Wallingford, died November 14, 1660, and was buried on the 'north side of the Chancel' (*Register*.)

Page 224.

George Wild, the brother of John Wild, M.P., Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer under the Parliament ('the first Judge that hanged 'a man for treason for adhering to his Prince'), died June 5, 1649 (Seymour's *Stow*, ii. 541), was buried near St. Paul's Chapel door, June 21, 1649 (*Register*), and was not disinterred in 1661.

Page 252.

Roubiliac came to Dr. Johnson to supply him with epitaphs for his monuments in the Abbey. (*Reynolds's Life*, i. 119.)

Page 254.

Wolfe's monument is remarkable, as erected at the critical moment when the classical costume and undraped figures were on the point of being changed for the realities of modern dress—of which West's picture of the same event is the first example, and thus in direct contrast with the tomb. (*Reynolds's Life*, ii. 406.)

P. 256.

The chest in which André's remains were brought is preserved in St. Blaize's Chapel.

Page 272.

Ben Jonson's monument was to have been erected by subscription soon after his death, but was delayed by the breaking-out of the Civil War. The present bust was set up by a person of quality, whose name was desired to be concealed. By a mistake of the sculptor, the buttons were set on the left side of the coat. Hence this epigram—

O rare Ben Jonson—what a turncoat grown !
Thou ne'er wast such, till clad in stone :
Then let not this disturb thy sprite,
Another age shall set thy buttons right.

(Seymour's *Stow*, ii. 512, 513.)

Page 273.

Amongst the poets should be added Sir Robert Stapleton, in the time of Charles I., translator of Musæus and Juvenal; died July 11, 1667; was buried in South Transept near the western door, July 15. (Seymour's *Stow*, ii. 556; *Register*.) And the tablet to W. Johnson, D.D., 'Delight of the Muses and Graces, 'often shipwrecked, at length rests in this harbour, and his soul with 'God; whose saying was—GOD WITH US;' died March 4, 1666;' 'Subalmoner buried near the Convocation door,' west side of North Cross, March 12, 1666-67. (Crull, p. 280; *Register*.)

Page 289.

Amongst the graves of the historians should be added that of Richard Hakluyt (place unknown), the father of English geographers (November 23, 1616), who was educated at Westminster, and in later life became a Prebendary; and amongst the cenotaphs of foreigners, the tablet in the Nave to Sir John Chardin, the traveller (buried at Chiswick, 1713), with the inscription, *Nomen sibi fecit eundo*.

Page 291.

Amongst the divines should be added, Redmayne (1551), Master of Trinity, one of the compilers of the first Liturgy; and Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, buried in the South Ambulatory, June 18, 1616 — remarkable for his defences of 'Episcopacy' and of the 'Descent into Hell.'

Page 296.

Goldsmith was to have been publicly buried in the Abbey, but the money was reserved for a monument. (*Reynolds's Life*, ii. 71.)

Page 307.

Garrick's remains were brought to the Abbey from Adelphi Terrace, where he died. The coffin was brought through the west door of the Abbey. Reynolds, Gibbon, Burke, and Johnson were present. (*Reynolds's Life*, ii. 247.) For Mrs. Garrick's funeral, see Smith's *Book for a Rainy Day*, p. 226.

Page 309.

The date of Handel's death, as recorded in the Burial Register, on his gravestone, and on his monument, is not, as stated by Dr. Burney, April 13, but April 14. See also Mr. Rusk's Preface to the Last Handel Commemoration.

I would, before concluding these pages, refer to two sources of information, which derive additional interest from their close connection with Westminster.

For the moral state of the district surrounding the Abbey before and since the Reformation (on which I have ventured slightly to touch in the two closing Chapters), as well as for what is still needed to be done to supply its wants, a brief sketch has been given by one whose lifelong residence, and persevering promotion of all good works in the neighbourhood, well entitle him to the name which has been sometimes given to him of 'the Lay Bishop of Westminster.'¹

For the constant illustrations of the history of the Abbey, partly by contrast, partly by parallel, from the other great metropolitan church, the Cathedral of the diocese of London, I am glad to express the hope that any deficiencies in this work will be supplied by a volume of the 'Annals of St. Paul's' from its present venerable head, who was himself for so many years an honoured inmate of the Cloisters of Westminster.

¹ See a statement published on this subject, in 1850, by Sir William Page Wood, with a Preface on the subject of the Westminster Spiritual Aid Fund.—This fund, established and kept up by the unwearied zeal of

the present excellent Archdeacon of Westminster, helps to carry on the work of those munificent individuals, to whose generosity during the last thirty years the parishes of Westminster have been so largely indebted.

INDEX.

NOTE.—Names of persons buried or having monuments in the Abbey are in italics, as—*Young, Dr.*; names of persons buried in the Cloisters are thus distinguished—**Buchan, Dr.*; and those who have monuments in the Abbey, though buried elsewhere, thus—†*Anstey, Christopher.*

ABBEY

ABBEY, The—founded by Edward the Confessor on an ancient chapel of St. Peter, 15, 19; the building, 25, 26; the establishment, 26; the dedication, 28; foundation of Lady Chapel, 121; Abbey rebuilt by Henry III., 122-126; Henry VII's Chapel, 156-159; commenced, 160; west towers built, 471
 Abbot, Archbishop, 427
 Abbots, under the Normans, 349; the Plantagenets, 351; the Tudors, 355; their burial-place, 351
 Abbot of Westminster, 48, 85, 408; the first, 26, 386
 Abbots, list of, 350-356
 Abbott, Peter, his wager, 66 *note*, 307 *note*
 Actors, attitude of the Church towards, 301, 313 *note*
 Addison, funeral and effigy, 282, 236; burial of, 301; grave, 535
 Agar, 295 *note*
 *Agarde, antiquarian, 396
 Alexander III., 132
 Alfonso, son of Edward I., 136
 Almonry, the, 371, 402
 Alfred, Archbishop, 24, 45
 'Altar' of the Abbey—when and how so called, 485; its history, 485, 486
 Amelia, daughter of George II., 186

ATTERBURY

Ampulla, the, 70
 'Anchorite's house,' 367, 410
André, Major, 256, 553
 Andrewes, Dean and Bishop, 423
Anne of Bohemia, Queen of Richard II., 143
Anne of Cleves, 169
Anne of Denmark, 86, 176
Anne, Queen, coronation, 95; children, 183; burial, 183
 Anointing in coronation, 42
 †*Anstey, Christopher*, 299
 'Antioch Chamber,' 374, 390 *note*
Arabella Stuart, 176
 Archdeacon of Westminster, his privileges, 349
Argyll, John Duke of, tomb of himself and family, 249
Arnold, Samuel, 308
 Arnold, Thomas, quoted, 105 *note*
Arthur, Prince (son of Henry VII.), 166
 Arthur, King, Coronation of, 43
 Ashburnham House, 470
 Assembly of Divines, 481
Atterbury, Bean, love for Milton, 279; epitaph on Chamberlen, 314; on Sheffield's epitaph, 248; his life, 453; burial of Addison, 282; of Marlborough, 243; plots, 457; death, 460, 294; quoted, 242, 277

AUGUSTA

Augusta, mother of George III., 186
Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, 133
Ayton, Sir Robert, 273

BACON, sculptor, 260 *note*

Baillie, Dr., 315

† *Balchen*, 253

Banks, Thomas, 311

Banks, sculptor, his tablet, 311

Barling, Abbot, instigator of the Lady Chapel, 121, 351, 380

Barrow, Isaac, 291

* *Barry*, actor, his grave, 305

Barry, Sir Charles, his brass, 311

Bath, Knights of the, 68, 70, 75; new arrangement of, 96-99

Bath, Pulteney Earl of, his funeral, 251

Baxter, sermon of, 439

† *Bayn*, Captain, 255

Beauleark family, 208

† *Beauleark*, Lord Aubrey, 254

Beaumont, 270

Becket, Thomas, 53, 129, 364

Belfry at Westminster, 363

Bell, Andrew, 295 *note*

Benson, last abbot and first dean, 410

Bentley, Dr., 470

Berkeley, Sir William, 230

* *Betterton*, his burial, 304

Bell, Captain H., 361

Bible presented at coronations, 80, 551

Bill, Dean, 421

Bilson, 553

† *Bingfield*, Colonel, 240

Bingham, Sir R., 211

† *Birkhead*, Anne, 324

Bishop of London, 20, 49, 347

Bishop of Westminster, 79, 408

Black Book, the, 394

'Black Death' at Westminster, 353

Blagg, 552

† *Blair*, Captain, 255

Blaize, St., Chapel of, 250 *note*, 354, 357, 410

Blake, Admiral, 223

Blow, Dr. John, 308

† *Blunt*, G., 340 *note*

CANNING

Bohemian Travellers, 539

Bokun children, 141, 143

Bond, 224, 438

† *Booth*, his bust, 305

Boscawen, Colonel, 224 *note*

Boulter, Archbishop, 295 *note*

Bourbon, Armand and, *Charlotte de*, 327

Bourchier, *Humphrey*, 197

* *Bracegirdle*, Mrs., her tomb, 303

Bradford, Dean, 470, 178 *note*

Bradshaw, residence, 225, 445; burial, 225; disinterment, 178

Brocas, Sir Bernard, 196, 201

Bromley, Sir Thos., 203

* *Broughton*, J., 328

Broughton, Sir E., 230

† *Brunel*, 319

* *Buchan*, Dr., 315 *note*

Buckingham, Countess of, 214

Buckingham, G. Villiers, first Duke of, 213, 215, 217; death, 215; tomb, 216; second Duke of, 530, 552

Buckingham House, 245

Buckingham Vault, 530-539

Buckinghamshire, Duchess of, 247

Buckinghamshire, Sheffield Duke of, monument, 246; second Duke of, death, 246; epitaph, 247

† *Buckland*, Dean, 476

Buckland, Edward, letters from, 504

Buckland, Frank, quoted, 273 *note*, 316

† *Buller*, Charles, 266

* *Burgoyne*, General, 256

Burko, 306 *note*

† *Burleigh*, Lord, 205

Burney, Dr. Charles, 308

Burrough, Sir John, 211 *note*

Busby, Dr., 292, 446, 448

† *Butler*, Samuel, 280

† *Buxton*, *Fowell*, 266

* *Byrcheston*, Abbot, 353

Byron, Lord, 300

CAMDEN, 289, 290, 423; outrage to his tomb, 222, 290

Campbell, Thomas, 299

Canning, Earl, 264

CANNING

- Canning, George*, 264
 Canterbury, Archbishop of, 49, 52, 401
Carey, Thomas, his tablet, 220
Carleton, Dudley, 212
Caroline, Queen (of George II.), 183
Caroline, Queen (of George IV.), 102
Caroline, daughter of George II., 186
Carter, Colonel, 224 note
 Carter, the antiquary, 245, 254, 481
Carteret Family, 322, 534
Casaubon, Isaac, his death and monument, 288, 289
Castlereagh, Viscount, 263
 'Cathedral,' applied to Abbey, 63, 260, 408
Catherine of Valois, Queen, 71, 147; her burial, 151, 160
 Caxton, 166, 402
Cecil family, 205, 206
Chamberlen, Hugh, 314
 **Chambers, Ephraim*, 299 note, 333
Chambers, Sir W., 311
 Champion at Coronations, 68
 Chapter House, 386-389; first scene of House of Commons, 390; Record Office, 396
 **Chardin*, 553
Charles, son of Charles I., 176
 Charles Edward, Prince, 102
 Charles I., coronation, 86; his intended tomb, 179, 220
Charles II., coronation, 89-91; coronation in Scotland, 89 note; burial, 180
 Charles V., Emperor, requiem for him in the Abbey, 170
Chatham, Earl, 259, 408; monument, 260; second *Earl*, 260
Chaucer, his burial, 267; and stone, 276
Chiffinch, Tom, 232
 Chiswick, house there belonging to Westminster School, 422, 451
Churchill, Admiral, 244
Cibber, Mrs., her tomb, 304
Clarendon, Earl, 229
Claypole, Elizabeth, 177, 227
Cleveland, Duke of, 180
 Cloisters, the, 378
Clyde, Lord, 257

CROMWELL

- †*Cobden, Richard*, 266
Colchester, Wm. of, Abbot, 355, 373
 Coleridge, 300
 College of Westminster, 418
 College Hall, 367, 373, 419, 456
 Collier, Jeremy, 361
 Columba, Pillow of, 61, 496, 497
 Commons, House of, first held in the Chapter House, 390; Refectory, 380; and then in St. Stephen's Chapel, 395
 — its origin, 126
Conduitt, John, 313
Congreve, Richard, 284
Constable, Sir William, 224
 Convocation of Canterbury, 461-469
 **Cooke, Dr. B.*, 308
 †*Cooke, Sir Pyre*, 254
Cornbury, Lord, 229 note
 **Cornwall, Captain*, 253
 Coronation, its idea and character, 41-43, 105
 Coronations of early English kings, 43, 44
 Coronation Stone, 160-66, 492-499; representation of, 493; geology of, 499, 500
Cotterill, 231
Cottington, Lord, monument, 217
 Councils of Westminster, 401
 **Courayer, P.*, 325, 332
Courtney, Rd., Bishop of Norwich, 196
 Covent Garden, 359
Coventry, Earl of, 215 note
Cowley, funeral and monument, 274
 Cowper, 265, 473
 Cox, Dean, 410, 416
Craggs, his grave, monument, and epitaph, 236, 237, 535
Craven, Lord, 197
Creed, Major, 241, 256
Crewe, Jane, 251 note
Croft, Dr., 308
Crokesley, Abbot, 380, 352 note
Cromwell, burial, 177; installed, 351; disinterment, 178, 228; interest in the Abbey, 222, 224
Cromwell, Elizabeth, 177

CRUCIFIX

- Crucifix on altar, 359 ; in North Transept, 541
Cumberland, Henry Fredk. Duke of, 186
Cumberland, William Augustus, Duke of, 186
Cumberland, Richard, 298
Curtlington, Abbot, 353

DAUBENY, *Sir Giles*, 197
Davenant, Sir W., 273

- † *Davy, Sir H.*, 315
 Dean of Westminster, his office, 48, 408, 410
 Deans enumerated, 421-461, 470-476
Drane, Colonel, 224
Dr Burgh, John, 209
Delaval, Admiral, 242 note
Denham, 275
Disbrowe, Jane, 177
Disney, Colonel ('*Duke*'), 324
Dolben, Dean, 228
Doncaster, Charles Earl of, 180
Dorislauis, 222, 226
 Dormitory of the School, 381 ; New Dormitory built by Atterbury, 455
Drayton, Michael, 271
Dryden, funeral, grave, and monument, 276, 277
Dudley, Bishop of Durham, 197
Dumouriez, author of the epitaph on the Duke of Montpensier, 188
Dundonald, Earl of, 99, 256
Duppa, Bishop, 230
Duras, Louis, 327

EARLS Palatine, 42 note
Edith, Queen, 379, 119

Edmund Crouchback, 134
Edmund, St., Chapel of, 133

Edward the Confessor : his appearance, 13, and characteristics, 14, 15, 27, 32 ; his vow, 16, 24 ; founder and builder of the Abbey, 18, 25 ; death, 30 ; burial, 31 ; his shrine, 127, 412 ; his body, 181 ; translation by Henry II., 120 ; by Henry

FLEETWOOD

- III., 127, 128⁺ ; veneration for his remains, 119, 120 ; last notice of, 183 ; supposed grave, 503
Edward I., coronation, 58 ; burial and monument, 136, 251
Edward III., election and coronation, 67 ; death and monument, 140
Edward IV., coronation, 71 ; death, 153 ; his courtiers, 197
Edward V., his birth, 367, 72, 154 ; and monument, 175
Edward VI., his funeral, 169 ; destruction of his monument, 437
 * *Edwin*, first Abbot, 26, 350, 386
Eleanor of Castille, Queen, coronation, 58 ; death and tomb, 135
Elizabeth of Bohemia, 180
Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII., 160
Elizabeth, Queen, coronation, 84 ; death, funeral, tomb, and inscription, 170-1 ; her courtiers, 200-211 ; her interest in the Abbey, 417
Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV., 367
Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VII., 160
Elliot, Lady R., 260 note
Eltham, John of, tomb, 139, 320, 505
Erasmus, 166
Essex, Devereux Earl of, 221, 227 ; his grave, 355 note
Esteney, Abbot, 206, 368, 336, 355
 Eye, manor and stream of, 8, 195, 358
- F**AIRBORNE, *Sir P.*, 231
Falmouth, Lord, 230
Fanelli, sculptor, 217 note
Fanes, the monument of, 212
Feckenham, last Abbot, 411-416, 140 251 note ; speech of, 542-544
Feilding family, 215 note
Ferne, Bishop, 230
 † *Ffolkes, Martin*, 313
Fiddes, 457, 458
 Fire of Houses of Parliament, 397
 Fire of London, 451
Fisher, Bishop, 161, 164, 431
Fleetwood, Ann, 224 note

FLEMING

- Fleming, General*, 252
Follett, Sir W. W., 261
Fontevrault, 117, 118, 131, 505
**Foote, Samuel*, 305
Fox, Charles James, 261, 262
Frederick, Prince of Wales, 186, 552
Frederic II., Emperor, 132
Freind, Dr. Robert, head master, 470
Freind, John, physician, 314
Freke family, tomb of, 323
Fullerton, Sir James, 226

GALILEE, the, in Westminster Palace, 374 *note*

Garrick, his monument, 305 ; 554 ; his widow, *ibid.*

Gatehouse, the, 360, 535

Gay, his burial and epitaph, 286, 323

Gent, his adventure in the college hall, 456

George of Denmark, Prince, 183

George I., coronation, 96 ; establishment of the Knights of the Bath, 96

George II., coronation, 100 ; tomb, 183 ; funeral, 184

George III., coronation, 100, 551

George IV., coronation, 102

Gethin, Grace, 323

**Gervase of Blois*, 349

**Gibbons, Christopher*, 307

Gifford, William, 476

**Gislebert, Abbot*, 350

Gloria in excelsis, 537

Gloucester, William Duke of, 183

Glynne, 446 ; *Mrs. Ellen Glynne*, 447

**Godfrey, Sir Edmond Berry*, 232

Godolphin, Sidney Earl, 238

† *Goldsmith*, his epitaph, 297 ; quotations from, 65, 319, 243, 564

Golofre, Sir John, 196

Goodman, Gabriel, Dean, 205, 421

† *Grabe*, 292

Graham, 316

Grattan, deathbed, 262 ; grave, 263

† *Gray*, 288

Grostête, Bishop, 57

Guest, General, 261

HENRY

HAKLUYT, 553

Hales, Stephen, 317

Halifax, Charles Montague, Earl of, 236

Halifax, George Montague, Earl of, 254

Halifax, Saville, Marquis of, 235, 535

Hamlington, Colonel, 281

Handel, 309, 184

† *Hanway, Jonas*, 265

Harbord, Sir C., 231

Hardy, Sir Thomas and Lady, 253

Hargrave, General, 252

Harold, 31 ; his coronation, 47

Harpedon, Sir John, 197

Harrison, Admiral, 256

Harvey, Captain, 255

Haselrig, Sir Thomas, 224 *note*

† *Hastings, Warren*, 265, 473

Hattons, the, monument of, 212

Hawle, 365

Henley, Abbot, 353

Henrietta Maria, her suite entertained, 428

Henry II., coronation, 52 ; burial at *Fontevrault*, 117

Henry, Prince, son of *Henry II.*, 52, 117

Henry III., his two coronations, 56, 57 ; reign, 121 ; rebuilding of the Abbey, 122, 126 ; his character, 123-125 ; translates the body of the Confessor, 127 ; tomb, 131, 504 ; burial of his heart at *Fontevrault*, 131, 505 ; his children, 132

Henry IV., coronation, 69 ; death, 374, 145

Henry V., 71, 377 ; coronation, 71 ; 'Conversion,' death, 146 ; burial, 147 ; character, 145, 148 ; tomb, 149 ; statue, 150 ; his courtiers, 196 ; convention of, 393

Henry VI., coronation, 71 ; choice of tomb, 152 ; death, 153 ; controversy as to burial, 155, 156, 506-521 ; worship of, 522

Henry VII., coronation, 73 ; his devotion, 158 ; his effigy, 164 ; his chapel, 157 ; his courtiers, 197

HENRY

- Henry VIII., coronation, 74; his intended tomb, 167
Henry, Duke of Gloucester, son of Charles I., 179
Henry Frederic, Prince, son of James I., 175
 Henry, Philip, 448
Henry, Prince, son of Henry VIII., 166
Hertford, Frances Howard, Countess of, 199
Hervey, Lord, 212
Heylin, Peter, 448, 434
 † *Holland, Lord*, 262
Hollis, Francis, 209 *note*
Hollis, Sir G., 208
 Hooker, on Christian worship, quoted, 487
Horneck, 293
Horneck, Captain W., 253
 † *Horner, Francis*, 266
 Horsley, Dean and Bishop, 474
Howe, Viscount, 254
 Hudson, Sir Geoffrey, 361
 * *Hugolin*, 14; his tomb, 195, 382
 * *Humez, Abbot*, 353, 401
Hunsdon, Lord, 204
 Hunter, John, 315, 273
Hutt, Captain, 255
Hyde, Anne, Duchess of York, 182

INFIRMARY, the, 400

- Inglis, Sir R. H., quoted, 103
 Ingulph, 379
Ireland, Dean, 398, 476
Ireton, 222
Islip, Abbot, 160, 206, 355, 359, 425

JAMES I., coronation, 86, 501; funeral, 176; King's evil cured, 491; letter from, 523

- James II., coronation, 91; burial at Paris, 181
 Jerusalem Chamber, 282, 312, 374, 395, 434, 440, 465
 Jewel House, 399
 Jews, sufferings of the, 54

LIBER

- Joan, Queen, crowned, 71
 John, King, coronation, 56; buried at Worcester, 118
 John, St., beloved by Edward the Confessor, 28; legend of his appearance, 28
Johnson, Dr., his burial, 298; on Craggs's epitaph, 237; epitaph on Newton, 312 *note*; on Goldsmith, 296, 360, 310, 332, 274; on Watts, 295
Jonson, Ben, his grave and inscription, 271, 272, 553
Johnson, William, 553
 Julius II., Pope, 155
 † **K**EBLE, quoted, 334; tablet of, 300
 † *Kenble, John Philip*, 306
 † *Kempfenfelt*, 256
Kendall, Mary, 323
Killigrew, General, 240
 King's Bench, the, 60
 King's Evil, 13, 491
Kirton, Abbot, 206, 355
 † *Kneller*, Sir Godfrey, 309
 Knightsbridge, 358 *note*
Knollys, Lady Catherine, 201, 209
Kydlington, Abbot, 353

LADY CHAPEL, the, 57, 121, 351

- Lamb, Charles, quoted, 306, 256
 Lanfranc, 49
Lanham, Abbot and Cardinal, 354
 Lavatory of monastery, 380
 * *Lawes, H.*, 307
 * *Lawrence, Abbot*, 350
 † *Lawrence, General*, 254
 * *Lawrence, W.*, 328
 Le Couvreur, Adrienne, 301
Le Neve, Captain, 231
Lennox, Charles, 173
 Leofric, 23
 Le Sueur, sculptor, 217 *note*
 † *Lewis, Sir G. C.*, 266
 Leycester, Walter, 541
 Liber Regalis, 67

LIBRARY

Library, 418, 426
Lagonier, Lord, monument, 240 *note*
Lincoln, President, 305
**Lister, Jane*, 321
Littlington, Abbot, 354, 372, 67, 374,
 359, 378, 536
 †*Locke, Joseph*, 319
Louis, St., 123, 132
Louise Queen of Louis XVIII., 188 *note*
Lovelace, 360
Luther's 'Table Talk', 361
Lyndwood, Bishop, 328

MACAULAY, quoted, 92, 95, 122,
 181, 182, 211 *note*, 258, 259, 261,
 265, 300, 282, 283; his grave, 301
 †*Macaulay, Zachary*, 265
Macheath, Colonel, 224
 †*Mackintosh, Sir James*, 262
Macpherson, James, 298
 †*Malcolm, Sir John*, 264
Mandeville, Geoffrey and Adelaide, 195
Mansfield, Lord, 260
Margaret, St., Chapel or Church of, 26
Margaret Lennox, Countess of Rich-
mond, 172
Margaret of Richmond, Queen, 72, 73,
 74, 164-166, 371
 †*Marlborough, Duke* of, death, 242;
 funeral, 243; at *Monk's* funeral, 227
Marlborough, Earl of, 230
Marshall, 291
Marshall, Stephen, 221, 224 *note*, 438
Mary I., coronation, 82; grave, 170
Mary II., coronation, 94; funeral, 182
Mary Queen of Scots, her tomb, 173;
 miracles wrought by her bones, 174,
 523
Mary of Orange, 189
Mary, daughter of *James I.*, 175
 †*Mason, Rev. J.*, 288
Matthew Paris, 128
Maud, Queen, 119
May, burial and disinterment, 273, 224
note, 291
Mead, Richard, 315
Meldrum, Colonel, 224 *note*

OUTRAM

Mendip, Lord, 295 *note*
Middlesex, Earl of, 217
Millbank, 358
Milling, Abbot, 355, 222 *note*
Milman, Dean, quoted, 184 *note*; 554
 †*Milton*, 280
Miracles at Chapel of St. Peter, 22; at
 tomb of *Mary Queen of Scots*, 174;
 at shrine of *St. Edward*, 120
Monk, Bishop Nicholas, 229
Monk, George, burial, 227; effigy, 228;
 monument, 229; his cap, 229, 343;
 vault, 534
Monks, records of the, 356
Monstrelet, quoted, 377
 †*Montagu, Captain*, 255
Montague; see *Halifax*
Montandre, Marquis de, 187
Montpensier, Duke of, 187
Moray, Sir Robert, 316
More, Sir Thomas, 378
Morland, Sir S., wives of, 316
Mountrath, Lord and Lady, 235 *note*
Muskerry, Viscount, 230

NEWCASTLE, *John Holles Duke of*,
 209, 234
Newcastle, Margaret Duchess of, 233
Newcastle, W. Cavendish, Duke of, 233
Newton, John, on *Sheffield's* epitaph, 248
Newton, Sir Isaac, gravestone and monu-
 ment, 312
Nicolls, headmaster, 473
Noel, H., 211 *note*
Nonconformists in the Abbey, 333
Norris family, 209, 210
Northumberland family, their vault, 320
Norton family, tomb of, 323

OLDFIELD, *Mrs.*, her grave, 303
 'Orchard,' the, 409
Ormond, Duke and Duchess of, 228
Ormond vault, 228
Ossory, Earl of, 228
Outram, Sir James, 257
Outram, Prebendary, 291

OWEN

Owen, John, 438, 447, 223
Owen, Sir Thomas, 204
Oxford, Anne Vere, Countess of, 206

PAINTED chamber, 23

Palace Yard, 24

Paleologus, Theodore, his family, 326 *note*

Palmerston, Lord, 264

**Paoli*, 326

Papillon, Abbot, 351

Parliament office, 399

†*Pearce, Zachary*, Dean and Bishop, 251,
 255, 337, 472

Pecksall, Sir R., 201

†*Peel, Sir R.*, 264

Pelham's secretary, 251

Pepys, quoted, 90, 449

†*Perceval*, 262

Peter, St., favourite saint of Edward the
 Confessor, 16, 27; robbing Peter to
 pay Paul, 408

Philippa, Queen of Edward III., 67, 139

†*Phillips, John*, 278

Pickering, keeper of gatehouse, 362

Pitt, William, burial of, 261; monument,
 262

Play, the Westminster, 477

Plymouth, Earl of, 180

Pope, his burial and tablet at Twicken-
 ham, 287; epitaph on Kneller, 310;
 on Newton, 312; on Craggs, 236; on
 Rowe, 281; on General Withers, 324;
 on Dryden, 277; on Freind's epitaph,
 314 *note*; also 242, 246, 260, 280

Popham, 222; his monument, 226

Portland, Duke of, 235

Pringle, 315

Prior, monument, 285; epigram on
 Atterbury, 249

'Provence' roses (Provins), 134

Puckering, Sir John, 203

**Pulteney, Daniel*, 251 *note*

Purcell, H., 307, 371 *note*

Puy, Le, 551

Pym, his burial, 220

Pyx, chapel of the, 382

Pyx, the, 385

ST. JOHN

QUEENS CONSORT, crowned, 43
note

†*RAFFLES, Sir Stamford*, 264
 Raglan, Lord, 257

Raleigh, 212, 360, 525

Ramsay, Professor, letter from, 499

Recumbent effigies, 549

Redmayne, 554

Refectory, the, 380, 390

Regalia, 47

Relics at Westminster, 29, 119, 128, 153,
 141, 148, 167, 383, 385, 539

Rennell, 318

Richard I., coronation, 53, 55; his heart
 at Rouen, 118; his body at Fonte-
 vrault, 118

Richard II., coronation, 67; tomb and
 portrait, 141-145; his courtiers, 195

Richard of Wendover, 128 *note*

Richardson, his monument, 219

Richmond, Duchess of, in Charles II.'s
 time, 213

Richmond, Duke of, 180 *note*, 212, 213

Richmond vault, 526-529

Richmond, George, portrait of Richard
 II. restored, 142

Robertson, Joseph, letter from, 492, 493

†*Roberts*, 251

Robsart, Lewis, 197, 318 *note*

Roman Catholics buried in the Abbey,
 333 *note*

Roubillac, 208, 252, 309 *note*, 323, 553

Rouen, 117

Rowe, Nicholas, 281

Rupert, Prince, 180

Russell, Elizabeth, her christening and
 monument, 202

Russell, John Lord, 202

Ruthell, Bishop, 197

ST. ALBANS, *Duke of*, 180 *note*
 St. Anne's lane, 371

St. Blaize, Chapel of, 369, 410, 477

St. Evremond, 281

St. John, Lady Catherine, 211

ST. MARTIN

- St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 359
 St. Martin's-le-Grand, 359, 364
 St. Stephen's Chapel, 395 *note*
Salwey, Humphrey, 224 *note*
 Sanctuary of Westminster, 363-371
 483, 542
Sanderson, Sir W., 291 *note*
Sandwich, Montagu Earl of, 227
 Santa Croce at Florence, 192
 †*Saunarez*, 253
 Savage, Richard, 361
 Schoolroom, the, 418
 School, Westminster, 379, 419, 446
 Seone, Stone of, 60-66, 492-496, 498
Schomberg, Duke of, 235
Scot, Grace, 227
 Scott, Sir Walter, 55, 412
 'Screen' of the Abbey, 484, 485
 Selden, 439, 444
 Services of the Abbey, 421, 484
Seymour, Lady Jane, 201
 †*Shadwell*, 278
 †*Shakspeare*, 270, 280
 †*Sharp, Granville*, 265, 299
 Shaving the monks, 379
Sherrfield, Duke of Buckinghamshire,
 244; grave and monument, 245
Shuridan, R. B., 298
Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, 241
 †*Siddons, Mrs.*, 306
 Skelton, poet, 370, 462
 'Solomon's Porch,' 111
Somerset, Anne Seymour, Duchess of, 199
 Somerset, Protector, 168, 409
Sophia, daughter of James I., 175
South, Robert, 293, 447
 †*Southey, Robert*, 300
Spanheim, 325, 187
 Speaker of House of Commons, the first,
 392 *note*
 Spectator, quotations from, 65, 141, 150,
 240, 241, 293, 329, 371, 447, 453, 316
Spelman, Sir Henry, 290
Spenser, Edmund, his grave and monu-
 ment, 269
Spragge, Sir E., 231
 †*Sprat, Dian*, 274, 276, 280, 451, 465
 **Stanhope family*, monuments of, 311

TYNCHARE

- Stanley, Sir Humphrey*, 197
Stapleton, 553
Staunton, Sir G., 264
 **Steiger, of Berne*, 327
 Stephen, King, coronation, 51; buried
 at Faversham, 117
Stephenson, Robert, his grave, 318; and
 window, 319 *note*
Stepney, George, 278
 Stewart, Lord High, 43; abolished by
 Henry III., 57
 Stone, Nicholas, sculptor, 213
 Stones, sacred, 59
Strode, Sir W., 221
 , 224 *note*, 291
Suffolk, Frances Grey, Duchess of, 198
Sussex, Frances Sidney, Countess of, 199
- T**ALBOTS, *the*, monument of, 212
Taylor, Sir Robert, 311
Telford, 318
Temple, Sir William, 235
 †*Thackeray, W. M.*, his bust, 301
 Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, 79, 408
 Thirty-nine Articles, 463
 †*Thomas, Dean*, 473
 †*Thomson, James*, 288
Thorndyke, Herbert, 294
 **Thornton, Bonnell*, 299 *note*
Thynne, Thomas, 232
Thynne, William, his monument, 211
Tierny, 262
 Tillotson, Archbishop, 293
 Toledo, inscription at, 481 *note*
Tompion, 316
 Torrigiano, 164, 167, 437
 Tosti, 24
 Treasury, Royal, 381
Triplett, Dr., Prebendary, 291
 Tu autem' service, 380
Tudor, Owen, 357, 369
 Turton, Bishop and Dean, 476
Twiss, 224 *note*, 291, 439, 442
Twysden, Lieut. Heneage, 240; *John and*
Josiah, 241
 Tyburn, the name, 8, 358; the place, 178
Tynchare, Philip, 190

USSHER

USSHER, Archbishop, 226, 432

VALENCE, *Aymer de*, his tomb, 134, 139, 255

Valence, William de, his tomb, 133

Vaughan, Professor, quoted, 51, 115, 116

Vere, Sir Francis, 208

Vernon, Admiral, 253

**Vertue, G.*, 311

Victoria, Queen, coronation of, 114

Villiers, Sir G., his tomb, 213; his apparition, 214

Vincent, Dean, 475, 293, 188 *note*

Vincent Square, 358, 476

Virgin, girdle of the, 121 *note*, 539

Voltaire, 302 *note*

WADE, *Marshal*, monument of, 252, 253

Wager, 253

Wake, Colonel, 446

Wake, Archbishop, 468

Waldeby, Robert, 196

Walpole, Horace, quoted, 100, 138, 184, 250, 337, 408 *note*, 480

†*Walpole, Lady*, her statue, 250

Waltham, John, 195

Waltham Abbey, 25 *note*

Walton, Izaak, his monogram, 289

**Ware, Abbot*, 293, 346, 353

Warren, Bishop, and wife, 295 *note*

*Washington Irving, quoted, 345, 418

Watchmakers, graves of two, 317

†*Watson, Admiral*, 254

†*Watt, James*, 317

†*Watts, Dr.*, 295, 333

Wat Tyler, 366

Wenlock, Abbot, 352

Wesley, S., 460

Wesleys, the, 183, 460

West, Temple, 253

Westminster Confession, 483

Westminster Palace, 36, 117°, 347, 536

YOUNG

Weston, Dean, 411

Wetenall, 315

Wharton, Henry, 295

'Whigs' Corner, the, 262

Whipping the monks, 389-400

Whittington, architect of the nave, 146

Whitewashing, the Abbey exempt from, 481

Wilberforce, W., 265, 334

Wilcocks, Dean, 471; grave, 472

Wild, George, 553

Wilkins, Bishop, 234

William of Colchester, Abbot, 366; his conspiracy, 372

William the Conqueror: coronation, 44; buried at Caen, 117

William Rufus: coronation, 50; buried at Winchester, 117

William III.: coronation, 94; grave, 181

William IV., coronation, 104

Williams, Dean and Archbishop, 425-435, 176

Williamson, Sir Joseph, 235

Wilson, Sir Robert, 257

Winchester, Marchioness of, 203

Windsor, 36, 151; royal burials at 153, 155, 168, 186, 350

Windsor, Sir John, 197

Winteringham, 315

**Withers, General*, 324

†*Wolfe, General*, monument of, 254, 336, 553

Wolsey, 393, 462

**Woodfall, Elizabeth*, 325

Woodward, John, 314

**Woollett, Thomas*, 311

†*Wordsworth, William*, 300

Wragg, W., 256 *note*

Wulfstan, Bishop, 34, 50

Wyatt, James, 311

YORK, Edward, Duke of, 186

York, Archbishop of, 49, 52, 401

Young, Dr., 315

